



SARASVATEE. (See Page 49.) ●

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PUBLISHERS' FORE-WORD.

We have about half-a-dozen English Monthlies in India. But considering the vast extent of the country and the large and increasing number of its English speaking people, it cannot be said that there is not still room for another.

In fact, the English Monthly is the only form of periodical that can legitimately claim an all-India constituency. Both the Daily and the Weekly newspaper must, in a large continent like India, inevitably be more or less of a local and provincial organ ; and, therefore, can hardly be expected to meet the needs of the larger movements of National thoughts and activities. The Monthly Review, not being a newspaper in any sense of the term, and therefore, freed from the obligation of publishing or commenting on the current news of the day, will not be distracted by the conflicts of local or sectional interests, and will consequently be in a position to dispassionately study and faithfully interpret the larger and more permanent aspects of the thoughts and activities of our teeming and composite populations.

The existing English monthlies in India, excellent publications in their own way, seem to lack, however, a clear and conscious unity of purpose or ideal. While not altogether without a definite policy of their own, especially in regard to politics, and in some cases also as regards questions of social reform, few of these seem to boldly stand for any large and consistent philosophy of life, such as could lend a definite unity or individuality to the large variety of interesting and instructive reading-matter which they seek to provide. The HINDU REVIEW aims, however, at a somewhat different ideal. It will be conducted in the spirit of what may be called Hindu Nationalism, as distinguished from that abstract Cosmopolitanism, the inheritance of the European illumination of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,—which seems yet to so largely dominate the thoughts and ideals of so many of even our best-educated men.

But though its stand-point will be Hindu, in the largest sense of the term, its outlook will always be Cosmopolitan and Universal.

There are deep stirrings in the hitherto placid waters of Hindu life and thought. There are serious questionings as regards the truth and significance of many an old ideal and institution of the land. There

are much graver misgivings as regards the sanity of the new and imported ideas and ideals and especially regarding their suitability to our genius and culture. And all these require for their solution, reverent study and dispassionate criticism, a diligent search for the permanent underneath the recurrent changes of dogmas and disciplines, and the laws and rituals that have characterised the past history of the Hindu People. Above all, these demand the discovery of that higher generalisation and superior synthesis which will reveal the

TRUE PLACE AND FUNCTION OF THE HINDU
PEOPLE IN THE COMING FEDERATION
OF THE WORLD.

The HINDU REVIEW will, in its humble way, seek always to help this Study, this Criticism, and the Search for this Generalisation and this Synthesis. So help us God !

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BIPIN CHANDRA PAL

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(WRITTEN DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT in 1907-08.)

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THE HINDU REVIEW

WHAT IT STANDS FOR.

The Publishers have already explained the aims and scope of this new Review in their Fore-Word.

I sincerely wish that they could place it in charge of some abler person, having the necessary equipment for this work.

This Review starts, I understand, with a two-fold object : (i) To interpret Hindu life and culture in the terms of what may be called the Modern Consciousness ; and (ii) to examine, and if possible, to reconstruct what are called modern ideals and institutions in the light of the accumulated and progressive experience of the composite Hindu People.

To pursue this object properly, one must have a complete mastery of the two great world-cultures, Indian and European, that confront each other in the life and thought of the new generation in India. It is not enough for this work of real construction, that we have a general idea of the fundamentals of these two world-cultures, however correct our apprehensions or intuitions of these may be ; but we must also have a more or less complete mastery of their different details. Sound scholarship, combined with a chastened but powerful historic imagination and a supremely synthetic intellect, can alone hope to achieve the ends with which the Hindu Review comes into existence.

I have absolutely no pretensions to these. I say this in all sincerity, and not in a spirit of feigned humility. I have lived and worked long enough in this world to be able to take a correct measure of my powers and possibilities. I know, therefore, that anything that I may be able to do to help in the realisation of the objects of this Review, must necessarily be halting and imperfect, and at best merely tentative. The real work must be left to be done, in the fulness of time, by ripe scholars and constructive thinkers.

One of the most striking achievements of the Nineteenth Century has been, it seems to me, to make the world at once smaller and larger than what it ever was before. Modern science has helped to practically annihilate the ancient distances both of space and time ; while modern historic movements, following so closely upon the advance of modern industry and the expansion of modern commerce, has enormously enlarged the field of human associations, over-riding the old and narrow

limits of the communal or the national life, and has, thereby, made the world much larger than that in which our forefathers lived. Commerce in commodities has opened up the highways of a higher commerce in spiritualities. Exchange of goods has slowly and imperceptibly been leading up to the exchange of thoughts and ideas between the most distant and divergent peoples of the world. As a result, modern humanity is passing through strange and mighty transformations such as, perhaps, the world had never yet seen or known. And the confusion seems to many people almost chaotic.

To work some sort of a practically permanent order out of this conflict and confusion, is a universal problem to-day. It faces all the peoples of the earth. The West, no less than the East, is passing through the travails of this transition. The West may be restlessly kicking about, while the East may still be cosily lying in bed ; but both are equally in the dark. Neither really knows the way out. Neither, therefore, can legitimately claim to lead the other. All that they can do, to render mutual help, is to open out their respective Book of Experience, and, in the spirit of the earnest inquirer, compare notes with each other.

The pages of this Review will, therefore, be always open to the representatives of the different world-cultures for thus comparing notes with one another.

As Hindus, we are necessarily identified with a particular culture and civilisation ; and quite naturally we have a pardonable partiality for our own ideals and institutions. But at the same time we know this also that we shall be faithless to the very spirit of this Hindu culture itself, if we fail to respect natural differences of view-points, or tolerate the inevitable conflicts of ideas due to these differences.

The spiritual genius of our race has always recognised the fundamental Unity that underlies all forms and classes of diversities and differences. A passion for this Unity has characterised the entire course of our past evolution. Some moved by this passion, have negated the actualities of man's sense-life, upon which our consciousness of differences and diversities is based, and have sought to dismiss both the demands of the natural and the obligations of the social life as illusory. Others have conceded a kind of conditional truth and relative reality to our natural and social life and activities, accepting them as mere moments in the evolution of the consciousness of the Ultimate Unity, or as varied manifestations, for purposes of his own sport or *leela*, of the Supreme Reality. But never have we lost sight of that Ultimate

Unity, where all the diversities of the natural and all the conflicts of the mental or the social life, are explained, justified, and reconciled. In the Hindu's philosophy there are endless appearances but One Reality. In the Hindu's pantheon there are countless gods but only One Supreme Lord or Isvara. In the Hindu's social economy there are numerous castes, but one organic Social Whole of which these castes, the highest as well as the lowest, however mutually exclusive they may be, are mere limbs and organs. And the Hindu's view of other races, other communities, other religions, and other cultures, is that these, like his own race or community or his own religion or culture, are all parts, moments, or manifestations of that One Supreme Unity which fulfils and realises itself through these endless differences and diversities.

Even as advocates of Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation, we cannot, therefore, consistently with the teachings of Hinduism itself, refuse to admit that our culture and civilisation represent only a part of universal human culture and civilisation, and at their best, have so far rendered only a few notes of that universal humanity which includes all the different races and cultures of the world.

For we hold that God has left no country or people without witnesses unto His Spirit, or proofs of His Providence; and that the Universal is present behind the Particular everywhere. Universal Humanity is the regulative idea in all historic evolutions. Particular culture-histories are, therefore, only parts of the history of universal culture, and have consequently a close kinship with one another. Their unity is necessary and basal. Their divergences, however wide and vital, are due either to differences of race-consciousness—which is the element of permanence in racial evolution—or of physical environments or historic associations or to differences in the stages of evolution in which these severally stand.

What the publishers of this Review call Hindu Nationalism, in their Fore-Word, means, therefore, neither selfish conflict with, nor proud isolation from, the other nations of the world.

Nationality has been defined by Joseph Mazzini as "the individuality of a people." The Hindu's monistic instincts would, perhaps, prefer to describe it as the personality of a people. For the idea of individuality is associated with the European doctrine of Rights, which implies inevitable isolation and conflict. The authors of the French Illumination, seemed to have realised this limitation of their doctrine of individuality, and consequently they sought to remedy, if not to entirely remove it, by adding to their dogmas of Equality and Liberty, a third dogma, that

of Fraternity. But this Fraternity of the French Revolution had no organic and necessary relation to its other two dogmas of Liberty and Equality. It did not logically follow from them ; but was evidently added on to them in an arbitrary way to save certain vital aspects of the social life. And, consequently, while the dogmas of Liberty and Equality created endless conflicts and confusion, that of Fraternity, though meant to act as a corrective against these, failed to furnish the modern world with either any formula of reconciliation or any inspiration for unity. Mazzini himself clearly realised all this ; and he, therefore, called upon his own compatriots, as well as the nations of Europe generally, to get rid of "the incubus of the French Revolution." But brought up in the dualistic and legalistic atmosphere of Latin Christianity, even Mazzini failed to fully reach out to that higher Philosophy of Nationalism, which could offer a true and effective antidote against the isolating and disrupting tendencies of the popular European gospel of Equality and Freedom.

The philosophy of nationalism in Europe is still associated with the individualistic inspirations of the French Revolution. And as enthusiasm for the gospel of individualism has developed certain anti-social tendencies in every European country, tendencies that passing through various phases, some harmless, some harmful, but all inherently revolutionary, have culminated in the modern schools of philosophical anarchism, like those of William Morris, Nietzsche and others ; so the enthusiasm for nationality has developed all over Europe unmistakable anti-humanitarian tendencies, converting Christian love into patriotic jealousy, and encouraging the practical annihilation of the weaker or younger members of the great human family, in the name of humanity and civilisation. And the popular European concept, individuality carried to the domain of the national life, and seeking to convey the legitimate but particularistic claims of the different social units, into which universal humanity is divided, has absolutely nothing in it to combat or correct these anti-humanitarian tendencies of the popular ideas and ideals concerning the character and claims of the national life in Europe.

Hindu culture took, however, a somewhat different view of what is called individuality in Europe. It is able to present, therefore, an ideal of nationality much superior to the popular European view of it. In fact, the corresponding Hindu idea is very imperfectly rendered by the European term individuality. The conceit of individuality is a universal fact of human experience. But while modern European

culture has been trying, by all manner of means, to strengthen and develop this conceit, ancient Hindu culture put forth its highest efforts to cure, if not to altogether kill it. For the Hindu has always recognised the havoc that this conceit of individuality, as it exists in men and women in the natural state, causes both in their social relations and their spiritual life. It is this conceit which leads ordinary human beings, living more or less only the common life of their natural instincts and appetites, to regard themselves as standing practically apart from all other individuals about them, except those few who are connected with them by natural ties. And this sense of separateness impels them to pursue their own individual ends and interests as if these were in perpetual antagonism to the similar ends and interests of the other members of their social body. This conceit of individualism accentuates, thus, the conflicts of economic competition, and enfeebles the spirit of co-operation in the community, and sets up the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, in its crudest and least scientific sense, as the predominating principle of the evolution of human society, as it is, perhaps, to some extent, the law in the lower animal kingdom.

Realising all these inevitable evils of the individualistic emphasis in the social life, Hindu culture never encouraged the cultivation of that type of individualism of which modern European culture seems to be so proud.

It is notorious that what they call Pagan culture in Europe also gave no room for the growth of this individualism. Both in Greece and Rome, the individual was completely subordinated to the social whole to which he belonged. Society was the whole, individuals were parts thereof. Society was the body, individuals were mere limbs of it. And though parts and limbs may have their specific functions in the general life and activities of the body to which they belong, they have, really, no specific and organic ends of their own. So it was also with individuals; they had no ends unto themselves. This was the social philosophy of Paganism. The Hindu view, while having some semblance to this Pagan view, is, however, fundamentally different from it. The preservation of the social order was the key-note of Pagan polity: the perfection of the individual is the key-note of Hindu polity. The difference between the two views is, thus, very wide and vital; and we cannot as summarily dispose of this Hindu view as we have done the old Pagan view.

Hindu polity demands, no doubt, the absolute subjection of the individual to his social order; but at the same time, it should be

remembered, that in no other social polity, whether ancient or modern, have we any provision for what may be called a super-social state, wherein the individual, finally freed from all social obligations, has the fullest possible scope and freedom to live and grow, as a law unto himself. To set up each individual upon the true law of his own being, is, indeed, the ideal-end of the Hindu's social polity. Through subjection to freedom, this may be said to be the key-note of Hindu culture. Even the most galling restraints of the Hindu's religious or social life, have this freedom as their ultimate end. And Hindu polity works upon the assumption that this end is reached by every individual who, faithfully discharging the obligations of his caste and order, enters in his ripe old age the order of the *Sannyasin*. This is the last of the four stages or orders of the ideal Hindu life, sought to be realised by Hindu polity. The *Sannyasin*, which is crudely rendered into English by the term roving mendicant,—is a law unto himself. Cured of his natural conceit of self by the rigid laws and disciplines of the first three orders,—that of the student, the householder, and the hermit,—the *Sannyasin* is assumed to stand consciously identified with the Universal. Devoid of self-regarding desires, his body, placed, through long and laborious physical and psycho-physical exercises and disciplines above the changes and conflicts of the physical world about him,—his intellect established in the eternal verities of Reason, undisturbed by fancy, falsehood, or doubt,—his emotions perpetually lost in the sense and enjoyment of the Universal as revealed in both the natural and the human kingdom; and his will freed from all individualistic impulses,—the true *Sannyasin* stands really for the Universal in every department and aspect of his life, and can, consequently, be safely allowed to be a law unto himself. He is, therefore, no longer subjected to the rules and restrictions of caste, nor to any other social laws and regulations. The order of the *Sannyasin* may, consequently, be well called "super-social."

This being the true Hindu conception regarding what is called the human individuality in Europe, personality, from Latin *persona*, meaning a mask, would, perhaps, be a better rendering of our idea of it. The function of a mask is to create a difference in appearance, where there is, in truth, no difference in substance. Personality implies, therefore, not isolation, but only differentiation; and the difference that the concept personality implies is a difference which only breaks up uniformity in appearance or organisation but in no way destroys or even disturbs, the fundamental unity of being.

I would, therefore, describe Nationality rather as the *Personality* of a People than, following Mazzini's lead, define it as their Individuality.

Indeed, the real value of the ideal of nationality consists in the fact that it offers a much larger and broader formula of human associations than the idea of either the tribe or the race. As the family is larger than the individual, and the tribe is larger than the family, and the race is larger than the tribe; so is the nation much larger than the race. And in this ascending series, each subsequent term represents a higher category of social life and evolution than the antecedent term. And consequently, the family life offers a much narrower field for the development of the human faculties than the life and activities of the tribe, and the comparatively simpler and more limited needs of the tribal life offer a much narrower scope to our powers and possibilities than the larger and more complex life of the nation. And it is just here that the higher value of the National Idea truly lies.

The development and perfection of the human personality is, indeed, the one ever-present idea, as well as the ultimate ideal-end, of this social evolution. This personality realises and perfects itself, not through individualistic isolation, but through larger and larger social associations. And these social associations continually expand the range of human interests beyond and above the narrow range of the individual's own life and activities. As a mere individual, man is but little removed from the lowest animal kingdom; is a mere isolated biological unit, not simply "cribbed, cabined, and confined" within the narrow limits of his individual life, but is inevitably in a state of latent or open war with other individuals of his class, ever ready to kill, or be killed by them. But as a member of his family he is no longer a mere unit, but an integral part of an organised unity,—a larger whole, and is able, thus, to fully and freely participate in the powers and possibilities of that whole. The corporate life of the family, as the price of the protection which it offers to the individual, does not really hamper or contract, but distinctly helps and expands the individual's life and evolution. Even the very disciplines which it imposes upon the individual, in the interests of the life of his family though sometimes in apparent conflict with the free play of individual passions and appetites, do effectively strengthen and truly expand his personality even by chastening it. Similarly, the demand of the tribal life and authority that both individuals and families shall always subordinate their particularistic interests to the larger interests of their tribe, does in no way crush or cripple, but on the contrary, dis-

tingly enlarges and strengthens the human personality. And the complexer and the more organised and varied life of the nation, helps a much larger development of the individual than can possibly be done by either his family or his tribal life. And thus, by subordinating his individual instincts and interests, tastes and appetites, to the requirements, first of his family, then of his tribe, then of his nation, man finds even his own individual life and interests ennobled and enlarged; and through this very subjection to the authority of these larger corporations, he gradually reaches out to a much fuller and more perfect freedom than what he could ever dream of attaining, amidst the perpetual conflicts and competitions, for even the very barest necessities of life, of mere individual existence in this world.

In fact, modern social philosophy, with its organic conception of the social life, demands a fundamental reconsideration of the gospel of human freedom preached by the European Illumination of the Eighteenth Century. Indeed, the idea of freedom as it has gradually developed in Europe, ever since old Paganism was replaced by Christianity with its essentially individualistic ethical implications and emphasis,—is hardly in keeping with the new social philosophy of our age. Freedom, independence, liberty, are all essentially negative concepts. They all indicate absence of restraint, regulation and subjection. Consequently, Europe has not as yet discovered any really rational test by which to distinguish what is freedom from what is license, or what is liberty from what is libertinism. Practically, like the popular distinction between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, that between freedom and license is more or less a question of individual opinions and associations. As my “doxy” is orthodoxy, and yours, when opposed to mine, is heterodoxy, so my “dom” is freedom, and yours, when it opposes mine, or does not suit me, is license. There is as yet, in European thought and culture, no universal standard to which we might both submit our different ideas and ideals of freedom and test which are true and which are false. In practical life, owing to the lack of any Supreme Court of Reason to which the claims to freedom either of individual members of society or of different classes in the community, could be submitted, physical force, whether open or veiled, stands as the only arbiter of these disputes. And the cause of orderly progress in different countries, or of peace between different nations, will never be really secured or advanced without a radical change in the present European conception of freedom.

Our own concept corresponding to that which is called freedom or independence or liberty in Europe, is different. Unlike that of

the Europe, an the Hindu concept is not negative but a positive something. The corresponding term in our language is not अनधीनता (*Anadheenata*) which would be a literal rendering of the English word independence, but स्वाधीनता (*Swadheenata*) which is a positive concept. It does not mean absence of restraint or regulation or dependence, but self-restraint, self-regulation, and self-dependence. Our स्वाधीनता (*Swadheenata*) means a good deal more than what even the terms self-restraint, self-regulation, or self-dependence would convey in English. For the self in Hindu thought, even in the individual, is a synonym for the Universal. स्वाधीनता (*Swadheenata*) means therefore in our thought, really and truly, subjection to the Universal. The complete identification of the individual with the Universal, in every conscious relation of his life, is, thus, with us, an absolute condition-precedent of the attainment of स्वाधीनता (*Swadheenata*) or freedom, as we have always understood it.

The conscious identification of the individual with the Universal is both the form and the norm of the Hindu Gospel of स्वाधीनता (*Swadheenata*) or Swaraj. This word Swaraj, recently introduced into our current political literature by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, though evidently borrowed from the political records of the Mahratta Confederacy, belongs really to our ancient philosophical and theological literature. It occurs in the Upanishads to indicate the highest spiritual state, wherein the individual self stands in conscious union with the Universal or the Supreme-Self. When the self sees and knows whatever is as its own self, it attains Swaraj :—so says the Chhandogya Upanishad. This state of Swaraj was attained, we read in the Vedas, by the sage Bama-deva, who in the enthusiasm of his beatific union with the Universal cried out—"I am the Sun, I was Manu."

In spite of our excessive metaphysical emphasis, which no doubt led some people to deny the value of the practical and the social life as organs of the self-revelation of the Absolute, the Universal has always been the quest of our social economy also. While the *Nirgunam* or the Abstract Universal has been the last word almost of Hindu metaphysics, the *Sagunam* or the Concrete Universal has been the eternal quest of Hindu Art and the Hindu's social life and philosophy, as much as it is of the other cultures of the world ; though the Hindu sought it, perhaps, more consciously than others. Reason may revel in the *Nirgunam* or the Abstract Universal ; but our emotions and our will demand the *Sagunam* or the Concrete Universal for their play and fulfilment. And though the Reason, the Emotions, and the Will are not

three entities but only three different aspects or modes of one and the same unity, and, consequently, each is implied in the others, yet our emotions and our will are, in a special sense, the bases and organs of our social life. The progressive self-revelation of the Absolute as the *Sagunam* or the Concrete Universal, is, therefore, the universal logic of all social life and evolution.

This social evolution proceeds from lower and simpler to higher and more complex stages, in proportion as the range and variety of man's relations with other human units and associations expand and increase. It is by means of these larger and larger associations that man progressively realises his own personality and in the consequent development and perfection of his humanity, unveils the Divinity that is in him. For Humanity and Divinity are, indeed, one.

This unity is the key-note of Hindu thought. The Hindu alone, among all the peoples of the earth, has, perhaps, one single word to denote both Humanity and Divinity. That word is NARAYANA. NARAYANA is the In-Dweller in individual humans, indeed, in all beings, severally; NARAYANA is also the In-Dweller in the collective life of Humanity, the Director of all social and historic movements. The English concept, Humanity, even when spelled with a capital H, is really more or less of a mere abstraction like goodness or badness, for instance. It is an abstract noun, and not a substantive. Mazzini was the first, I think, to characterise Humanity as a Being, and he tried, no doubt, to indicate by this that Humanity was something more than a mere abstraction. This Humanity, he declared, has an aim, and therefore, a law, through submission to which, that aim is reached and realised. But though Mazzini posited this Humanity which he called a Being, as the logic of the national life; it is very doubtful if even his conception of Humanity reached the fulness and reality of our own concept NARAYANA. Christ, as Logos, is perhaps the nearest equivalent of our NARAYANA:—the Christ of the Christian dogma of the Trinity, where He is a Person, and not a mere Idea. Modern Christian consciousness is seeking to realise this Christ in and through the collective life of Humanity. But the essential dualism and legalism of Latin Christianity, which still so largely dominate Christian thought and culture, stand in the way of the fullest realisation by Western Christians, of the identity of Christ with Humanity. The political predominance of the Christian peoples in the modern world is perhaps a still stronger reason of the incapacity of the Christian nations of our time in this matter. And as long as the modern Christian conscious-

ness has not been able to fully realise the identity of Christ with Humanity, not as an abstraction but as a Being, the true philosophy of modern nationalism, not as a disrupting but as a uniting and integrating force in history, will never, I am afraid, be reached, and, possibly, not even understood by Christendom.

And we claim to understand this philosophy better, because, from of old, our holy men have known and revered every human individual, whatever his colour, creed, country or caste, as NARAYANA himself. Every human, the lowest socially as well as the highest, is uniformly saluted by the holiest of our holy men all over India, as NARAYANA. The collective life of the various tribes, races, and nations of the world, is equally regarded by the highest Hindu thought, as diverse vehicles and manifestations of NARAYANA. This NARAYANA or Humanity is the Whole, the different nations of the world are parts of that Whole. NARAYANA or Humanity is the Body, the different tribalities, racialities and nationalities are limbs of that Body. The whole is implied in the parts : the organism in the organs. NARAYANA or Universal Humanity is, therefore, logically implicit in every tribe, race, and nation. And the end and aim of the evolution of all these various social units must, therefore, be to make explicit the life of NARAYANA in their own life and activities. To wound, to injure, or to hamper in any way, the freest self-fulfilment of the least of these social units, is really, therefore, to wound, to injure, and to obstruct the self-revelation and self-realisation, in and through the world-progress—of NARAYANA himself. On the other hand, to seek absolute social isolation from other races or peoples, under a false idea of superiority or independence,—is also, equally, to impair and obstruct the fullest self-revelation of NARAYANA in history and humanity. If the one may be compared to Murder, the other may well be called suicide : and both are equally a Sin against NARAYANA.

This is the philosophy of nationalism, as it is understood by the highest Hindu thought. It is for this reason that we hold that the Hindu Nationalism for which this **Review** stands, implies neither selfish conflicts with, nor arrogant isolation from, the other nations of the world.

For, in fact, even nationality is not the last word of social or historic evolution. From the individual to the family, from the family to the tribe, from the tribe to the race, from raciality to nationality, which includes many races,—this has been so far the ascending series in social or historic evolution. And the interests and obligations of the individual, gradually expanding from his own personal life, to the collective

and corporate life of his family, from the life of his family to that of his tribe, from the life of his tribe to that of his nation,—have so far helped the evolution and self-fulfilment of both the individual and the race. The necessary contraction of the self-regarding interests and activities of the individual with a view to co-ordinate these with the larger interests and activities of his family ; then, in the next stage, the similar contraction of his family-interests with a view to co-ordinate them with the interests of his tribe ; and then the contraction of all purely tribal or communal interests with a view to co-ordinate these with the larger interests of the nation,—this has been the universal process of social evolution. It is through this process of the subordination of the smaller and more particularistic interests to the larger and more universal interests that man has been always able to develop and perfect even his own individuality. It is, indeed, the one universal process of true civilisation, which means, as Matthew Arnold pointed out, “the humanisation of man in society.” To give preference to individual interests over the interests of the family, or to give preference to the interests of the family over those of the tribe or the commune, or to give preference to mere communal interests, under any plea whatever, over the larger and more complex interests of the nation, is, therefore, really to go back to barbarism. The enemy of Nationalism is, therefore, a mortal enemy of Civilisation.

The value of these different terms or stages in the progressive series of social evolution, consists really in their capacity to offer wider and wider fields of human fellowship. The family represents a higher category in social evolution than the mere individual, because its corporate life and interests furnish a formula of human association which the individual could never find in himself. The tribe is a superior social category than the family for a similar reason ; because it offers a larger formula of human fellowship than the family. And the nation stands highest in the series, because of the still wider formula and field of human association and fellowship that it offers.

But have we reached the highest stage of social evolution, and the widest field of human fellowship even here ? Can there be nothing higher than nationality ?—which, offering a still wider field of human association, will advance the cause of universal humanity still further. The course of modern historic evolution unmistakably seems to be pointing to such a higher category. From nationalism to inter-nationalism ; this seems to be the growing cry of the history and culture of the Twentieth Century. And no nation, in our time, can, with impunity

refuse to accept the lead of modern historic evolution and oppose the advance of this inter-nationalism.

Signs of the growth of this internationalism are distinctly visible in both the economic and the political movements of our time. Whatever may be said of the particular philosophy of life, upon which the present aggressive Socialist propaganda seems to be based, it can scarcely be denied that Socialism represents, to some extent, the most advanced thoughts and speculations of modern economics, and that it will largely shape the historic evolution of the Western world, if not of the East also, for the next hundred years. And in its attempt to organise and concentrate the forces of Labour in various European countries, with a view to successfully combat the politico-economic predominance of capitalism in modern industrial life, Socialism is rapidly developing a new and powerful form of internationalism in present day economics and industry. Modern imperialism is also helping this new ideal in another direction, through the evolution of the modern colonial policy. The new type of empire is not autocratic, like the old type, but essentially democratic. It represents, in its most advanced form, not the subjection of extensive territories to one centralised and despotic governmental authority, but the union of many small sovereign states into one large organic and self-governing whole. The British Empire, so far as its self-governing Dominions are concerned, represents this coming type of empire. These Dominions, while owing general allegiance to Great Britain, are both in theory and in fact, really so many sovereign states. And this Self-Governing Empire of Great Britain, as distinguished from its other, the Dependent Empire, as the mighty statesmen of the *Times* newspaper love to call it,—represents this coming type of political inter-nationalism.

But even this is not a perfected type of true inter-nationalism in politics. In fact a higher and more organised type of it is already evolving before our own eyes, within the British Empire itself. The different component parts of the self-governing empire of the British have not as yet evolved any vital and organic relations with either the Mother Country or with one another. They are just now hanging very loosely together. A few subtle sentiments, standing behind grosser considerations of material self-interests, are, at present, the only cement that holds Great Britain and her Self-Governing Colonies together, and, consequently, the breaking up of this inorganic relation, though it will seriously inconvenience both the parties, may not mortally affect either. In fact, the new ideal of inter-nationalism that has commenced to dawn

upon the modern consciousness almost all the world over, is the real, though silent, force that is working behind the colonial policy of Great Britain on the one side, and the imperialist sentiments of her Dominions on the other. This ideal will demand more and more organised expression as it grows in the consciousness of these peoples. Indeed this demand is already vocal in more than one Dominion, some of whose statesmen are openly seeking to build up a real federal constitution in the British Empire.

And this is exactly the form in which the new spirit of inter-nationalism will be bound gradually to concretise and incarnate itself, if it is at all to realise its promise. In fact federalism is only another name for organised inter-nationalism. Freedom of the parts in the unity of the whole, is the very soul and essence of the federal idea. It is also the soul and essence of that inter-nationalism towards which the modern world is visibly moving, as a higher stage of social evolution. Federal Imperialism,—or, if any one should object to the term imperialism—as some people do, I know, even in England, on account of some of its past ugly associations—Federal Inter-nationalism is most decidedly the coming Idea in present social evolution and modern world-politics. And the Nationalist Ideal will assuredly fail of its own purpose if, either through lack of strength or of wisdom, it cannot reach out gradually to this federal inter-nationalism.

The different national units must, therefore, with a view to help the evolution of this federal inter-nationalism and fully participate in all that it stands for, diligently cultivate both their strength and their wisdom. They must first be strong in themselves, physically, economically, and politically,—in other words, they must improve their physique, increase their material resources, and develop their capacity for co-operation and combination in every department of life, always subordinating personal or family, or communal interests to the larger interests of the nation. And they must do it, for the simple reason that though the other and stronger nations of the world may be only too ready to exploit their weaker brethren, no one will care to fraternise on absolutely equal terms with the latter. And they must also at the same time, cultivate that superior wisdom which recognises the universal evidence of history that unless physical or economic or political strength is constantly controlled by the vision of the ultimate ideal-ends of the national life, instead of helping, it perpetually hinders real peaceful progress, and, almost invariably, first de-humanises the strong nation and then destroys it.

Federal Inter-nationalism being the immediate end of the evolution, of all national units, the Nationalist ideal can never demand a deliberate breaking up of any relation into which any nation may have already entered either by consent or by conquest, or, as it has been the case with us, partly by consent and partly by conquest, in the course of its past history. All that the true Nationalist Ideal demands, in these cases, is the gradual evolution of all such existing relations towards the true federal type. Never seek to recklessly break away from the past : is the very first article of the Nationalist Creed. And the "past" here means the entire time series, from the prehistoric beginnings of the nation's life up to the very latest phase or stage of its historic evolution. For, the one abiding idea running through the entire course of this evolution is to continually increase the range and complexity of the life and culture of the nation by leading or even forcing it into fresh associations with other national units and racial cultures. Conflicts may sometimes, indeed, do very frequently, arise between the ideals and interests of the nation on the one side, and the narrow and particularistic instincts and interests of any other nation that may have entered into vital historic or politico-economic relations with it on the other. But however strange it may sound, by the universal testimony of history, the inner objective of these conflicts has never been to destroy, but, on the contrary, always to develop, human fellowship and social unity. In primitive culture, tribes who first met to fight one another for robbing one another's cattle or pasture or for adding to the number of their slaves, found it afterwards far more profitable to join their forces together for protection against other stronger tribes and to gradually assimilate their respective knowledge of the means both of production and defence, and thus to combine their primitive strength and culture with a view to form a larger and more powerful community. Races have done so in later stages of social and historic evolution, combining thereby to form nations. Thus the ultimate end even of temporary conflicts of national interests, however bitter these may seem to be at the time, is not necessarily to absolutely oppose or obstruct the growth of federal internationalism, but, on the contrary, by their very antithesis, to promote and perfect it.

For, though conflicts between the competing interests of one people and another, placed, by force of historic conditions, in close and vital political or politico-economic relations with each other, may, under certain circumstances, be quite natural, it should never be forgotten, especially by the leaders of public opinion among both these peoples, that compromise is always rational. It is, indeed, the universal master-key of every social or international complication. And the objective of

CONTEMPORARY LIFE and THOUGHT.

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THE DELHI OUTRAGE AND INDIAN NATIONALISM.

By the grace of God, a very healthy change has come, of late, over the sentiments of the people of India towards the present Indian Government. It is healthy, because it indicates a cessation of the clash and conflicts of the past few years, and, therefore, augurs well for the cause of peaceful progress in the country. Conflicts may sometimes call the dormant powers and possibilities of a people into activity, and thus, contribute to progress. These may, sometimes, be welcome as means for waking up a somnolent nation. They may sometimes find opportunities to a people to try their mettle and regain their lost self-confidence. All these may be admitted. But at the same time it cannot, on the other hand, be denied also, that there is a point beyond which all political conflicts work far more evil than good. The conflicts of the last few years of our history had clearly passed far beyond all these healthy, rational limits. They were demoralising both the parties, and distinctly dehumanising, at least, a section, however small, of our own people. And it is just for these reasons that I regard the change that has slowly come over public sentiments of late, as truly salutary.

THE ATTEMPT ON THE VICEROY'S LIFE AND THE PUBLIC FEELING.

And one could not, perhaps, find a more convincing proof of this salutary change than what has been provided by the universal outburst of indignation in the country at the attempt upon the Viceroy's life during His Excellency's state-entry into Delhi last month and of sympathy with his lordship in the prolonged sufferings that it has caused him. Those who move among the people know how absolutely sincere has been this demonstration. There has been nothing theatrical about it : no desire to save appearances : no mean motives of self-interest of any kind, whatsoever. These demonstrations have not been initiated, in all places, even by renowned leaders of our public life, nor engineered anywhere by the official classes. People have simply done here just as they were moved by their own feelings.

It is, no doubt, regrettable that the perpetrator or perpetrators of the outrage have not as yet been traced, so that the true character of both the criminals and their real motives might be known, not merely for purposes of due retribution—which, after all, are not so important, from

a moral point of view—but also for the adoption of adequate measures for the radical cure and prevention of these grave social evils. But even this fact, however regrettable it may be, can by no means take away from the intense reality of these demonstrations.

FOOLISH AND SINISTER SUGGESTIONS.

It is extremely foolish to say, as some very wise men seem to be actually doing, that if these demonstrations had any meaning there would be little or no difficulty in finding out the criminals. The sinister suggestion in such remarks is that these criminals are, (*i*) members of the Indian community, and (*ii*) they belong to the "set" to which those who have been publicly condemning the outrage themselves belong. The suspicion might, possibly, have some semblance of plausibility, however feeble, five years ago : but it is absolutely unreasonable under the altered state of things today. Indeed, there is a complete absence, in the present case, of any data upon which even the least shadow of such a suspicion might be reasonably entertained against any known individual or class.

THE POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES AS TO THE IDENTITY OF THE CRIMINAL OR CRIMINALS.

In the first place, there are two possible alternatives before us : first, that it is the act of an individual criminal, whatever be his motives, and second, that it is the work of a gang of conspirators. If it be the act of an individual, then, personal malice, whether due to a private or a public grievance, and more likely to a private than a public grievance, —must, be the motive. In the next place, if it be really an act of personal revenge, then the man who did it must have belonged to such a class holding such a position in society, that his action at the time, and his presence in the neighbourhood of the scene of the crime immediately after, it was committed, could never arouse the least suspicion concerning him, in the minds either of those who were about him or of the police who came soon after in search of the miscreant. If, therefore, it be the work of any individual, it is highly improbable that that individual could be an Indian.

If we consider the other alternative, and assume it that this outrage is the work of a gang of conspirators,—and this seems to be the more acceptable theory,—then we have, I think, two, and only two possible alternatives here also, so far as the probable motive of the crime is concerned : first that it is the common motive of a type of revolutionary

anarchism with which we are somewhat familiar in Europe, and which advocates the murder of high-placed officials for no other reason except that they are officials ; or second, that it has some reference to any of the public acts or policy of the present Viceroy in India, who, by such acts or policy, may have given offence to any section of the people over whom he rules.

THE THEORY OF MALIGNANT ANARCHISM.

Now I cannot say that it is utterly impossible, but I do think that it is highly improbable, that the latest outrage in India is the work of mad and malignant anarchists. Because, in the first place, it is very doubtful whether we have any people of this class at all in the country : and secondly, even if we have, they are not a class who, having committed an act like this, would keep themselves in hiding for long. It is, indeed, an almost settled policy with this class of criminal anarchists to seek publicity and what they call martyrdom, with a view to inflame the revolutionary passions of the people, partly by their personal daring and partly by the repressions which these outrages bring upon the community at large. And there is the other consideration also why these men could hardly escape discovery, even if they wanted to avoid it, namely, the utter lack of that peculiar habit of mind which enables conspirators in other countries to keep their own counsel and even to face the most ignominious death in preference to giving one's accomplices away. We have, so far, had no evidence of this habit among the people who have been tried and punished for acts of political violence in this country during the last four or five years. As regards the other alternative, namely that the motive of this outrage is to be found in the acts or policy of the present Viceroy, if this is accepted, then it becomes more difficult than ever to cast any reasonable suspicion for it upon any section of the Indian community, however generally unfriendly they may be against the British Government in India. For though this class, whatever their number or influence, may possibly be against the presence and position of the British Government in their country, they could possibly have no particular objection to anything that Lord Hardinge had so far done. And when one considers all these things, one finds absolutely no reason, nay not even the faintest semblance of a reason, to suspect any individual Indian or any gang of Indians more than any individual European or Anglo-Indian, or any gang of them, as being either the perpetrators of the foul deed or as having any complicity with it. If the Anglo-Indian gratuitously seeks to throw any suspicion in this connection upon the Indian, the Indian, too, for obvious

reasons, may equally suspect the Anglo-Indian also. But neither has, so far, any justification whatsoever for so doing.

But it is not only unfair but highly impolitic also, for any Anglo-Indian publicist or any accredited representative of the European mercantile community of Bengal in any case, to seek to throw these mischievous innuendos against their Indian fellow-subjects. For it is notorious that this mercantile community as a body and their representatives in the Calcutta press, with one honourable exception, have as violently opposed Lord Hardinge's public policy as the people of Bengal did that of Lords Curzon and Minto ; and some of them have given expression to their sentiments in language that would have surely sent us, had we indulged in them under the last Administration, to long-term imprisonment. In fact no Indian public body ever indulged in their representations to Government in such outrageous impertinence as the Anglo-Indian Defence Association did, in their memorial against the transfer of the Capital to Delhi.

WHAT THE SITUATION DEMANDS.

But we are not used to take every person, who uses strong or unguarded language in a heated controversy, as an incipient criminal capable of committing or planning murders, or even sympathising with an assassin who may try to remove any person or persons who are responsible for any public policy that may seem to them to be unjust or injurious. We do not say or suggest, therefore, that the Anglo-Indian opponents of Lord Hardinge's public policy, however bitter their opposition to it may be, could have any complicity with the outrage or can now feel any sympathy with the criminal or criminals, who evidently wanted to subvert that policy by striking at its author on the very day when it was being publicly and formally inaugurated. For we believe that what the situation in India demands just now, in the interests as much of the future of Indian Nationalism as of the British Empire, in view of recent developments in Asiatic and world-politics, is not mutual recriminations and reprisals between the different sections of the composite Indian community, but their combined and loyal co-operation with the Government along the broad and truly statesmanly lines indicated by Lord Hardinge's policy.

LORD HARDINGE'S POLICY.

In determining the real value of this policy, we have to bear three things in mind : (i) the presence of a general discontent in India both among the classes and the masses alike, with the present political

and administrative order in the country. Whatever may be the cause or causes of this discontent, and whoever may have created it, the fact that it is there, and growing, cannot be denied and would be suicidal folly to ignore. Nor would it serve any practical or useful purpose to seek just now to throw the entire responsibility for it upon our respective political opponents or rivals, and thus increase the growing bitterness of the situation by these mutual recriminations. What is necessary for practical guidance is a frank and unreserved recognition of this discontent and of the fearful possibilities of it, if it is not checked or cured betimes; (ii) the almost sudden and miraculous emergence of China in our eastern frontiers, into the arena of world-politics. We should also bear in mind this new fact in modern history and all the possibilities that it has opened up for the Yellow Races in the East, and all that it may possibly mean for India in the coming years; (iii) the birth and growth of Pan-Islamism and all that it may possibly mean in modern world-politics on the one side, and to the future of India on the other. These are all, not severally perhaps, but in their possible permutations and combinations, as much a menace to the future of Indian Nationalism as to that of the British connection with India, and indirectly to the British Empire itself. Lord Curzon in his usual flighty way did talk, no doubt, of the emergence of India into modern world-politics, but his lordship never grasped the new situation fully. The signs and portents of this situation had not also become loudly visible in Lord Curzon's time, and in spite of his exceptional gifts, Lord Curzon does not possess a sufficiently powerful historic imagination to see the future long before it becomes evident. Lord Hardinge seems to have this rare gift that goes so much to the making of the true statesman, and he is, therefore, shaping the policy of the British Administration in India along such lines as are reasonably calculated to minimise, if not to completely avert, the possible dangers of such complications in Indian history and evolution, as may arise in the near future. This is the meaning, as I understand it, of the remarkable Despatch of the Government of India of August 1911, on the redistribution of territories in Bengal and elsewhere and the consequent transfer of the Capital to Delhi.

If the Anglo-Indian publicists and politicians had fully realised what it is that has really led to the enunciation of this policy, and what it means for their own future as well as for the future of the British Empire, there would, I think, be a grateful acceptance of it by their community instead of the present unwise opposition against this far-seeing policy. And, if our own politicians had fully realised what the new

forces of the Chinese rejuvenescence and Pan-Islamic enthusiasm may mean to their own cherished ideals concerning self-government in India and how Lord Hardinge's policy has been laid out to provide against these possible dangers, there would have been, I am confident, far greater enthusiasm in its behalf than what has so far been evident either in our press or our platform. But there is undoubtedly some faint idea of the statesmanly and beneficent character of the policy and administration of the present Viceroy in the mind of the articulate Indian public. And it is this which has made the recent demonstrations against the dastardly attack upon him so intensely real and universal. And it is in view of all that Lord Hardinge's policy really means, that we think it not only ungenerous, but exceedingly impolitic also, for Anglo-Indian politicians or publicists to continue the old and mischievous game of irritating the people of the country by suspecting their sincerity or arrogantly claiming, through their chromatic kinship with the present administrators of India, special identification with the Government, and thus seeking to relegate those who are only their fellow-subjects to a position false of political inferiority. Indeed, this game must be put a stop to, if for nothing else at least, for fighting outrages of the kind which sought to mar the Delhi pageant of December last.

CO-OPERATION : ITS NEED AND CONDITIONS.

For it would be absolute folly to think that any campaign of revolutionary anarchism can be effectively put down except through the whole-hearted cooperation of the popular leaders with the representatives of the Government. And frankly speaking, one must admit, that this co-operation has been absent among us so far. Co-operation presupposes mutual consultation, and in proportion as this consultation is free and frank and respectful, in that proportion the co-operation also becomes useful and effective. Under the Minto regime, the Government while calling upon us to co-operate with them for fighting this evil, never cared to give us any decent opportunity for discussing the situation with them with absolute candour and freedom. They never took counsel with us in determining the origin and cause of this alien evil in our midst, but simply wanted us to do their own bidding in this matter, whether their prescription appealed to us as right and reasonable or not. But no people can co-operate with the representatives of their Government in the spirit and with the grace with which they may pay their taxes. A few may, out of regard for their own skin, make a show of such co-operation under compulsion, but the many will everywhere

be bound under such circumstances, to be more or less apathetic as much to the evil as to the remedy prescribed for it.

Like the Government during the Minto regime, the Anglo-Indian publicists also wanted us to carry out *their* prescription in this matter, absolutely regardless of our own diagnosis of the disease or our own ideas regarding the special recipe for its cure. And because we could not conscientiously do their bidding, they commenced to call us names. And the inevitable consequence of all this insensate insensibility was that the Government and the Anglo-Indian publicists were both left almost severely alone to do their own work in their own way. And though this attitude of indifference on the part of the real leaders of the people was, in a matter of such vital concern, as much harmful to themselves as it was to the Government, the real responsibility for it did not perhaps rest with them alone.

And though the attitude of the Government, thanks to the statesmanly foresight of Lord Hardinge, has visibly been changing in this, as in many other matters, it is very regrettable that the tone and temper of the Anglo-Indian politicians and the Anglo-Indian publicists continue to be still the same. And this is the saddest tragedy of the present situation in India.

THE PRESENT DUTY OF THE INDIAN NATIONALIST.

The time has, indeed, come, when those who call themselves Nationalists in this country, must, with a view to save the good that they have done in the past, and secure all the possibilities of still greater good that they may work in the future, combine and organise all their forces, frankly and openly, to fight this campaign of political assassination by whomsoever planned, executed or encouraged. While it cannot be reasonably denied that in the true philosophy of what its recognised exponents have always preached as Indian Nationalism, there never was any room for any form of criminal excesses with which we are familiar in the history of the movements of popular freedom in modern Europe, this must also be confessed, all the same, that some people, have, in the last few years, grievously misunderstood both its ideals and its methods and have been associated with certain undeniably revolutionary and criminal activities. But in times of great popular upheaval when any existing social or political order stands openly opposed to the normal expansion of freedom in the community, and is thus placed in the melting pot, above the fierce heat of some new idealism, some ardent spirits with more enthusiasm than insight, do everywhere get out of hand and commit themselves to courses of activities completely subversive of the

very ideals that first evoked their enthusiasm and enlisted their devoted service. This is exactly what happened in our case also ; and no one can feel more sorry for these criminal excesses or more sincerely condemn them, than the leaders of the movement which these have so seriously set back. Indeed, this has been the common fate of almost every great gospel that has been preached to mankind, from the beginnings of human history and human civilisation: Socrates, thus, became a "corrupter of youth" in ancient Greece : The Gospel of Jesus Christ is held responsible for the breakup of the old Pagan socio-political order in Europe : and Martin Luther's message of personal freedom in the determination of religious truth, gradually extending to the other departments of man's social life and relations, gave birth to the French Illumination of the eighteenth century, which is held so largely responsible for the inhumanities of the French Revolutionaries, who indulged in all these brutalities in the very name of humanity itself. In their own time all these men were "disturbers of peace and order ;" yet nothing was more opposed to the inner spirit of their teachings. In our own day, before our very eyes almost, we have had the example of Leo Tolstoy, who is universally recognised as a man of God and an apostle of peace, but whose teachings, notwithstanding all this, have called forth the revolutionary excesses of the Russian intellectuals as much as have been done by the cruel repressions of the Russian Autocracy itself. But for all that the world was not less grateful to Tolstoy, and even the Russian Autocracy dared not brand him as a criminal. And no more can any one justly condemn the teachings of Indian Nationalism or traduce the character of its leaders, for the excesses of a few of their followers, who either could not grasp their meaning or did not possess the patience and self-control, so necessary for the due realisation of all high ideals.

But the time has gone by when we could simply proclaim that we are not responsible for these criminal excesses, and then sit down quietly under the idea that all our duty in this matter was fully discharged. Under the last Administration it was hardly possible for us either morally or physically, to do more than this. In the first place there was then an inherent antagonism between the policy of the Government and the legitimate aspirations of Indian Nationalism, an antagonism that was not removed even by the Reforms of Lord Morley. And in the presence of this antagonism, all that the Indian Nationalists could do to combat these evils was necessarily of a purely negative character. In the next place, even if they wanted to do more, they had no opening for it. The only form of help that Lord

Minto and his advisers wanted from the people to fight this new evil in the country, was of the kind which spies and informers render to those who employ them. We could not educate public opinion : we could not argue misguided youth out of the wrong and mischievous notions regarding both the Nationalist ideal and the right methods through which it should be pursued. All this was denied us. The only thing possible then was to publicly condemn these outrages, a condemnation in the truth and sincerity of which neither the Government nor the people fully believed, because it was not supported by adequate reasons ; or to hunt out every political suspect, by spying upon our neighbours. And we could not honourably do the one, and saw no real good in doing the other. We had, therefore, really no choice under the last Administration except to sit with folded hands and mournfully watch the progress of events in the country.



Lord Hardinge.

By the grace of God, all this has been very materially changed to-day. Lord Hardinge has inaugurated a policy which, instead of being inherently antagonistic to every Nationalist ideal and aspiration, seems to point to the only way along which these ideals and aspirations stand a chance of being realised in the near future. This policy does not suggest, of course, the absolute severance, at any future time, of the British connection with India, but it does point, I think, to a way along which we may possibly arrive at a fair and reasonable settlement of the conflict between Indian Nationalist aspirations on the one side and British Imperial interests on the other. Lord Hardinge has practically accepted the Nationalist ideal of a federal union within British India, which will inevitably lead gradually to a wider federation between the present British Provinces on the one side, and the Native States on the other. And this internal federation in India itself will finally be joined, as an equal among equals, to the larger Federation that is slowly growing before our very eyes in the British Empire—between the United Kingdom and the British Colonies. With the vision of the true statesman, Lord Hardinge has seen the future, and has, therefore, so laid out the policy of the present that it may help to keep all the good of the present, and at the same time, provide against all the possible dangers of the future, or at least, in any case, minimise them as much as it can be. And his lordship's statesmanly instincts should be responded to by an equal measure of real statesmanship on our side also. Like him, we too should try and take stock of the future, and provide equally against the fearful possibilities that that future may have in store for us as well. And if we can command a similar statesmanly vision, we shall see that as the future of the present British Empire lies in the gradual evolution of India into a self-governing federation of autonomous provinces that may be gradually incorporated into the coming Federation of the British Empire upon equal terms, which is an absolute condition for the maintenance of the federal relation everywhere—so also any reasonable probability of our gaining any form of autonomy lies, in view of the Chinese menace on the one side and the Pan-Islamic menace on the other, not in the break up, but in the continuation of the British connection, gradually changed into the form clearly implied in the Despatch of Lord Hardinge. It is upon a careful consideration of all these, that I hold that the inherent antagonism between Indian Nationalism and the policy of the Government which existed during the administration of Lord Minto, does not exist with the policy of Lord Hardinge, and consequently his Government may have, as long as this policy is pursued, the whole-hearted sympathy and

support of every Nationalist in India. On the other hand, though there has not been an open reversal of the administrative measures of the Minto regime, yet we all do feel that a new and a wiser spirit has come over the Government since Lord Hardinge took up the reins of administration. All the repressive laws enacted by Lord Minto are there, no doubt. But no one having any experience of administration will hold that it is either easy or even wise for an administrator to openly upset everything that his predecessor in office may have done. It is impossible even in self-governing countries like Great Britain, for instance, to do so; how much more impossible must it be, then, in a country like India. Lord Hardinge has not attempted the impossible. But though the old laws are still there, has not there been a change in the spirit of the Administration? And this change has made it possible for us now to direct, shape, and control the course of public opinion in the country, and thus, to root out any revolutionary ideas that may be still lurking in the mind of any section of the community, and has given us, once more, the opportunities for educating our countrymen in the true and sane ideals of Nationalism, which were practically denied us by the Minto Government.

It is for these reasons that I hold that the time has come for the general body of Indian Nationalists to combine and organise their forces to combat all unhealthy revolutionary tendencies to whatsoever extent these may still exist in the country, and to lead the political aspirations of the people along the lines and towards the goal indicated in Lord Hardinge's Despatch. And I feel no hesitation in saying that it will be suicidal folly on our part, if for any reason whatsoever, we fail to utilise the present opportunity.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION.

Considering the class and character of the witnesses who are being invited to give evidence before the Public Services Commission, one may very reasonably fear that some of the most vital issues involved in this inquiry may not receive due attention. The inquiry before the Commission, though directly of an administrative and political character, has, non-the-less, a very vital reference to our social economy and inner life. High officers of State, owing to their very official

position and authority, everywhere exercise considerable social influence, and frequently guide social evolutions ; for the simple reason that common people always seek to imitate what those who are set in authority over them do. Nor is it much harmful either, under normal conditions, when these high officers of State come from the people, and are, therefore, organically bound up with the general life and ideals of their special culture and civilisation. But where these normal conditions of the life of the state are absent, and there is an inevitable conflict between the social ideals and habits of the ruling class on the one side and those of the ruled on the other, one of two things must happen, namely, that either the officials will remain practically outside the pale of the real life and thought of those whose public affairs they are called upon to administer, and owing to this isolation fail to fully serve the larger ends of their official life itself ; or their dominating official influence will act prejudicially upon the course of social evolution and progress in the country, contributing, thereby, to what can only be characterised as social atavism, creating a brood of hybrids in the community who will represent neither the virtues of their own social life and economy nor those of the community which they will seek to imitate. That this hybridism has already become a very serious menace to the purity and integrity of Indian life and culture, can scarcely be denied. The trends of all the reforms that are being suggested for increasing the chances of our people to enter the present Indian Civil Service, are clearly towards a further increase of this danger. Almost all the Indian witnesses before the Commission, while demanding the institution of simultaneous examinations in both India and England, for admission into the Indian Civil Service, have accepted the condition that those selected in this way in India shall pass a period of probation in England, the evident idea at the back of it being that without such a probation, the Indian members of the Service will not be the "social equals" of the English members of it. One of our ablest representatives, Mr. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, went, indeed, so far as to say that the Indian members of the Service should live in the same "social surroundings" as their European colleagues. What is here clear and explicit, in Mr. Sinha's evidence, lies implicit in the whole scheme of this simultaneous examinations, which has been a somewhat prominent plank in the platform of the Indian National Congress. And if any of the reforms demanded by our English-educated countrymen in regard to this matter stand any chance of being accepted by the Commission, and subsequently by the Government, I think, this one of

Simultaneous Civil Service Examinations clearly does so, hedged in by the conditions suggested by some of our own shrewd politicians. And the most vital question for the general public, who have no chance of sharing these enlarged opportunities to their own personal profit or to that of their sons and relatives, is, how will these affect their social economy and their inner life and ideals.

The English Civilian has little or no vital and powerful social influence over the Indian community. It is unfortunate, but inevitable under the present conditions. The real value, from the point of view of the Administration, of the larger employment of qualified members of the Indian community in the service of the Government lies just in the supposition that they will be more intimate with the people and thereby contribute to the efficiency and beneficence of the administration more than the European Civilian can ever be expected to do. If, however, the Indian Civilian must live in the same "social surroundings" as the English members of it, then it follows, as a matter of course, that he too, his colour notwithstanding, will be socially and morally as much of an alien among his own people, as any European member of his Service. All, or almost all of our Indian Civilians have been more or less so up to now. "And as long as the Indian Civil Service is maintained as a privileged body,—as a new order of official Brahmins, who stand in virtue of their caste, above the rest of the community, so long any number of Indians may be taken into this Service, but it will not touch even the outermost fringe of the problem of the Public Services in India.

And the first thing to do here is to have a little clear thinking on the subject. This problem owes its origin to two things: namely, (i) the claim of the present British Government that as long as the responsibility of governing India rests with the British people, so long the character of the Indian Administration must be British; and (ii) the demand of the articulate Indian public that as they are the people who are most vitally affected by the acts of the Government, qualified members of their own race and community should be more largely employed in the Public Services than is done at present. There is a general acceptance of both these positions by the representatives of either party. So far the way to some satisfactory compromise is clear. And all that is necessary now to work it up, is a clear grasp of what the real character of the two contending claims is.

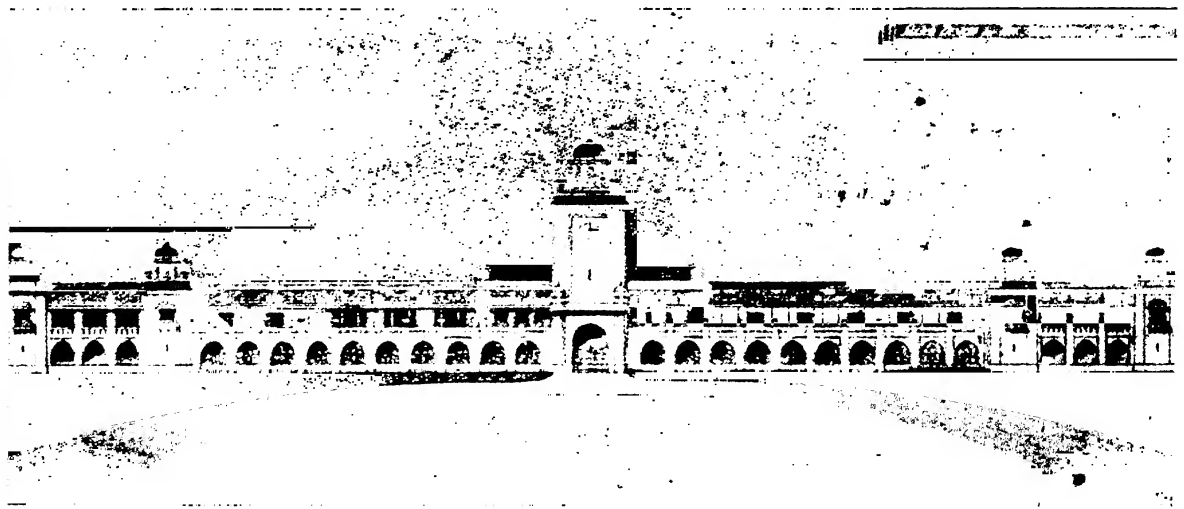
And even if it be agreed that under present conditions, the British character of the Indian Administration must be maintained, it does not necessarily follow that the Civil Service should be manned so largely as

now by Britishers. The character of a Government is not supplied by the Magistrates and Judges and Commissioners employed under it, but by those superior officers with whom rests the duty and the power of initiating and controlling the policy of the State. It is so in England, where the permanent officials and clerks stand on an altogether different plane, so to say, to that of the responsible Ministers, who alone determine and initiate policy, upon which the character of the Government depends. Magistrates, and Judges, and Commissioners, and others have simply to carry out the measures planned and introduced by their superiors. And the qualities necessary for an efficient discharge of their duties are intelligence and loyalty and sufficient education to be able to understand the meaning and enter into the spirit of what they have to carry out. These qualities being secured, it does not matter in the least, so far as the maintenance of the character of the Administration is concerned, whether the individual officers are white or brown or black, British or Indian or of any other nationality. And if this be so, the way to a real rational compromise would lie in the exclusion of all posts which carry with them the power and responsibility of initiating policy or directing the administration from the line of promotion of the members of the Civil Service, and to keep the right of making these appointments in the hands of the Crown, as is the case even now as regards Viceroy, Commanders-in-Chief, Judges of the High Courts, Governors of Provinces, etc. And if this is done, the Civil Service may well and safely be thrown open to competition by Indians and Britishers and all such Colonials whose own Governments will similarly throw open their own Civil Service to the qualified natives of India upon strictly equal terms. This is the only rational solution of the problem. All else, the proposal to reserve this proportion and that proportion for the British and this for the Indians and the like,—are mere petty devices, calculated more to confuse the real issues than to solve them.

THE REPORT OF THE DACCA UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE.

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This Report gives yet another proof of the healthy change that has come over the Indian Administration since Lord Hardinge came out as Viceroy. No official inquiry in recent years has been so sincerely anxious to give due consideration to the opinions and sentiments of the people as that of Mr. Nathan's Committee has evidently done ; and this notwithstanding all the suspicions that the nomination of its President had created in the public mind. It shows how the spirit of the head of an administration indirectly and unconsciously affects even the attitudes and actions of those who are under him. This Report has entirely removed, I should think, whatever apprehensions still lurked in the public mind regarding the constitution and methods of the proposed University. There is absolutely no room any longer to fear that the new University at Dacca will be a mere replica of the



Muhammadan College, Elevation.

Calcutta University and will thus, limit the authority or take away from the influence of that body, by placing the colleges in Eastern Bengal under the new University, and thus create a new partition of the Province upon an educational basis. The new University will have, in the first place, no affiliations outside the town of Dacca ; indeed, even the existing colleges at Dacca will be removed from their present sites and located in what gradually may develop into a new university-town near Ramna. In the next place, it will be open to students from

every part of the Bengal Presidency and the Province of Assam. It is the expressed wish of the Committee that

"In order that it may fulfil its mission as a pioneer teaching and residential University, it should accept freely and without preference students from all parts of the two provinces."

And to still further maintain the existing educational unity of the Province, the new University will have no Entrance Examination of its own, but will accept the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University as a sufficient test for admission to its colleges.

The College for Women



Women's College, Elevation.

Taken as a whole, therefore, the Report submitted by Mr. Nathan's Committee cannot fail to commend itself to educated public opinion in the country. There is, of course, room for criticism and re-consideration of details here and there, and we may well expect that the Government will pay due heed to these, before final action is taken. There is one important omission here regarding the recognition of the degrees of the Calcutta University, for purposes of post graduate research and study in the new University. I think some provision should be made for this, so that in course of time the highest post-graduate work in the Province may be concentrated in the Dacca University which from the very beginning will be far better equipped for it than the Calcutta University now is or is likely to be. In the next place, it was the earnest wish of a section at least of educated public opinion in the country that the new University should try to

utilize Indian scholarship and indigenous talent, as far as possible, in its work. While suggesting that 14, out of a total of 51 professorships, should be reserved for members of the Indian Educational Service, which means for Europeans only, the Committee do say that "any professors now in the country (whether European or Indian) who are found worthy of selection and are willing to come, should be first chosen."

But this concession in no way meets the wishes of those who would like to see the new University at Dacca form the nucleus of a truly National University in Bengal, especially manned and managed, under the general supervision of Government, by qualified Indian scholars. It is idle to say now that there are not men to whom this work can be safely entrusted. Those of us who have any acquaintance with university life in the United Kingdom, know that even there only a few men have exceptionally deep or broad scholarship. And when we think of men like Dr. Brajendranath Seal, or Dr. Jagadish Chandra Bose, or Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray, or some others among us, we cannot admit that it is impossible to largely man a teaching and residential university in Bengal with Bengali or Indian scholars. Of course European scholars may, indeed must, for the present, be appointed to some places in the new University, but one does not see why Dr. Seal and Dr. Bose and Dr. Ray, should not be given the fullest opportunity that the new University will provide, for shaping the culture and character of the new generation of their own people, and give a truly national tone and impetus to the teachings and ideals of the new institution? There is still time to reconsider this matter, and it is to be hoped that Lord Carmichael and his advisers will give their most serious consideration to it.

There is one recommendation of Mr. Nathan's Committee which will, and ought to, be opposed by the enlightened public opinion of these provinces. I refer to the proposal for a College for the "well-to-do classes." Let it not be supposed that our opposition to it comes from any desire to hamper the growth in education and intelligence of those for whom this special College is meant to be provided. Their larger participation in the growing intellectual life and activities of the country would be an undoubted gain both to themselves and to the community at large. All this is fully recognised and appreciated. But why we object to the incorporation of a class-college like the one proposed by Mr. Nathan's Committee with the new University, is for the utterly demoralising influence that will be bound to exert upon the general life of the University itself, and the gradual upsetting of all

our traditional, social and ethical values which it will bring about in even the life and ideals of the outside Indian and especially the Hindu community. One need not be a supporter of the existing system of caste in this country, I think, to oppose tooth and nail any attempt or tendency to supplant it by the spirit and institutions of



University Buildings and New College.

the European caste-system. They call it class there and not caste, I know ; and there is some difference between a hereditary caste system which must inevitably be very rigid and the comparatively fluid class system of Europe. All this I know and fully understand. Yet I do say that if I was forced to accept one or the other of these two systems, I would without the least little hesitation prefer our caste-system with all its evils to the European class system with its tendency to subordinate moral values to those of mere wealth. It is therefore that every Hindu with any perception of what the culture and civilisation of his race actually stand for, must be opposed to the premium that this College for the so-called well-to-do classes will be bound to put upon the meaner accidents of material possessions.

Mr. Nathan's Committee speak of similar provisions even in the democratic countries of Europe. But they here, firstly, beg the whole question by assuming that this so-called European Democracy is in

itself a very superior thing ; and secondly, they forget that at least in the older British Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, there is absolutely no special provision for the sons of the aristocracy. There are schools like Eton and Harrow, where the sons of the aristocracy are taught and trained : and if our new-born aristocrats desire to ape their British masters in this respect, no one has any right to prevent their doing it. Let them have special schools or colleges for their special benefit. Let even the Government help them with a grant for this purpose, if it be necessary. But to have a separate class of students in a University, who will be admitted into its life and training upon privileged terms and live there in a style above that of the general body of the students of the University, will be demoralising to all concerned. For these reasons, the incorporation of this College for the well-to-do classes with the new University should in no circumstance be allowed.



BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

CHARACTER SKETCH.

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BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

Whether one agrees with Surendra Nath's public policy or admires his personal character or not, there is one thing which every body who has any acquaintance with the history of the public life of this country of the last thirty years must, admit, namely, that of all Indian public men, he is the only person who may justly claim an all-India leadership. Some of his contemporaries may have a culture much wider than his, others may claim sounder judgment, greater farsight or much superior strength of character than what even the most ardent of Surendra Nath's admirers would venture to prefer for him; some have high professional standing and great wealth at the back of their influence in the political life of their country, others, though without these adventitious advantages, have a reputation for selfless devotion to the country's cause which Surendra Nath may not have acquired in so large a measure: but all these facts notwithstanding, he is, by far and above, the one man in all India, whom if the occasion came, a plebiscite of his English-educated countrymen would with an overwhelming majority acclaim as their trusted leader. Some are leaders of public opinion in their own province; others of their own class or community; a few have even a wider constituency, among that large and accommodating body of people who in every Indian Province are always ready to accept the profitable lead of any one who may have won for his public life the recognition of the Government and the official classes. But while the position of all these men in the public life of their country is provincial and sectional, that of Surendra Nath alone is, unquestionably, national. And it is only fitting that this should be so; because no other man in his generation or even before him, has contributed more to the birth and growth of our present national ideas and aspirations than what Surendra Nath has done.

And the main secret of this unique position that Surendra Nath has undoubtedly secured in the present public life of his country, is to be found, I think, in the peculiar genius and character of the Bengalee people on the one side, and in the special developments of the intellectual and social history of Bengal on the other,

Of all the peoples of India, the Bengalee has always been noted for his keen intellectualism and exuberent emotionalism. The mighty military genius of the Punjabee, the incisive practical sense of the Mahratta, the strong metaphysical bent of the Madrasee, and the keen logical acumen of the Bengalee combined with the most fervid emotionalism, stand side by side with one another in the composite character and culture of the Indian people. It has been so in the past ; it is 'so even to-day. We see it in the different shapes that the same modern spirit, the result of our contact and conflict with the West, has taken in the different Indian provinces. We have, thus, a spirit of active militancy in the propaganda of the Arya Samaj in which the Punjabee element is overwhelmingly preponderant, which is entirely absent from the allied movements of religious and social reform in the other Indian provinces. Similarly, we have in these same movements in the Mahratta country, neither the spirit of active militancy of the Punjab Arya Samaj nor the frank enthusiasm for the new ideas and ideals that have been characteristic of the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, but rather a quiet recognition of the inevitable and an attempt to keep, as much as possible, the old forms and institutions of the national life, without any fuss, while submitting to the inevitable charges. And this spirit of quiet accomodation and peaceful compromise is born of the strong practical sense of the shrewd Mahratta Brahmin. In Madras these movements have so far failed to make any perceptible progress, because, I think, of the simple fact that their representatives and missionaries have so far emphasised only their purely logical and ethical aspects, without making any serious attempt to discover and present any broad philosophy of life that may stand behind them. For the Madrasee mind will not accept, nor can be much enthusiastic over, anything that does not appeal to its hereditary love for abstruse metaphysical speculations. This is why Theosophy, with its metaphysical subtleties on the one side and the supernaturalism and mysticism that go with these everywhere, on the other, has had so far the largest and most enthusiastic following on the Madras side. In Bengal, the movements of modern thought, owing to the peculiar genius of the Bengalee people, have been marked by an uncompromising rationalism on the one hand and the superb idealism that goes with exuberent emotionalism, on the other. In both his religious and his social reform movements, the modern Bengalee has applied with relentless logic the root canons of what is known as modern rationalism in Europe. But he has done so, not in the spirit of the modern materialist, whose intellectual standards are almost exclusively sensuous, and whose ethical values always utilita-

rian, but in that of the idealist who sees beyond the senses, and yearns always for the unattainable.

Logic and law, grammar and rhetoric, ecstatic outbursts more than contemplative quietude, in religious life; and impulsive daring rather than calculated courage in affairs; these are the special characteristics of the Bengalee people. It is these that have worked for them the position they hold in the present-day life and thought of India.

And Surendra Nath is very largely indebted to these characteristics of his race for the unique position that he has made for himself in the public life of his country. He entered that life, while yet a young man, with neither wealth nor rank, nor,—as his detractors would perhaps say, with even a good name. A dismissed member of the Indian Civil Service, he had no credit with the Government and the Anglo-Indian community. The Indian press was, with the solitary exception of "THE HINDOO PATRIOT," without power, and the Indian people without any voice in public affairs. And even the influence of the HINDOO PATRIOT, the exceptional abilities of its Editor,—Babu Kristo Das Pal, notwithstanding, was due very largely, if not entirely, to its official associations. "THE AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA" was no doubt coming into prominence by its courageous criticism of official acts and policy, but "The Patriot" was the only Indian news paper that could help make public reputations for our men; and Surendra Nath, when he first commenced to educate public opinion in his country, received precious little help from that quarter. When, thus, upon his return from England after his unsuccessful appeal against the order of his dismissal from the Civil Service, Surendra Nath found himself almost stranded in Calcutta, without a decent competence behind and any reasonable expectations before, him, and was taken up by Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and provided with a chair in the Metropolitan College at a salary of Rs. 250 a month, no one could predict for him anything like the high position that, in a few short years, he carved for himself in the life and love of his English educated countrymen.

Surendra Nath's unique position in the political leadership of his people, is almost entirely due to his unrivalled powers of eloquence. Judged by some standards, his style of oratory would not, I am afraid, be considered of the highest type. It is very different, for instance, from the style of Edmund Burke, whose words carried his audience with him, not merely by their flow and cadence, but far more, perhaps, by the strength of the facts and arguments that were invariably woven into them. The secret of the great charm that Surendra Nath's oratory exercises over his hearers lies, however, first in his personal magnetism,

which is a universal endowment of all powerful leaders of men, and next, in his large wealth of words and imageries whose volume and cadence carry immense audiences before them, like a mighty torrent in high-flood.

In fact, it is not Surendra Nath's style only. It is the common style of what is called the Bengal School of Oratory. And this peculiar style has been so wonderfully developed in Bengal for the simple reason that it is best suited to the highly emotional temperament of this people, and for this very reason, it is most effective everywhere in religious preachings. Keshub Chunder Sen, regarded by even many cultured Englishmen who heard him speak, as the greatest English orator of his day, was the highest representative of this school. And, as a religious teacher, it suited his vocation most wonderfully. This so-called Bengal School of Oratory is, however, ill-suited to the requirements of the political platform ; and if, inspite of this fact, Surendra Nath's oratory has been able to achieve so much in our political life, it is partly due to the peculiar temperament of our people, and partly to the special work that Surendra Nath had been called upon to do.

Surendra Nath's style would not suit a sober and responsible deliberative assembly anywhere in modern civilisation. Nor have we had any such institution in our midst when Surendra Nath first entered politics. The work that lay before him was, in fact, not of the statesman or administrator, but of the trumpeteer. And a more powerful trumpet for the call of our new-born patriotism is almost impossible to think of. What was wanted then was not so much the power to think as the capacity to feel. The work before Surendra Nath was, thus, more akin to the religious than to the political. And it is, therefore, that his style of oratory became so effective at the time. Neither cold philosophy, nor far-seeing statesmanship, nor calculating political schemes could have brought back their normal sensitiveness to a palsied people, or wake up a comatose community. What the situation demanded was the inspiration of an enthralling ideal and the live currents of a lofty and divine enthusiasm. Surendra Nath found these for us ; and may well lay claim, therefore, to the distinction of the regenerator of his people.

But Surendra Nath could never have done the work that history will place to his credit, if the ground had not been prepared by the succession of great men who proceeded him. Chief among the makers of modern Bengal, and to some extent even of modern India,—is Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Ram Mohun is popularly regarded as a great religious and social reformer only. But although owing to the peculiar condition of his times, the public activities of the Raja were more manifest in theological

and religious controversies, than in anything else, his real message to his country and, indeed to the modern world, had reference to the entire field of man's social life. In fact, in these theological controversies he stands far below the plane which he actually occupied, and whence he viewed the world-problem of our time, with a breadth of outlook and a depth of insight, rare except among the very greatest of men. He combined in him the fervour of the prophet with the vision of the seer, and the practical sense of the man of affairs with the capacity for grasping the rational grounds of every act or institution, the heritage of the philosopher, the sagacity of the politician with the idealism of the poet. And he was able, therefore, to visualise the great and complex Indian problem almost in all its phases and departments, and thus to indicate the lines along which it should be approached for satisfactory solution. Others followed him in this work of reform and reconstruction. Harish Chunder Mookherjee and Kristo Dass Pal, Debendra Nath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Akshoy Kumar Dutt, Hem Chandra Banerjee and Bunkim Chunder Chatterjee, all worked in different departments of the corporate life of their people, and prepared, by their labours, the field to which Surendra Nath was called.

'In no other Province of India have we had, I think, such a long roll of illustrious public men during the latter half of the last century, as we had in Bengal.' And a new spirit of freedom, more or less strong, characterised the ideals and activities of all of them. Harish Chandra Mukherjee and Kristo Dass Pal, and after them, Sisir Kumar Ghose,—the first two through the "HINDOO PATRIOT," and the third through the "AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA,"—struck this note of freedom in journalism and politics. The "HINDOO PATRIOT" had always been very moderate in its tone and cautious in its pronouncements, as befitted, the recognised organ of the land-owning classes of the Province, whose private interests and public associations both equally demanded it. But the "PATRIKA" was not hampered by these considerations, and it commenced to give voice to the growing sense of irritation of the English-educated community of the Province caused by their conflicts with the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy, with an amount of freedom and vigour hitherto unknown in Indian public life. The "PATRIKA" came to special prominence under the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir George Campbell (1870-73), whose attempt to restrict higher education with the avowed object of diverting the public funds, thus set free, to the diffusion of primary education, aroused a good deal of opposition from the educated classes. And in their criticism of Sir George Camp-

bell's acts and policy, Babu Sisir Kumar Ghose and his brothers—for the "PATRIKA" has always been a journalistic joint-family,—adopted a tone of biting satire and undisguised abuse, which first shook people's nerves somewhat violently, and then, gradually, put a new courage and self-consciousness into them. Debendra Nath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen struck a new note of personal freedom in our religious and social life, which even the superior, but essentially synthetic, genius of Raja Ram Mohun Roy had not sought to do ; and the spirit of revolt and iconoclasm which these two reformers called into being in the community, soon permeated all the departments of our life and thought. No authority was too high or holy to be touched and tested by human reason : no institution, whether religious or social too sacred to be allowed to stand out of the melting pot of change and progress, reform and reconstruction. Scriptures and codes, sacraments and ceremonials, customs and institutions, priests and gurus, every one and everything that claimed the holy sanctions of the past, was called upon to present themselves before the Bar of Modern Reason, and either to stand its test or abdicate their authority. This spirit of revolt naturally possessed the soul of our new literature also, and found inspired expression, in prose and verse, through a brilliant group of men, headed by Bunkim Chunder Chatterjee. The "BANGADARSHANA" edited by Bunkim Chunder occupied in the history of the new illumination in Bengal, a position somewhat similar to what the *Encyclopaedia* held in the history of the French Illumination of the eighteenth century. It called into being a new school of literary and historical criticism, which though somewhat more conservative than the theological schools of Debendra Nath and Keshub Chunder, was not less rational, and which, because it was somewhat more sober, was not, for that reason, in any way less incisive or vigorous. While the Brahmo Samaj Schools applied with relentless vigour the imported canons of the European Illumination of the eighteenth century (modified somewhat partly by their theistic creed and ethical emphasis, and partly by the unconscious influence of the spiritual inheritances of their members), to the demolition of the popular faiths and current customs of the land ; the "BANGADARSHANA" applied its own canons to the examination of the claims to superiority of modern European over the old Hindu ideals, and, specially, of the presentations of Indian history and the interpretations of Indian culture and civilisation by European students and scholars. And all these various forces, intellectual, and moral, religious, and social, and political, educational, and literary, acting and reacting upon one another, gave birth to a new patriotism in the country, which burst

forth in song and verse and took complete possession of the educated youths of the nation.

This was the general situation in the country when Surendra Nath entered his public life. The new patriotism had not as yet found a powerful spokesman and leader. It was the beginning almost of what may be called the period of intellection of our new national life. And at this stage of national evolution poetry and the drama and even far more than these, public oratory, play a very vital part in helping the development of the new life. Surendra Nath with his unrivalled powers of eloquence came to us, thus, at the very time when our infant patriotism stood in most urgent need of a man like him. And his success was consequently assured from the very beginning of his public career.

Surendra Nath's earliest work was to impart a note of realism to the patriotic inspirations and ideals of his country-men by relating these to the achievements and actualities of their past and present history. Before Surendra Nath came to the political leadership of his educated countrymen, their patriotism was more or less of a mere airy fairy sentiment, which by its very exuberance tended to undermine its vitality and weaken its capacity to inspire practical activities. Surendra Nath saved our new patriotism from the inevitable fate of all voluptuous sentimentalism, by imparting to it the inspiration of the actual struggles and achievements of the past, on the one hand, and calling it to the practical work of the present on the other. His historical addresses, the materials for which he drew partly from Indian and partly from European histories, did the first, and the Students Association, which he started in co-operation with his friend Babu Ananda Mohan Bose, and the Indian Association subsequently organised with the latter as its Secretary, did the second part of this much-needed work.

• There were political organisations in Bengal even before Surendra Nath's time. But they were more or less class-and-sectional bodies. And the general public, and especially the educated middle classes, were yearning for some adequate and effective organ and organisation of their own to represent the aspirations and interests of the people. And they found it, under Surendra Nath's leadership, in the Indian Association. It was no doubt a Bengalee organisation, so far as its actual founders and workers were concerned; but as in its name so also in its outlook, the Indian Association was, particularly in its early years, unmistakably national. Neither the British Indian Association of Calcutta which is a much older organisation than the Indian Association, nor the Sarba Janik Sabha of Poona, nor even the Bombay Presidency Association which came into existence later, nor the Mahajana Sabha of Madras—

none of these had an all-India outlook. They never sought to cover by a network of branch and affiliated institutions, the whole continent, and thereby become a powerful organ of the political life of India as a whole. This conception of the political unity of India has been an original and persistent element of the patriotic ideals and activities of Bengal. It is due to many things,—the essentially idealistic temperament of the Bengalee people, the influence of the cosmopolitan sympathies of the Brahmo Samaj, the broader outlook of modern Bengalee literature etc,—but not the least among these have been the political ideals and aspirations of the teachings of Surendra Nath. Either from lack of local materials or from the inspiration of a broader ideal, for whatever reasons it may be, Surendra Nath from the very first tried to relate our patriotic sentiments to the past history and achievements of the other provinces of India. And as a result, these provincialities worked themselves into our ideals of the future, as organic parts of a larger whole, which would incorporate into itself the Punjab and the Maharashtra, Madras and Rajputana, as much as Guzerat and Bengal. The comparatively feebler emphasis of the institution of caste among us, also helped to maintain greater social solidarity, and by keeping us largely free from the conflicts and competitions of intercaste-life and relations, gave us a much fuller ideal of political and national unity than what the other Indian provinces had. And all these causes worked together to lend a supremely national meaning and significance to the teachings and activities of Surendra Nath, such as could not, at least in his early days, be claimed for those of any other Indian politician or public man.

In fact, there is every reason to think that if the Indian National Congress had not been started under much greater influential auspices than what Surendra Nath or his friends had then secured for their organisation, and if this new Institution, with all its glamour of wealth and rank, and its character as an all-India organisation, had not captivated the imagination of the educated classes, and diverted the course of our political evolution from the less ostentatious but decidedly more vital channels along which it was being quietly directed by the Indian Association,—our political activities and organisations would have been, I think, much stronger and of a far more constitutional character than they are today. Whatever else the Indian National Congress may or may not have done, of one thing there can possibly be no question whatever, namely, that it has practically killed the natural political life and activities of the people by draining away all the vitality from the local bodies that were being formed under the

guidance of the Indian Association, at least, all over Bengal and Northern India ; and not even the later attempt of the Congress-leaders to build up provincial and district bodies, has so far been or will ever, I am afraid, be—able to make up this loss. That which under the healthier influence of the Indian Association, was slowly growing from within the people, the Congress, following the lead of the usual official methods prevalent in this country, has been trying to impose from without.

Indeed, it should not be forgotten that the Indian Association had already started an all-India organisation itself, and a National Conference, to which delegates had been invited by Surendra Nath, from the different Districts of Northern India, was actually sitting in Calcutta, when the first Indian National Congress was being almost surreptitiously organised in Bombay. In fact, the Congress was not a people's body from the very start. It was hatched in secret by a few men of great wealth and high professional standing, headed by an ex-official of the Government of India. It had, thus, an aristocratic air about it from the very beginning. And it should be publicly placed on record, before those who know it pass away, that some at least of the most prominent members of the first National Congress which sat in Bombay, deliberately and of set purpose, kept Surendra Nath out of it. It was only when the Congress was proped to be held, next year, in Calcutta, and Mr. Hume saw the utter impossibility of having a successful session in Bengal if Surendra Nath was not taken into the new movement, that he was invited to join it. But though the Congress leaders dared not keep him out, and was subsequently ever ready to exploit Surendra Nath's powers and influence, in aid of their work, it is needless to conceal the fact that he never came to the actual leadership of this body, but, on the contrary, with the spirit of accomodation characterstic of the man, he has all along submitted to be led and exploited by his rivals, many of whom never cared even to conceal their want of regard for his personality or their want of appreciation of his worth.

Of course Surendra Nath, like other people, has his limitations. He is not a very cunning politician; had he been one, he would have played his cards better than he has done, and attained to much higher distinctions, as distinctions go in this country, in our present public life. By no means an unaccommodating person, Surendra Nath has never learnt the secret of converting a private surrender to a public victory. He is not a far-seeing statesman either,—he does not see all the possibilities of a situation long before they become manifest. He is not even an idealist, who can be oblivious of all practical consequences

in his quest for the ideal. He is not a hero, who can bravely face the direst personal losses, at the call of duty. He is not even a Nationalist in the true sense of the term : for he never learnt anything of his country, its ancient literature and special culture, neither as a youth when he went to school among Anglo-Indians and Eurasians, to the Doveton College, nor in later life, and thus, both by training and heredity, he has been like so many of his contemporaries far too much denationalised to make a true and ideal patriot. But it cannot be however denied that with all his limitations and weaknesses, Surendra has been the one man in our time in this country, who has brought a new life into our politics and who has contributed more than any one else among his contemporaries to make India what it is today. He has not given us many ideas, nor much thoughtful leading. But he has given that inspiration without which all else, however valuable in themselves, would be of no earthly use to us or any body else.

The one fact that stands out, therefore, above all things else in the life and work of Surendra Nath Banerjee is that he occupies a front place among that glorious band, headed by Raja Ram Mohun Roy, whom History will proclaim, to the future generations of this and other lands, as

The Regenerators of Modern India.

MYTHOLOGICAL HINDUISM.

SARASVATEE.

The word mythology is of European and Christian origin. Literally, it means the science of myths. And the word myth conveys the idea of untruth with it. A myth is that which has no existence in truth and reality. Educated Hindus have therefore sometimes resented the use of this term in relation to their religion. They do not consider their gods and goddesses as mere myths. I should have, therefore, very much liked to avoid the use of the word myself. But I know of no other word in the English language which, could without any offence, convey the same idea. Nor is it absolutely impossible that our very use of this word in the sense of what we may call in Sanskrit, *Devabada* (देववाद) may help to take away its present offensive odour, and elevate it, in the way that many* another word has been elevated in course of time in the English language.

The present offensive odour about the word mythology is due to the assumption that belief in, and worship of, gods and goddesses belong only and always to a very low state of intellectual development and social evolution. Where these are found even among comparatively advanced peoples, it is only an instance of what Tylor calls "survival," which means the preservation of primitive institutions among an advanced people, long after the original natural need which gave them birth had passed away. But I am afraid that neither of these theories can explain away all the difficulties of this case.

It is true that we have these gods and goddesses in what is called Primitive Culture. They are found, in one shape or another, in both the wildest parts of Central Africa and the Islands of the Fiji-Group, for instance. On the other hand, belief in gods and goddesses was common to the religions of ancient Greece and Rome. We have it among the Chinese, in connection with ancestor-worship. We have it among our own people here, in Hindusthan. But can we put the same meaning upon all these various forms in which belief in gods and goddesses is found among peoples occupying such different stages of culture as the Negro and the Fijian on the one side, and the ancient Greeks and Romans and the modern Chinese and Hindus, on the other? Europe has practically done this, however, so long : because Europe knows so little and understands so much less, of everything that stands outside the range of its own experience or vision. With larger knowledge and

greater insight, which Europe may be expected to gradually acquire, as real intellectual intercourse between the European and non-European cultures increases, Europe will be bound to reconsider, and possibly even to fundamentally alter its present views and verdicts about many things. And mythology will perhaps be one of these. We may then see an elevation of this word.

I have neither time nor space to enter into an elaborate consideration of the origin and growth of mythology, or *Devabada* (देववाद) as I should prefer to call it. It will perhaps be sufficient for my present purpose to say that what is called Hindu mythology or *Devabada* stands divided into two parts: there is one class of this *Devabada* (देववाद) in the Vedas, and another in the Puranas. And it is impossible to hold that the gods mentioned in the most ancient Suktas of the Rigveda have, even where their names have been retained, the same meaning as they have in the Puranas. It need scarcely be mentioned that, generally speaking, the religion of the Vedas represents a much earlier phase or stage of the evolution of Hinduism than the religion of the Puranas. Consequently, the Vedic gods cannot possibly mean the same thing as the Pauranic gods. If the course of religious evolution be conceived as divided into three clearly-defined stages, as some thinkers have done, then it seems to me that the first of these stages can be best described as the Perceptive Stage, the second as the Reflective Stage, and the third as the Imaginative Stage. In the first stage, man is dominated by his senses. His gods, at this stage, are more or less cognisable by the senses. Most of the Vedic gods are of this kind. In the second stage, the emphasis of his life is not on the seen but on the unseen. The God-idea in our Upanishads represents this reflective stage of religious evolution more fully than that of either Christianity or Islam. But the human mind can never rest for long in the conflicts and contradictions between the sensuous and the unseen which is characteristic of the reflective stage of religious evolution. It yearns for some sort of reconciliation and synthesis between these two necessary aspects of both the physical and the mental life. And by the exercise of what may best be called a cultivated Religious Imagination, man tries to overcome these conflicts and works up some sort of a reconciliation and synthesis. We find this stage of religious evolution wonderfully developed in our Puranas. Pauranic Hinduism is, therefore, all its popular misconceptions and misinterpretations notwithstanding, a much higher thing, and furnishes a much fuller vehicle for the religious life, than the Hinduism of the Upanishads. And because the mythology or *Devabada* (देववाद) of the Puranas deve-

loped after the Hindu mind had passed through the experiences and disciplines of the reflective religion of the Upanishads, it would be unreasonable to place the Pauranic gods and goddesses in the same category either as that of our own Vedic gods or as that of the gods and goddesses of what is called Primitive Culture.

Many, if not all, of our Pauranic gods and goddesses may, no doubt, be traced to the Vedas. But it would be difficult to deny that these gods and goddesses have attained a meaning and fullness in the Puranas, which we do not always find in them in the Vedas. Sarasvatee is a well-known Vedic deity. And it is impossible to deny that originally it was the name of a river. We have it thus in verse 12, in the third Sukta of the first Ashtaka, of the first chapter of Rigveda that Sarasvatee — “by overflowing has created immense volumes of water.” In Sukta 96, M. 7. A. 5th. Chapter, 6th. Sarasvatee is described as “the most powerful of rivers.” In the preceding Sukta, verse 1. Sarasvatee is glorified by the Vedic worshipper as what we should call in plain English, an invulnerable water-way. Sarasvatee is called here the purest among rivers, and is described as moving onwards from the mountain to the ocean. In the next verse, this same river is called Saravan, which is the masculine form of Sarasvatee, and is described as a benefactor of mankind, owing to his power to irrigate their land and cleanse their bodies. Like all the rest of the prominent gods and goddesses of Vedic Hinduism, Sarasvatee too is, thus, a natural object, something that could be seen and felt by the senses. But though well within the range of man's senses, Sarasvatee too, like the other Vedic deities has a clear and unmistakable suggestion of the unseen and the super-sensuous in her. Sarasvatee is, thus, not simply the carrier of large volumes of water, she is also the purveyor of wealth and knowledge. Sarasvatee is distinguished by her associations with sacrifices, and is the giver of wealth which is the fruit of sacrifices. Sarasvatee bestows food on the worshipper. Sarasvatee knows all lands, and gives large earthly possessions. Sarasvatee milks the milk, and churns butter. Nor is this all. Sarasvatee is the creator of true and pleasant words : the teacher of people with a good understanding : and the inspirer of all knowledge. These are the principal attributes of Sarasvatee, as we find them in the Rigveda.

Nor is it very difficult to understand how Sarasvatee, at first meant to signify what may be called an apotheosis of a mere river, came gradually to represent the Goddess of Learning. We find in the Vedas that Sarasvatee, even as a river, is spoken of as “distinguished by sacrifices joined with food.” And the meaning is clear here that the

istic of literature and the fine arts, which all draw their ideas and inspirations from this manifestation of Divine Wisdom or Logos. •

In the text with which offerings have to be made to Sarasvatee, we have—

ओं सरस्वत्यै नमो नित्यं भद्रकाल्यै नमो नमः
वेदवेदाङ्गवेदान्तविद्यास्थानेभ्य एव च स्वाहा ।

And this *mantra* also bears out the symbolic character of the goddess. Here Sarasvatee is described as the Source of the Vedas, the Vedangas, and the Vedanta-Vidya. Sarasvatee is here called also Bhadra-Kalee. As the “Source of Vedanta-Vidya” or what is generally called also Brahma-Vidya, Sarasvatee may be identified with the Uma Haimavatee of the *Talabakaropanishad*, where she appears before the bewildered gods and told them that the Worshipful Being who appeared before them, but whom they could not recognise, was Brahman. Uma stands there as the personification of Brahma Vidya. And Sarasvatee as Brahma-Vidya is here evidently called Bhadra Kalee because, Kalee and Uma are one.

The text of the prayer made to Sarasvatee also proves her symbolic character. It runs thus :—

ओं यथा न देवो भगवान् ब्रह्मा लोकपितामहः ।
त्वां परित्यज्य सन्तिष्ठेत् तथा भववरप्रदा ।
ओं वेदाः शास्त्राणि सर्वाणि नृत्यगीतादिकञ्च
न विहीनं त्वया देवि तथा मे सन्तु सिद्धयः ।

And the same idea is found in the final salutation as well.

ओं सरस्वति भद्राभागे विद्ये कमललोचने
विश्वरूपे विशालालि विद्यां देहि सरस्वति ।

And if one considers all these, one finds it impossible, however rationalistic and iconoclastic one may be, to dismiss the Hindu gods and goddesses as mere debasing idolatry. It is only when their meaning and purpose are both misunderstood or ignored that these religious ceremonies, which justly belong to the highest or the Imaginative Stage of religious evolution, may be relegated to the plane of the idolatrous ; and condemned, perhaps, justly, as an evil influence in our inner religious life. But even here we might as well bear this in mind that the divorce between the spirit and the form of religious service is quite possible and not uncommon even where people use no outer symbols in their worship.

A VISIT TO DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES.

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In my schoolboy days I remember having read of London as being the largest, the richest, and the most populous city in the world, but in those days I was never told that it was here that poverty could be seen in its grimmest and most terrible form.



Dr. Barnardo.

It is in London that we see the starving stalking, side by side with the rich and the well-fed. As one walks along the streets of the West-End of London, one cannot help noticing this fact. It is brought home to one with such a dreadful realism, that it makes even us — although familiarity has to a great extent hardened our nature to these scenes,—shudder and turn away our face from the sight of some poor atom of humanity, half-starved, half-naked, with pinched and careworn features and pleading eyes, holding out a thin grimy hand, while a little voice begs

for "just one penny to buy bread" from a richly dressed passer-by who bestows but a careless glance and a cross word upon the little waif. This is an everyday occurrence. But it is at night-time when these scenes become most heart-rending, for it is but a stone's throw from some of London's largest Mansions to the Embankment, where men and women, in rain, snow or sleet, when the piercing wind seems to penetrate even the warmest clothing, have to spend the night, sitting on the benches until told to move on by the policeman on his beat. One snowy night, curiosity took me to this home of London's homeless, and I could hardly restrain the tears that involuntarily dropped from my eyes. Is there anywhere a spectacle such as I saw that night, that has ever met the eyes of a student of human life! What more dreadfully miserable form of poverty could one dream of, than what I saw here? While I was gazing on those poverty-stricken people, with my heart full, I noticed a policeman make a sign to them, at which they all got up as in a common concert, and with tottering steps moved on—it seemed to me that their legs would not go, and they were in truth but dragging themselves. I thought it was inhuman to drive them like that, and I asked the policeman what made him trouble these wretched people, and how he could be so heartless as to have no pity for them. The policeman very politely replied, and evidently with great feeling, that unless he kept them moving on at intervals, these people, half-starved or almost so, as they were, would collapse,—unable to fight the bitter cold of the winter night,—would be frozen to death. Oh mockery! So these men must not die. They must live and suffer, much though they should like to put an end to this living death.

These poor wretches have no protection from the bitter weather but their own thin and scanty rags, and no shelter above their heads but the canopy of heaven. And as I turned my eyes from these sad sights, I was attracted by the brilliant windows of the Hotel Cecil and the Savoy Hotel which shed abroad their mellow light upon the darkness of the night. Then I heard sounds of laughter wafted to me on the night air and making my way in the direction of the sound, I found that a ball was in progress, and could see beautifully dressed women, their necks and arms gleaming with costly jewels, dancing with immaculately dressed men—with music and flowers in abundance. I could not help drawing a contrast in my mind between the two scenes, and wondered why these things are so. I sat down on a bench and thought over what I had seen. My imagination took me back to India, and, in my reverie, my mind searched through the length and breadth of the whole country—

places which I had visited and of which I had read; but, poor though India is, nowhere could I find a sight to compare with this. When leaving the Embankment, I happened to look at the mighty buildings of the National Liberal Club—and though the Liberals were in power—I could not help noting in my mind, how vainly do they boast of their forward policy for good government, and for the welfare of the people; for all their Liberalism and Radicalism could not wipe out this shameful blot from the history of London—or perhaps these poor men were not of the people. It suddenly flashed upon my mind—that “everything has two sides,” and as one side of England shows its wealth, so there must be another side, to show its terrible poverty as well.

But leaving the West-End, if we journey to the East-End, what do we see there? We do not find the terrible medley of the rich and the poor as in the West-End, because everyone is more or less poverty-stricken here, especially is this so in the region of White Chapel and Aldgate where people seem to herd together like cattle. Visit one of the tenement houses that abound here, and you will find a whole family, consisting of mother, father and very often four or five children, living in one small room, absolutely devoid of furniture, filthy and dirty. More often than not, whatever money the parents can get hold of, is spent in drink and the children are left to exist the best way they can.

It is for these hapless little children, the victims of a cruel fate, that a small band of noble minded men and women have sacrificed the best years of their lives, to rescue them from a life of sin and misery and to train them to become respectable and hardworking men and women. Amongst the various institutions that exist to-day in England for the benefit of the waifs and strays, one that admittedly ranks foremost is “Dr. Barnardo’s Homes.” They are indeed a living monument to Dr. Barnardo’s nobility of heart and self-less devotion to the cause of poor children. He was the founder of the “Homes” grouped under his name. But the work originated with him, and came to be his, by no pre-conceived or pre-arranged plan of his own. The initial idea of the founder’s devoted work for the poor may be traced to a little incident. “The world knows little of the messengers of God,” wrote the late Mr. W. T. Stead, sixteen years ago, in his character-sketch of Jim Jarvis, the little orphan boy, who was instrumental in the building up of the great institution which has attended to seventy-five thousand children since its establishment, and has spent over four and half million pounds. Jim Jarvis was a

messenger of Heaven, as it were. I daresay, it will be interesting to know who this Jim Jarvis was, and how he came to be connected with Dr. Barnardo. The story is simple enough. Dr. Barnardo was then a student of the London Hospital—which by the way, is situated in one of the poorest parts of London—and he used to spend his Sundays and some of his week-evenings in teaching a few “ragged urchins” the truths of Christianity in a rough and improvised school-room. There entered one chilly and bitter night in the school, a little boy, Jim Jarvis. He was shoeless, hatless, shirtless, and had only a few rags to cover his body from the piercing wind. Jim had no desire to learn the truth about Christianity, but he entered the room only to find shelter. After the break-up of the class, when the rest of the boys had left, Jim lingered, and Barnardo, about to lock up the room, told Jim that he must go. But he prayed to be allowed to stay for the night by the fire. To this Barnardo objected and asked him to go home, but Poor Jim pathetically answered “got no home, no father, no mother, no friends, and don’t live nowhere.” There was a ring of sincerity in the boy’s words, and Dr. Barnardo hesitated to conclude that Jim was lying, so he continued to talk to Jim and at the end of the interview he learnt that little Jim’s case was not an exceptional one, and there were many like him, without father, mother or friends, un-fed and uncared for, passing the wintry nights in the back alleys of the East-End. After giving little Jim some hot coffee and bread and butter to refresh himself, the same night Barnardo accompanied him to see with his own eyes the street waifs and strays who lived “nowhere,” and the following quotation from Dr. Barnardo’s “My first Arab or How I began My Life-work” will tell the readers what he found that eventful night.

“The pattering naked feet of alert little Jim led the way for me to a wilderness of old shades, tumble-down out-houses, and wreckage, lying near Houndsditch. But at first there appeared no sight of boys ‘sleeping out’. I struck matches and peeped under barrows and behind boxes and piles of odds and ends and peered into hidden nooks and shaded crannies and corners, but not a boy was to be seen. No sleeping child could be sighted, sheltered behind or under any poor screen anywhere. I began to doubt whether Jim could make good his word, when Jim said, ‘Stop a *minit* and come *arter* me.’ Quick as a ferret Jim was away up over and along a boundary wall. He had stuck his naked toes into its spaces between the worn brickwork and mounted the wall which supported the sheds by the side of an old and mouldy wharf. With the aid of a stick he helped me up, and there as the moon shone out, I saw right before me a woe-begone group of eleven

poor boys of ages varying from nine to eighteen, sleeping in all postures in the gutters of iron roofs, clad in their rags with not a shred more to cover, exposed under the open sky to all winds and weather—a spectacle enough to break any heart.”

That night Barnardo's eyes were opened. He had thought of going to China as a missionary, but after seeing those poor wretches, he gave up all ideas of leaving England and decided to devote his life for the poor waifs and strays of London. He had no friend, nor wealth, but he had a noble heart and faith in God. The same night he prayed and wept until morn dawned on him. It seems that God listened to his earnest prayers, for a few weeks later, one day he was surprised to receive a letter from the Earl of Shaftesbury, famed for his benevolent work for the enslaved and over-burdened child-toilers of England. The good Earl had read in the papers about Dr. Barnardo's experiences in the 'Slum-land' and asked him to dinner in order to get first-hand knowledge of the sufferings of the poor children of the East End. And later on, with the Earl of Shaftesbury's help and encouragement, Barnardo started his first home with accommodation for about twenty-five children. Gradually it has developed into a big institution with branches all over the United Kingdom, the up-keep of which costs nearly three hundred thousand pounds a year.

It was at a Christmas party given by the Rev. Canon Pelly of the Westham Vicarage that I first came to know some of the interesting facts about Dr. Barnardo's homes. An English friend who is greatly interested in the "Young Helpers' League" movement which was also started by Dr. Barnardo, and annually contributes nearly thirty thousand pounds to the Home funds, invited me to visit the head-quarters of Dr. Barnardo's benevolent institutions to see with my own eyes what they are doing for the 'Nobody's children'. Accompanied by him, one afternoon, I visited the 'Home' at Stepney Causeway, and was welcomed by one of the officials there. In the entrance-hall my eyes fell on a notice hung up there about how the Homes work, and I do not think it would be inappropriate to quote a few lines from it.

1. No destitute child is ever refused admission, irrespective of creed and nationality.
2. The homes do not admit a child who is not a destitute, unless in the case of a girl from evil and immoral surroundings.
3. Food and shelter are given freely at all our ever-open doors to any child-wanderer who applies.
4. Industrial and technical training is given to the inmates, whenever possible.

As a Home, Stepney has accommodation for three hundred and fifty lads, the average age of these being fourteen to sixteen or sometimes older. It has day-schools attended by those of school-going age and night schools for the older boys. In the day-schools there are four teachers and one hundred and fifty boys are on the books. The subjects are as in elementary schools, with religious instruction added to them. At the night-schools there are over three hundred pupils, where besides following ordinary school curriculum, instructions are given in business-training, shorthand and typing. Lessons in first-aid and ambulance work is very popular in the night-schools. I passed through the various school rooms, the drill-yard, the shops with their cheerful and busy classes, the Swimming Bath, the engine room, the dining-hall and kitchen, the boys' chapel and the four big dormitories. It is impossible to express in words how wonderfully things are done here.

One great feature of Dr. Barnardo's numerous Homes is the variety and extent of the industrial training which they supply. Dr. Barnardo always recognised that the training of the body and the mind must go together. Each child has to work for his livelihood in after-years and he tried to supply each with proper equipments for life's battle both by education and training in craftsmanship.

All Barnardo-boys of suitable age have the chance' and choice of a handicraft, and it is expected of every healthy boy to have a manual trade at his fingers' end, and each girl to be an expert little housewife, able to wash and cook and sew and manage a cottage.' Whenever the boys are over school-age, as is the case with most of the Stepney inmates, they are apprenticed to various trades, and technical classes are held for their benefit. The period of apprenticeship varies from three to five years according to the trade. The following is a list of the Stepney Trades : each of these has a shop to itself in which the craft is taught by an experienced master.

| | |
|----------------|---------------|
| Bakers | Mat-makers |
| Blacksmiths | Printers' |
| Boot-makers | Tailors |
| Brush-makers | Tinsmiths |
| Carpenters | Upholsters |
| Harness-makers | Wheelwrights. |

It would cover pages to give the exact impression the Homes created on my mind, and the various works that are done by this splendid institution cannot be described in one article. As I have already taken up much space, I intend to conclude my narration another day.

NIRANJAN PAL.

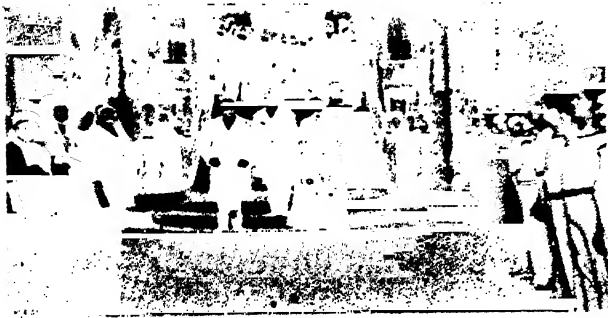
OUR LONDON LETTER.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF ENGLAND.

I.—The London Polytechnic.

Why does India lag behind the other progressive nations of the world in matters educational? I daresay the majority of my countrymen will put the blame on the shoulders of the Government of India;—but is it really so? I am not going to contest the truth of this allegation, but leave it to the judgment of the readers to decide for themselves if the fault lies with the Government of India alone. Almost in

every country it has been the people always, and not the Government, who have taken the first move in educational matters, such as the establishment of universities and the foundation of literary and scientific societies. In a series of articles I intend to show what the English people have done and are doing for their own education,



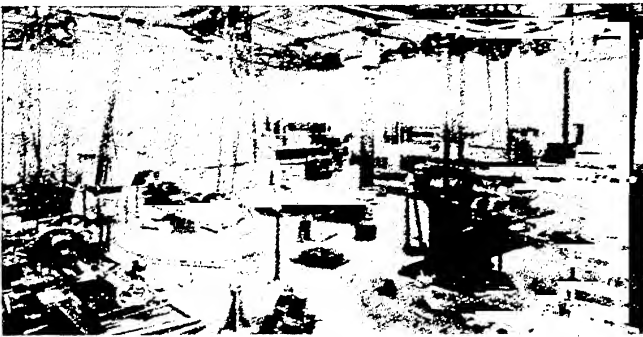
The King and Queen at the London Polytechnic.

without depending on the Government. State-aid necessarily implies a certain amount of State-control and, consequently, some curtailment of independence. And the British public do not wish that their educational activities should be controlled by the Government.

The other day I was present at a meeting of the London Inter-Collegiate Union to hear a well-known English educationist open a debate as to whether the English educational institutions and hospitals should be owned by the State. In spite of the fact that the Government of England manages the affairs of the State with the suffrage of the people, I was surprised to find the majority of the debaters express themselves against the principle of state-ownership. There are very few Government-aided educational institutions in England, and the hundreds of technical colleges and schools that exist in Great Britain, are the result of public efforts. Why is this not the case in India? Are we less charitably disposed than the English public?

The answer will certainly be an emphatic 'No.' Our failure lies not in want of charity but rather in our lack of organisation and united efforts.

The finest example of what a little sacrifice and organisation can do for the betterment of the educational system is to be found in the London Polytechnic. This institution was founded about thirty years ago by the late Quinton Hogg. Born amidst all the luxuries and opportunities that wealth could procure, he did not follow in the foot-

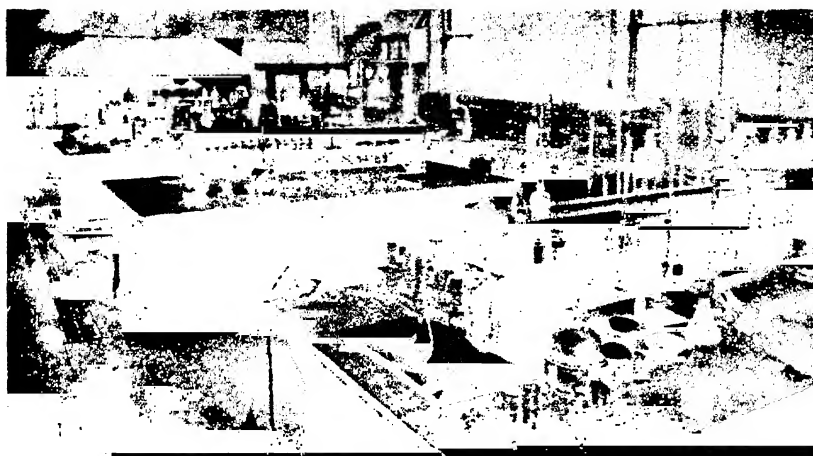


The Workshop.

steps of the average wealthy man and pour his money where it was scarcely needed. Instead, he decided to devote his riches for the education of those of his fellowmen who were less fortunate than himself, yet not less willing to benefit by the advantages that an educational institution could offer. He commenced with a small class of twenty youths which subsequently grew into a night-school and finally resulted into the present Polytechnic. The term Polytechnic is derived from two Greek words which signify either "many trades" or "many children." The either meaning fits very well to the aims and objects of this great institution. The Polytechnic has fully justified its title, for while many a trade is taught there, a good many thousands of children and youths, getting a sound training in the various trades, have gone out into the world to take their places as honoured and useful members of society. Its success has been phenomenal. Since 1882 upwards of 64,000 young men have joined as members and over 276,000 students have been enrolled. In 1882 there were but 8,000 students in evening classes in all London, and now there are annually upwards of 32,000 members and students in the Polytechnic alone with an average nightly attendance of 5,000 students during the winter months.

The Polytechnic was rebuilt in 1911 and equipped at a cost of little over seventeen lakhs of rupees. Of this amount more than nine lakhs was subscribed by the students and members of the Institute, the balance being raised by public donations. It is interesting to note that over nine lakhs was voluntarily subscribed by the students alone who are in no way wealthy and had to sacrifice not a little of their personal comforts to make up this huge sum, as they all come from the lower middle and the working classes.

The work of the Polytechnic is three-fold, *vis* 1. Educational, by evening classes numbering more than 600 each week, in over hundred different subjects, to train and fit young men and women for their life-work and make them more efficient in the trade or occupation they have adopted. The fees charged for these are so low as to prove an evidence of earnest desire for benefitting the students rather than a serious attempt to defray the cost incurred. The educational work



Technical Laboratory.

carried on in the Polytechnic is extremely varied in character, the following being the brief outline of its general activities :—

School of Engineering.

Day and evening departments for students, sixteen years of age and upwards. Courses of instructions are given in Mechanical, Electrical, Motor, Marine and Civil Engineering.

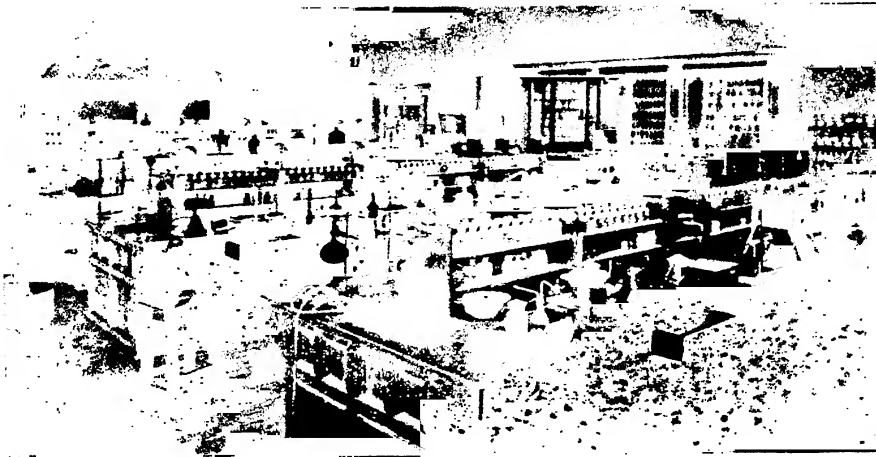
School of Architecture.

Is open to students of sixteen years of age and over. Courses in Architecture, Surveying, Building and Decorative trade are given.

School of Photography.

The day and evening school of photography is open to students who wish to learn photography for professional purposes. That this department is eminently successful in its methods of instruction is abundantly proved by the unsolicited testimony of nearly five thousand pupils, more than half of whom are professional workers. Nearly all the heads of the Photographic Schools throughout England, many of the leading professional and pictorial workers, many head-operators and managers, both with purely photo-engraving and photo-

graphic firms, were trained in the Polytechnic. Instructions are given in miniature painting, natural colour photography, photo-engraving, professional portraiture and hand-finishing of photographs. The evening courses are open to those who are engaged in the trade and wish to perfect their knowledge.



The Chemical Laboratory.

Commerce and Business Training.

Day and evening sections providing special organised courses for those wishing to enter business houses etc. are given. The courses of instruction comprise shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping, banking, auditing, etc.

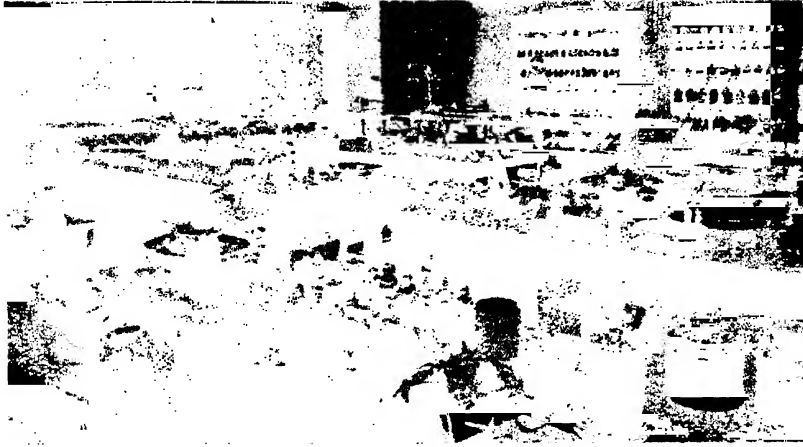
Day and Secondary Schools for Boys from Twelve Years of Age.

There are two sections (1) the technical section, being intended to provide a training for boys who wish ultimately to enter the Engineering and Building trades or other technical occupation. (2) The Commercial section provides a sound general education with a commercial basis in the upper form. In addition to the above sections, there are numerous evening courses and classes in such subjects as Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Natural Sciences and Languages. There are also day and evening classes in domestic economy subjects.

A comprehensive and attractive series of lectures is arranged each year on various subjects including Art, English literature, economics, commercial law, child-study, ambulance, citizenship, etc.

II. Its aim has been and is to provide a club and rendezvous for young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six where every reasonable facilities are offered for the formation of a steadfast character and true friendship. These clubs and societies are organised, managed

and financed by the members themselves. They achieve a double purpose. They afford opportunities for physical development and social



The Biological Laboratory.

intercourse to the members, and a training in executive management for the committee, officers, etc.

Spiritual.

III. By practical undenominational religious services to help in developing that which differentiates man from all other forms of life and makes him superior to them, and to recall the ideal which has inspired so many to live noble lives instead of dreaming them, and to encourage one another in the service of Him who bids us by love serve one another."

The advantages and opportunities of such an institution are indeed incomparable. The more I think of it, the more I wonder if we can not find a Quinton Hogg amongst so many of our "lords and chiefs" who have suddenly found themselves so rich as to be able to easily contribute £24,600,000 for building an Indian Navy !

I may mention here, that I shall be pleased to give any information required about this Institution, or the reader may apply direct to Robert Mitchell Esqr., Director of Education, the London Polytechnic, Regent Street, London, W.

INSURANCE AND CO-OPERATION.

A PLEA FOR A CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE UNION IN INDIA.

I.

At a time when every mind appears to be busy with schemes of Agricultural, Industrial and Economic reform, when every effort, alike of Government and of patriots, seems to be bent upon doing something to raise the material, moral and social status of the poorer classes, and the plaintive cry of the destitute, the suffering, the helpless, the homeless, and the foodless may be heard appealing for relief everywhere, no excuse should be needed for calling attention to a movement which, adopted and developed in the West, has proved more helpful than any other in furthering the objects aimed at, and which among us has thus far scarcely attracted sufficient notice, *viz.*—The Co-operative Movement.

In India, the agricultural crisis is severe. The pressure of population and of foreign competition renders it necessary to cultivate land as thoroughly as science and art can devise, and yet as cheaply as good business arrangement can secure. All sorts of panaceas have been proposed, but the only available one is that which is but partially tried, *viz.* Self-Help. The difficulty is, how is this remedy to be developed and applied? The cultivator is in need of capital, of experience, of initiative, of self-reliance; the more intelligent or richer proprietors stand afar off. Therefore, the true agricultural remedy must be found in the Co-operative Associations of various classes: one remedy, diverse applications, *viz.*, the supply of credit, the development of knowledge, the stimulation towards new departures, the *rapprochement* of classes, the education in wider ideas and in business-like habits.

France, Germany, Belgium and Italy have developed the system of Associations to such an extent that it has permeated in varying degrees the co-operative life of all the European countries. And to omit the study of these Associations would be to omit nearly the whole question of co-operative supply and sale, to miss the connecting link between the farmers and their organisation, and to neglect the guiding and co-ordinating force which moulds the separate co-operative entities, the credit banks and the productive societies. The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, the British Agricultural Organisation Society, the Danish Co-operative Union, the East Swiss Union are also doing important work in their respective countries. But none can equal the thorough organisation and influence of the French Syndicates. Practically the whole agricultural population of Japan is united in various forms of Associations; probably there is no country in the world, not even Germany, where Associations have taken such a hold, and, though of recent growth, are beginning to exert so much influence. But Germany is verily the model country for Co-operative Associations and in Germany the Associations have been the parent of every other form of co-operation. The study of the Associations here includes the study of the whole of the Agricultural Organisation.

The earliest forms of Associations in Germany are related to the 'supply' of agricultural materials. First came the Kontrolle or test-stations between 1850 and 1870 with their lesson that they were effective in proportion as they were utilized by organisations of purchasers. The German Agricultural Societies began to act as informal supply-agents for their members in different provinces. These societies were divided into sections managed by expert business-committees called *Kasinos*, which were very successful in spreading the habit of association among farmers and in pioneering the movement towards wholesale centralization; which latter resulted in the formation of a General Union. The General Union, the Provincial Wholesales and the General Agriculturists' Association (a non-co-operative body) all joined together in 1889 in fighting against a powerful Kartel, but without success. In 1897, another powerful Association called the Supply Union of German Agriculturists was formed. This was joined by every section of agricultural co-operation—Neuwied, Darmstadt, the Bavarian Union, the Farmers' League at Berlin together with the non-co-operative German Agriculturists' Association, and in 1898 one and a half million farmers of all grades were connected with it. Thus have German agriculturists been drawn together to form, over and above their own supreme General Unions, their supply Union which is a purely business machine, national in scope and registered at law as a Limited Company. When it was founded, the Union had only 278 affiliated societies; on 1st January 1911, the affiliated societies numbered 19,578, consisting of one Central Union (*Raiffeisen*), no less than 500 local and 21 central societies, 41 national and provincial unions, consisting of 58 central and 4,587 individual societies, and is at the present moment the largest co-operative organisation in the world. Of the 19,578 societies 12,614 are savings-and-loan banks, 2,081 supply-societies, 2,000 dairies and 2,883 societies of various classes. The remaining kinds of associations are off-shoots from the central stem of credit and supply, being later in appearance chronologically and smaller in number and importance.

The local agricultural societies in Germany are supplemented by agricultural unions, great and small, which have been a material factor in improving the general position. They are devoted to the collection, utilisation and propagation of agricultural knowledge and experience gained by theory and practice, and to the furtherance of the interests of agriculture in its commercial and economic aspects. The great measure of success which has hitherto crowned the efforts of the agricultural unions is principally due to their method of organisation, which seeks to unite all the different branches into large and powerful corporations with well-defined objects. Beginning with the small local unions, there follow branch, district, and country unions, all these being united together in the central and provincial agricultural corporations of the smaller States and Provinces. These are again united into the highest agricultural corporations of the larger States, which often possess a semi-official character, as for instance, in Prussia, the Land Economic Council; in Bavaria, the *Agricul-*

ural Council ; in Saxony, the Land Cultivation Council ; and so forth. The apex of the whole organisation and the highest expression of German agricultural life is embodied in the Imperial German Agricultural Council. In addition to these semi-official Agricultural Bodies there exist other special associations which have been formed for the purpose of furthering the interests of special branches of agriculture and agricultural industries. One of the bodies in question, the German Agricultural Association, has a membership of 15,000 and the 250 Associations in Bavaria have a membership of about 60,000.

The history of these Associations in different countries shows most clearly that in every one of them the co-operative movement is governed, not only by a tendency towards unification and expansion, but by federal and centralising tendencies also, and that it is only by Associations that agriculturists have attained a rapid and thorough progress ; and that a score of united men will go further in 5 years than a thousand isolated units in a generation. The Associations awaken and strengthen in the cultivators the desire to improve their cultivation and develop their land. They aim at much more than the improvement of agricultural methods : rather at obtaining a co-operative existence for groups of peasantry, as well as the development of their material, mental, and moral resources, through self-help and co-operative effort ; and they supply that co-ordinating influence furnished *ab extra* yet, exerted within the people themselves and their immediate neighbourhood, which alone will unite individual and isolated cells into an organism. Endowed with a truly democratic character, the Agricultural Association comes like a medium of economic emancipation to small cultivators whose forces it helps to increase by adding organisation similar to that of institution, for technical and practical training, as an element of harmony and concord among the different categories of the rural world.

The aims of the Union are both material and intellectual. The material side is represented by the Wholesale Societies, the intellectual side by the Central Unions. In some countries, like Denmark and Servia, the work of both is carried on by one organisation, the Wholesale Society and the Central Union working together under one committee and one roof. Such federations facilitate the co-operation of a large number of industries, their economic adjustment to national requirements and their democratic organisation in the interest of the masses. As the experience of the Danish and German Wholesale Societies proves, a number of agricultural and industrial enterprises can be successfully carried on by wholesale federations, and are capable of developing into productive workshops of the best type. In those countries where the agricultural societies have well developed, the economic federation of these societies, as represented by the national wholesale societies, has combined with intellectual federations in the form of Central Unions. On these Unions devolve the drawing up and diffusion of correct co-operative principles and teachings. They represent the interests of the affiliated societies in State legislation, administration and adjudication. Co-operative education, which aims at turning out the greatest

possible number of good co-operators, is also, in their hands ; and finally they have to take the necessary steps to oppose all attacks on the societies' and the members' interests embodied in them.

In fact, the progress of agricultural societies, their rapid spread and their healthy internal development at present depend to a very large extent on the activity of their Union. In short, it may be said without exaggeration that the Co-operative Movement does for the development of the co-operative life within the circle of the local societies, exactly what the State does for the life of the nation in its communities. Without it there is no security, no steady growth, no co-operative ideals, and no co-operative literature or press. It is the Union which brings order and system into the movement and raises it to the level of a national institution, that is to say, to one of general importance, educating and enlarging the minds of the co-operators to understand the great economic and social aims of the movement. Finally, the most important element for the advance of the agricultural co-operation, its mental calibre, would be wanting, were it not for the work of the Unions in training and preparing as large a number of experienced and enthusiastic co-operators as possible to carry on the propaganda. By establishing a co-operative press, through which knowledge of the movement obtained by experience can be collected and placed at the disposal of all interested in it, by the organisation of a systematic propaganda, by means of lectures and the circulation of pamphlets, by arranging congresses and festivals, by issuing year-books and collecting statistics, the Union stimulates the minds of hundreds and thousands of farmers, giving them educational facilities and firing the in-creative energy without which no movement can make rapid and thorough progress.

II INDIA.

In India such Associations are entirely wanting, and yet it is in India that they are most needed. The ignorance of the Indian peasant, his isolation from the outside world, and the consequent ignorance of modern methods, incredulity in regard to anything outside his own ancestral modes, whether of cultivation, business or finance, and his exploitation by trader, broker and usurer alike, require that he should be stimulated, strengthened and educated in modern methods and business practices calculated to reduce his expenses, to increase and improve his produce, and to give him a larger share of it.

That is the immediate object of these associations, while, as shown above, there flow from Associations, as they develop, incalculable other benefits, not merely economic, but intellectual and moral, as, for instance, development of self and mutual help, of thrift and providence, of foresight and calculated effort, of self-reliance and independence coupled with friendly union and mutual intercourse. But the great difficulty in these associations is not merely starting them but in sustaining their early life till, being based on proved usefulness, they form part of the customary organisation of the village. An association, if it is to be more than a mere debating society, or more than an artificial organisation with only a

stimulated and temporary life, must have certain well-defined and practical aims ; it must yield tangible benefits, or the ryot will have none of it. The mistake hitherto has been that a petty society imposed probably on a few farmers including the village *soukars* by the external enthusiasm of Honorary Organisers and other influential gentlemen, or by the influence of the Registrars or other Government Officials, has not justified its novel and unsought-for existence to its members by giving them some tangible result. The work done by the Government in pioneering the movement deserves recognition. The co-operative credit movement, has on the whole, shown a life and vigour which has never before been witnessed in any other country within a short space of 8 years, and the progress made is quite phenomenal, such as has nowhere else been previously known. The movement, however, has not advanced in other and more important spheres of agricultural and industrial co-operation and the credit movement may be said to have only touched the hem of the economic life of this great and populous country.

The object of the Government should be gradually to shift the work of the movement from its shoulders to those of the people themselves, recognising that it is not that which is done *for* the people but that which is done *by* the people that is truly beneficial and that real progress can come only from within. This, however, is impossible unless there are popular bodies to take up the work. Government can experiment and point the better way, but it is only the people themselves who can work out the several improvements. It is here that the Associations step in ; their experts and the more intelligent of the members receive and assimilate the new knowledge and not only work the knowledge into local fact but influence the more conservative or ignorant members into following their lead.

The object of the Co-operative Union that is proposed now is, therefore, to help Government in the furtherance of the objects of the movement by undertaking such functions as the people alone can perform through their associations most economically and usefully, and to prepare and train a class of men on whom this work can be safely shifted.

The functions of these Associations may be classified as follows :—

- (1) Agricultural Credit.
- (2) Agricultural Supply, including the purchase of seed, stock, machinery, implements and other agricultural requirements.
- (3) Agricultural Sale, including collection of produce from the members of the societies and the sale thereof in the best markets at the greatest profit.
- (4) Agricultural Production, including the promotion of rural industries and the raising of good and increased crops.
- (5) Agricultural and Industrial Education, including the study and development of agriculture and industries, establishment of reading-rooms, experimental fields, museums, &c.

- (6) Improvement of cattle, including the provision of stud cattle, and the employment of veterinary experts.
 - (7) Improvement of lands, including the carrying out of projects of irrigation, drainage, plantation or other agricultural developments, reclamation of waste-lands, building houses and roads, tramways etc, for the improvement of the estates and villages.
 - (8) Crop, Famine and Cattle Insurance, including insurance against drought, floods, hail, excessive rain, insect-pest &c., as against disease and death of cattle.
 - (9) Petty Industries, especially Weaving and Shoe-making.
 - (10) Arbitration, including all differences arising between members whether owing to domestic or public affairs.
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FINANCE AND BUSINESS.

CINEMATOGRAPHY AND ITS PROSPECTS.

—: (*):—

I wonder if the Indian public have an adequate idea of the possibilities of Cinematography, both as an educational medium and as a commercial venture. This new industry is still in its infancy, and its field is still unexplored. The future possibilities of Cinematography as a business concern have not yet been fully realised even in England, and the only country that has foreseen its commercial and educational value is America. In spite of their many faults,—their corrupt political organisations and trusts—it must be admitted that no other nation can beat the ‘Yankees’ in their splendid organising power and business enterprise. In five years’ time they have built up a vast business to deal with and trade in Cinematography and it may be safely asserted that at the present time they control the market. I was told the other day by a prominent English member of the trade that it was due to the enterprise of their cousins across the seas that England owes its thousands of Picture-Halls and scores of photo-play manufacturers that have brought happiness and sunshine in to so many homes. It has given employment to at least from a hundred thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand men and women, besides catering for the recreation and amusement of the poor workers who cannot afford to pay for the luxury of a seat in a theatre. Not only does it teach and amuse people but it has, in many instances, helped to keep them from drinking saloons and public houses.

Cinematograph halls have thus become a great success in Europe and America, both financially and morally. English and American capitalists are now diverting their attention to a different direction. All who have observed the

sudden growth of picture-palaces in England and America will certainly admit that if they could be once introduced in Oriental countries like India and China they would find a much wider field. I am told that, so far as they have been introduced into Bombay and Calcutta, Cinema Halls have been a great success financially, and that a new Syndicate is being formed in London for building and equipping Cinema Halls in all the large cities of India to provide for the amusement of the people. Our lack of enterprise is indeed a matter of great regret, for I do not know why our financiers should not combine to extend this educative form of refined amusement to India before it is too late. By doing so, not only will they get the full value for their investment, but in a way they will help the cause of mass-education also.

It is not so much a matter of money however, as the estimate given below will show. It is rather a question of enterprise and organisation. I say this because I have so little faith in the 'great financiers' of our country, and I believe there is hardly a single instance where they have not come too late into the field to make any successful attempt to prevent foreign capitalists from exploiting their country. A little money is required to start a Cinematograph business and much may be made out of it.

There are two different openings in this trade. (1) The building and managing Cinema Halls, and (2) Manufacturing photo-plays.

The initial cost of building and equipping a Cinema Hall in India with a sitting capacity of five hundred will be from £1000 to £1500 and a working capital of £500, making £1500 to £2000 in all. This will be sufficient to start the business. For the information of my readers I give below an estimate of probable receipts and expenditure. My calculations are based on personal knowledge and experience of English Theatres, and the estimated profits are no exaggeration.

(1)

Weekly Expenses.

| | £. | s. | d. | or | R. | a. | p. |
|--------------------------------|-----|------|----|----|------------|----|----|
| Operator | ... | 0 | 15 | 0 | 11 | 4 | 0 |
| Do. Asstt. | ... | 0 | 10 | 0 | 7 | 8 | 0 |
| Door-keeper | ... | 0 | 10 | 0 | 7 | 8 | 0 |
| 2 Attendants | ... | 0 | 10 | 0 | 7 | 8 | 0 |
| Cashier | ... | 0 | 15 | 0 | 11 | 4 | 0 |
| Manager | ... | 1 | 5 | 0 | 18 | 12 | 0 |
| Total in wages | ... | 4 | 5 | 0 | 63 | 12 | 0 |
| Ground Rent | } | . | | | . | | |
| Lighting | | | | | | | |
| Rates | | | | | | | |
| Taxes | | | | | | | |
| Repairs | | | | | | | |
| Other out-goings | | | | | | | |
| Film Hiring | ... | 15 | 0 | 0 | 225 | 0 | 0 |
| Grand Total of weekly expenses | ... | £ 22 | 15 | 0 | or Rs. 341 | 4 | 0 |

WEEKLY TAKINGS.

(CAPACITY OF THE HALL. 500).

| | | | | | £. | s. | d. | or | R. | a. | p. |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----|--|-------|----|----|----|-------|----|----|
| 250. | 2d. or 2 as. | Seats per night | ... | | 2 | 1 | 8 | | 31 | 4 | 0 |
| 100 | 4d. or 4 as. | " | ... | | 1 | 13 | 4 | | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 50 | 8d. or 8 as. | " | ... | | 1 | 13 | 4 | | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | <hr/> | | | | <hr/> | | |
| Average nightly takings | | | ... | | 5 | 8 | 4 | | 81 | 4 | 0 |
| " weekly takings | | | ... | | 37 | 18 | 4 | | 568 | 12 | 0 |
| " weekly expenses | | | ... | | 22 | 15 | 0 | | 341 | 4 | 0 |
| | | | | | <hr/> | | | | <hr/> | | |
| " profit | | | ... | | 15 | 3 | 4 | | 227 | 8 | 0 |

This shows that by investing a sum of £1500 to £2000, it is not difficult to make a profit of £15 or Rs. 225 a week, and I am sure it is enough to prove the prospects of such a business. Such profits and more are made by almost all the Cinema-Hall-owners in London and I make this statement being sure of what I am saying as I have had the opportunity of verifying its truth.

Now about the manufacture of films. This business is more profitable than the other and can be begun with only a capital of £1000 or Rs. 1,5000.

(2). To fit up and equip an up-to-date photo-play manufacturing studio including camera, developing accessories, printing frames, dark-room fittings, etc., will roughly cost about £300. This will be the initial expense. Then comes the question of filming and producing a photo-play. As a rule the photo-plays that are produced by English and American firms vary in length from 500 to 2000 ft. and the cost of production varies accordingly. But on an average the cost of producing and filming a photo-play rarely exceeds 1s per foot. Of course, the cost of production in India will be much less. Suppose an Indian firm produces Kalidas' Sakuntala as a one-reel (1000ft) photo-play, I do not think the cost will be more than £250 including everything, even if the main parts are acted by Star Indian artists; and to print ten copies of the same will cost about £86.6. If these eleven films are sold to some European or American film merchants, it will easily fetch £150 for each film, that is, £1,660 for the eleven films. Thus by investing £336.6, a profit of £1,323.14 can easily be made. But instead of selling the film outright to some firm it is always advisable to let them out on hire, and in this way more profit can be made.

There is a very good opening for Indian films. The cinema-patrons always want to see something new and exciting, and the Red Indian and Wild-West pictures that were once the rage have now diminished in popularity. The photo-play producers are now looking for new materials in India and the East and this is the time for enterprising capitalists in our country to take the business in hand.

Apart from all commercialism in the Cinema trade, one great thing can be achieved for the good of India, and that is to present her before the world as she really is—her culture and her people in their daily life. It will

certainly serve to change the idea many foreigners have that the Indians are a kind of semi-civilised people, worshipping idols, and have hideous manners. Speeches in the platform and writings in the press can never do what the cinema can in these directions, because everybody all over the world visits the picture-theatres and nothing can impress a man so much as a play can. "Nothing venture nothing gain" is but too true a saying, yet in this particular business much of a venture is not necessary. With little risk much may be done for the good of the investor, for the good of his people and his country. The Durbar pictures which are daily shown here at the Scala Theatre have not failed to make people say things that are indeed complimentary. Often, when present at the performance, have I heard remarks passed by ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls. "Are they not fine horsemen," "Isn't he a fine man," "How lovely India must be", "I would love to be out there". And if these people can see us in our home-life living peacefully and ungrudgingly content with what we have got, and that in no way are we half as bad as we are known to be, there will gradually grow a body of friendly critics in this country who, uncalled-for, out of their own convictions, will say a word for poor India, when necessary. You would be doing a great service to the country if you dwelt on this subject at length, to create an interest in it in the minds of those who may, if they will, take this in hand.

I shall be only too happy to answer any enquiries regarding this matter and to the best of my ability help those who intend to start the business. I have the opportunity, being myself concerned with one of the largest film-manufacturing firms here.

London.)
January 3rd, 1913.)

NIRANJAN PAI.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

I. INDIAN.

BANGADARSHANA.

(Bengalee Monthly.)

(PAUS—DECEMBER—JANUARY—1319. B. S.)

[Contents :—(i) Life and Teachings of Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu—a serial : Tarāk Chandra Ray. (ii) The Duties of Women : Yateendra Nath Gupta. (iii) Poison in Animals and Vegetables : Jagadananda Ray. (iv) Popular Education and Social Constitution : Bipin Chandra Pal. (v) The Story of the Stars : Kalinath Mukherjee. (vi) Scientific Cosmogony in the Vedas : Seetal Chandra Chakravartee. (vii) Avyasa-Yoga : Seetal Chandra Chakravartee. (viii) The History of the Indian Currency : Rajendralal Acharya. (ix) The Origin of Man : Shashadhar Ray. (x) The Meaning of Vedic Authority : Bipin Chandra Pal. (xi) The Physical Forms of the Emotions : Bipin Chandra Pal. (xii) The Nationalism of Brahma Bandhav Upadhyaya : Bipin Chandra Pal.]

POPULAR EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CONSTITUTION.

This is the last of a series of articles in which Babu Bipin Chandra Pal has been discussing the merits, or rather the demerits, of Mr. Gokhale's scheme of compulsory primary education for India. The fundamental principle in the social structure of India is co-operation as distinguished from that of industrial Europe, which is competition. The joint-family system represents the organic shape that this principle of co-operation has taken in India. This joint-family system supplies the most natural vehicle for co-operative labour, which is really the best and strongest bulwark of the economic life of the Indian poor. Compulsory primary education, introduced by legislation, directed and controlled by a Government, representing European ideas and ideals, will lead to inevitable social disruption, such as has happened among the English-educated classes all over India. One of the objects of the proposed scheme is evidently to enable the masses to take part in modern industrial movements. The result of it will be to secure so-called economic independence for individuals. And to the extent that they gain it, they will seek separation from their old joint-family. And if the joint-family is thus forcibly broken up, the masses of India will be reduced to the position of the proletariat in Europe. And the writer views this with unmixed dread.

BHARATEE.

(Bengalee Monthly.)

(PAUS—DECEMBER—JANUARY—1319. B. S.)

[Contents :—(i) Bapusta—Short Story : Abaneendra Nath Tagore (ii) Amusements of the Gilgits : Debendra Nath Mahinta. (iii) The Betrothed—Serial Story. (iv) Maria Grey Training College : Mrs Saralabala Mitra (v) Sreeharsha and his Ancestors :

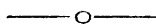
Probodh Chandra Maitreya. (vi) Sculptures of Ajunta : Asit Kumar Haldar. (vii) W. M. Thackeray : Debendra Nath Chakravartee. (viii) General Noguee : Bhupendra Nath Chakravartee. (ix) The Story of My Boyhood : Satyendra Nath Tagore. (x) The Bengalee Language Vs. "Babu Bengalee alias Pure Language : Pramatha Nath Chaudhuree. (xi) Personal Hygeine : Ray Chuneelal Bose Bahadur. (xii) Bimal Devi—A Short Historical Story. etc. etc.]

THE STORY OF MY BOYHOOD.

This story of the boyhood of Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore, late of the Bombay Civil Service, is being published in serial form in the *Bhārat* since some months past. The present number contains the eighth article of this interesting series. Mr. Tagore tells us here, in a homely and fascinating style, the story of his English visit and how he got into the Civil Service.

Young Satyendra Nath was then a student in the Presidency College, Calcutta. His revered father, Maharshi Debendra Nath, had just come back from his pilgrimage to the Himalayas, with deep experiences of the inner life, gathered through long months of quietude and communings with nature, and an inspiring message for his friends and disciples in the Samaj. Keshub Chunder had just joined Debendra Nath. And the revival in the Brahmo Samaj was fast drawing young Satyendra Nath to the work of the Brahmo Samaj. Just about then Manomohan Ghosh came to their house. And says Mr. Tagore, "it fell as a bomb from the heavens and broke and pulverised everything."

"We had a hereditary connection with Manomohan. His father, Ram Lochan Ghose, was a great friend of my grand-father, Dwarka Nath Tagore. Following the thread of that friendship, there grew up a friendship between Manomohan and myself also. An English tutor used to come to our house to give us lessons. He used to say of Manomohan that he had "an old head on young shoulders." Manomohan was much younger than me : about 17 years of age, I think, and yet he took up the editorial charge of "THE INDIAN MIRROR" without any trouble." Even at that early age the idea of competing for the Civil Service took hold of his imagination. And it was through his influence that young Satyendra went to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service.



THE EAST AND WEST.

(JANUARY, 1913.)

[(i). Indian Civil Service By Mr. H.C. Keene C. S. I, I. C. S. (ii). The Ideals of Empire By Mr. B. I. Wadia, Barrister-at-Law. (iii). The New Year (Verses) By Miss. Mary Forbes. (iv). Woman as Citizen By Mrs. K. Weller. (v). The True Vocation of Woman By Mr. K. C. Kanjilal, B. A. (vi). Some Social Shibboleths By Mrs. M. H. Drummond. (vii). Is Budha Legendary? By Mr. J. N. Sen. (viii). The Vast Mind Force in Nature By Prof. L. H. Mills. (ix). Tennyson's In Memoriam in the Light of Indian Thought By Mr. S. K. Ramaswamy Sastri B.A., B.L. (x). Uplift of the Women of the Far East : By the Rev. James Sadler. (xi). Rasili By Sirdar Jogendra Singh. (xii). The Shin Shoot By Lt. Col. D. C. Persad. (xiii). Current Events.]

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

In criticising—in the “East and West”—the gradual growth, workings and its consummation to be devoutly wished for—of the Indian Civil Service Mr. H. C. Keene begins by saying that almost during the whole of the last century the mission of England in India may be described as having been educational, not indeed in purely intellectual matters, in which respect the Hindus had a system of their own but in all things that constitute national strength where for ages they had been deficient.

The origin of the Service may be traced back as far as the middle of the Eighteenth century. When Clive defeated the Nawab of Bengal at Plassey, it was natural, if not necessary, that resolute measures should be taken to protect the Company's trade. * * *

As the jurisdiction of the Company extended, the position and profits of the members increased a certain missionary spirit, though carefully guarded against religious interference, began to animate the leading men amongst them.

After the suppression of the disturbances of 57-58 and the abolition of recruiting by patronage—the system of competitive examination, then substituted, has continued to the present day with the important proviso.....that the examination must be held in London. Many modern thinkers have condemned the system. Young Indians coming to England for purposes of study—a rule which may be thought somewhat inappropriate when the land to which the successful competitors are to be appointed is amply furnished with universities and a free press—do not always find quarters in respectable society and most often return to India possessed of political principles ill-suited to their digestions.

Moderate reformers will be likely to agree with those who, like Sir B. Fuller, think that these qualities (integrity, industry, knowledge of the country and public spirit) are not the monopoly of men educated in England, and declare that the London Examination should no longer be the sole access to high grade Indian employment, which should be open to deserving members of the higher and the local Bar.

It will be asked how the European element is to be maintained in Indian Administrations if the Civil Service is not to be recruited from youngmen educated in Europe. History shows that from Sir Thomas Munro to Sir Henry Lawrence military men have been among the very best administrators both Imperial and Provincial.

There seems no substantial reason why if High Courts were recruited from the local Bar, the ordinary Administration could not be provided for by the promotion of local officers. Special duties might be entrusted to special officers who have been trained in discipline from the time of their entering the Service.

THE MODERN REVIEW,

(CALCUTTA, JANUARY, 1913.)

[Contents :—(i) The World's Awakening :—W. Wellock. (ii) Madame Pogosky and Russian Peasant Industries :—P. A. Mairet. (iii) Optimism Prof. Har Dayal. (iv) The Caves of Badami :—Rev. A. R. Slater. (v) Aluminium Industry in India :—Prof. P. G. Shah. (vi) Hindu Girls' School at Conjeeveram : Mukunda Lal. (vii) The Condition of Indians in Fiji. (viii) The New Spirit in England : R. N. Aingar. (xi) The Social Aspect of Modern Education : Dr. S.C. Thakar. (x) The Strangling of Persia : Hilda M. Howsin. (xi) The Researches of Prof. P. C. Ray and his Pupils. (xii) The Fitness of Indians for Higher Employment : The late A. O. Hume. (xiii) The Acts of the Polish Nation and of Polish Pilgrims (xiv) With Rabindra in England : C. F. Andrews. (xv.) Calcutta University Chairs and Readerships :—N. Y. Z. (xv) Emigration to the British Colonies : Ram Narayan Sharma. (xvi) The Public Services Commission : Notices of Books, etc. etc].

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THE PROBLEM OF PEASANT INDUSTRIES.

Madame Pogosky is a Russian lady who has a shop in Bond Street, London, in the very heart of the most fashionable shopping quarter of aristocratic London, where she is selling the works of Russian peasants not so much as a business as the work and enthusiasm of her life. And she believes she has a message for India.

It was her genius to love the Russian peasant, misunderstood and despised by both the ruling classes and the intellectuals who are opposed to the Bureaucracy. They told her that the peasants were idle, thriftless, ignorant, and whatever crafts they may have once known were now forgotten, since machineries and factories had cheapened out of existence all handicrafts. But Madame Pogosky loved her people, and her love knew their genius and the great wealth of traditional wisdom that was in them. And now after 18 years of work she says, and proves by the wares exhibited for sale in her London shop, that "they are splendid workers", industrious, and experts in their own trades. Wherever there is a true peasant community, there is true handiwork and there is little true handiwork anywhere else. These Russian peasants are tillers of the soil, and they work at their crafts when agricultural work is slack or not possible, and they do so not with the shallow cleverness of an art-school teaching but with the inherited skill of generations and with their own natural love of good workmanship. They make everything for use and decorate it for beauty, and so their handiwork has the supreme quality of obedience to nature.

Madame Pogosky has seen specimens of the things that modern art-schools are producing in India. Speaking of a Missionary Exhibition in London, she says :—

It was pitiful to me to see women "exhibited" to the public, making torchon lace—a thing which is not even a paying craft and has nothing beautiful and nothing Indian about it."

Will India have a Madame Pogosky? India has a peasantry with greater inheritance of handicraft-skill than Russia, but even more misunderstood by its ruling classes and already nearly as badly invaded by industrialism. In India, as in Russia, "progressive people" are mostly under the delusion that the handicrafts and village industries are dead or nearly so, and they are inclined (I should say eager—Ed. H. R.) to welcome the scourge of commercialism altogether mistaking its true nature.

Yet, as Madame Pogosky says,—"India has but recently been the grandest handicraft country in the world. The heart cannot be demoralised as quickly as the lower brain—it beats still."

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THE HINDU UNIVERSITY : SOME REFLECTIONS.

Bhai Paramananda writing from San Francisco, U. S. A., under the above heading, says that we should not go to Government seeking help in this matter, but before fixing upon any plan should send out expert agents to foreign countries to study the whole question from various standpoints. And he thinks we should seek our main inspiration in this matter from America, where education has almost become the religion of the people. In America Government has nothing to do with higher education. Most of the Universities have been established by public-spirited individuals and are self-governing independent institutions. This is why the American Universities are producing such excellent results.

Our education is, on the contrary, floating on the surface of our society like oil on water. It has not affected the masses and has taken no root even among the educated classes themselves. And the radical defect of our system is that we receive all our knowledge through a borrowed medium. And no man's mind can grasp or absorb what he learns through a tongue not his own.

And the wisest thing for us to do would be to initiate the movement for a Hindu University, not in British India, but in the Hindu States. They have their own language and their own laws. The premier Hindu States of Udeypur could make an educational centre, at least for Rajputana. And why should not the Gaekwar, who has travelled both in Europe and America and knows something of the educational institutions of the West, establish a real University in Baroda, setting an example to the other States in this matter?

WITH RABINDRA IN ENGLAND.

Rabindra seemed to appreciate by instinct and to love at first sight the best English characteristics. He had come across the seas to understand the good in English life, and he saw it with open vision. As an immediate result of this there were few Englishmen who were not at once attracted by him. And as the Englishman who possesses this instinct of attraction for India is not less English on that account,—the best side of his English nature expand rather than con-

tract ; in the same way the Indian who learns to appreciate England does not become less Indian but rather the reverse. Ratindra in England was Indian to the heart's core :—says Mr. Andrews.

SAHITYA.

(*Bengalce Monthly.*)

(PAUS—DECEMBER—JANUARY—1319 B. S.)

[Contents:—(i) Archeology : Akshay Kumar Maitreya. (ii) Recollections of Bunkim Babu : Thakurdas Mukhopadhyaya. (iii) Notices of Ancient Arts and Crafts,—The Head-Dress : Giris Chandra Vedantateertha. (iv) Two Songs : Panch Cowri Bandopadhyaya. (v) The Indian Woman : Review of the Maharanee of Baroda's Book—Panch Cowri Bandopadhyaya. (vi) Jagadbijaya, the Father-in-law of King Samalavarma of Bengal : Nagendra Nath Basu. (vii) Arya : Rama Prasad Chandra. (viii) The Fair at Harihar Chattra : Nidhi Ram.]

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THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN INDIAN LIFE.

In an appreciative though frankly critical notice of Her Highness the Maharanee of Baroda's book on the above subject, Babu Panch Cowri Banerjee points out what he regards as a fundamental difference in the ideals and institutions of India and Europe, and regrets that the illustrious authoress somewhat overlooked this difference in her treatment of this important theme. There must be changes in our society. It is the universal condition of life and progress in this world. But these changes may take place unconsciously, under force of circumstances too strong to be controlled by us. Or we may consciously and deliberately help these necessary changes, suiting them to our special genius and culture. And in doing this, we must always bear it mind that India is not Europe.

Her Highness says:—"Far and wide throughout the world to-day a new energy is spreading amid the ranks of women of every class." But is the world ours? Has India any place in it? It is not a question of one or two or ten or a thousand fortunate men and women. What we have to consider is the possible extent and depth of the influence of this handful of men and women in a country peopled by three hundred millions of men and women. Talking of a synthesis between the East and the West, Her Highness has found herself in a fix. In doing so, her attention has been drawn to the real India; and she failed to keep up to the end the chain of her "European reasonings." Unless the ancient traditions and faiths, ideas and ideals of India that stand as high as the Himalayas, be first razed to the ground, it will be impossible to transplant Europe, bodily into India. The life of a dependent people cannot be reconstructed on the lines of another and a free people. The attempt, so far as it may be successful, will only destroy the special genius and character of that people. I believe Her Highness has no desire to see her country and culture reduced to a handful of dry dust. If this be true, then I must say that her book has failed of its purpose.

II. FOREIGN.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1913.

[(1) The Causes of Victory and the Spoils (Henry H. Nevins) (2) The Government of a Great City (W. H. Dickinson M. P.) (3) The Conqueror of Peel (Rt. Hon. George. W. E. Rund) (4) The Peril of America (Lady Frederick Casvendish) (5) Opium: A live question, (Theodore C. Taylor ; M.P.) (6) The White Slave Traffic Crusade (Lady Bunting) (7) Labour Ideals—The Better Way (W. R. Bonsfield, K. C.) (8) Divorce Law and its Reform (The Hon. H Gorell Barnes) (9) Meditation and Health (The Rev. the Hon. E. Lyttelton (10) The Abolition of Russian "Mir" (Boris Leledeft) (11) The Aesthetic Purpose of Byzantine Architecture (The Count De Soissons) (12) Sleep and Twin-sister Death (Dudley W. Buxton ,M.D.) (13) Foreign Affairs:—The Diplomatic Game of Chess; Kiamil Pasha and the Young Turks, the Islands ; Servia and Austria-Hungary. (E. I. Dillon) (14) Literary Supplement:—The Christmas manners. Reviews of Books.]

OPIUM: A LIVE QUESTION.

Mr. Theodore C. Taylor in his article "Opium" says that the citizens of Great Britain are mainly responsible for the opium evil, on a gigantic scale as it still exists. They control the Government, which controls the traffic. He quotes from Sir W. I. Collins, one of Great Britain's delegates at the International Opium Conference held at the Hague in December & January 1911-12, classing opium with morphine and cocaine, "that these drugs, whose use leads to repetition and last to habituation, when so used give rise to volitional palsy, moral degradation and crime", and says that—China is the country where the evils of opium smoking are most wide-spread. China has never lacked men of light and leading who endeavoured to extirpate the vice. The greatest stumbling block, however, in the way of China's heroic efforts at reform is our own action in compelling China to allow her citizens to buy opium wholesale from firms trading under the British flag.

The Japanese certainly are better informed as to the results of opium-smoking than are the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. Any man in Japan who smokes opium may be sent to goal for three years with hard labour.

But Japan is not alone in penalising opium selling or smoking. Australia, New Zealand, the United States, the Philippines, Canada—all have rigid penal laws forbidding the importation, sale or use of opium for smoking.

Why, then, should we not make it easy for China to rid herself of the curse? Is it because India has long derived a considerable revenue from opium production and a few wealthy merchants make a profit out of exporting it to China?

Indian cultivators have often grown opium poppy—when they would have preferred to grow something else. Poppy requires the best land, exhausts the soil, requires extra watering, and is expensive to grow. It is sometimes asked "what can India grow in the place of opium poppy?" My reply always is cotton. India has climate, soil, cheap labour—all well fitted for the purpose.

Though as a matter of right and wrong, this opium crime has long cried out to heaven for redress, it is not "merely a question of morals." The sleeping giant is at last awakening. Would it not then be well, even to our own interest, that we should at last be just to China?

Let us stop the production and stop the hateful compulsion upon a regenerate China struggling to be free. Nothing less is consistent with the thrice recorded condemnation of the traffic by the House of Commons as "morally indefensible". Nothing less can satisfy the conscience of the British public.

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THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

January, 1913.

[Contents:—(1) Imperial Fund: His Grace the Duke of Westminster (2) The Study of Empire: Sidney Low (3) The Peace Conference and the Balance of Power—I. Ellis Barker (4) An Englishman in Montenegro: Roy Trevor (5) The Windows: Maurice Hewlett (6) A Captive War-Correspondent: Angus Hamilton (6) Hints on Sketching from Nature: Sir Hubert Von Herkomer (8) Report of the Divorce Law Commission: E. S. P. Haynes (9) Alfred de Vigny on Genius and Woman: Prof. Maurice A. Girothwohl (10) British Policy in the Near East: Sydney Brooks (11) Masters of the Southern Slav: Henry Baerlein (12) The Childhood of Isabella II. Francis Gribble (13) Winter Travels: F. G. Aflato (14) St. John Hankim and his Comedy of Recognition: P. P. Howe (15) The Grand Prix de Littérature of 1912: Lady Theodora Davidson (16) The Joy of Youth—Chapters I-III. Eden Phillpotts.]

THE STUDY OF EMPIRE.

Writing about the need of making the "Imperial Studies" an essential element in the higher education of the people Mr. Sidney Low in his article "The Study of Empire," in the January number of the *Fortnightly Review*, remarks that:—

Imperialism is one of the political fashions of the moment. For amid all the transitions of this plastic age of ours none is more remarkable than that which is remodelling the structure and changing the organisation of the realm of Britain. The sudden and almost startling creation of an Imperial Union for maritime defence has transferred the subject from the sphere of vague theory to that of practical realities.

More important even than the Canadian vote of seven millions are the words with which the Dominion Prime Minister introduces it:—

"If Canada and the other Dominions of the Empire join in the defence of the Empire as a whole, shall it be that we, contributing to the defence of the whole Empire, shall have absolutely, as citizens of this country, no voice whatever in the Councils of the Empire? I do not think that such would be a tolerable condition."

These sentences are "epoch-making"—says Mr. Low. They strike the note of a new era, a new phase in the relations of the constituent States of the British

Empire to one another. They bring us into contact with another great problem of statesmanship, the problem of *Imperium et Libertas*, that of reconciling the national aspirations of the various communities under the British Crown. The time has gone by for regarding the "Colonies" with coldness or contempt.

Our mood is different. We are all enthusiasts for Empire now. But our enthusiasm is not always much better informed than the former indifference.

We should have some dignified academic machinery for imparting instruction and encouraging research in a systematic and scholarly manner, upon the origins, the development, the ethnology, the history, the economics, the institutions, and the sociology of nations and peoples of the English-speaking and the English-governed world.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

January 1913.

[(i) Episode of the month. (ii) The United States and Anglo-German Rivalry (Washington). (iii) The Present Aspect of National Defence (Earl Percy). (iv) The Crusader. (v) Admémoriam (Moreton Frewen). (vi) Politics in the London County Council (Sehag Montefiore). (vii) Psalanazur (H. C. Biron). (viii) Experience at a German Sanatorium (Maud London). (ix) American Affairs (Maurice Low). (x) The Blackman's Land (Sir Wm. Nevill Geary). (xi) The Future of Japan (E. Bruce Mitford). (xii) The Mid Scotland Ship Canal (Rob. Bird). (xiii, Post Office Diplomacy (W. R. Lawson). (xiv) Greater Britain : Canada.]

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN.

'The old order changeth' quotes Mr. E. Bruce Mitford as the key-note of his article, "The Future of Japan," in the January *National* and goes on to say that —of the changes which distinguished the bygone era—Japan may be said to have put on likely as many garments and were she so minded, she could, with no difficulty, divest herself of them. But the revolution now afoot in the Island Empire differs in kind from all that have gone before. It is one of thought and outlook and character. Loyalty to the throne, with its supernatural or deistic side and the practice of ancestor-worship clearly allied therewith, have always ranked high among the motives of the Japanese polity. To these (and the like) may justly be attributed such achievements of the Japanese people as have called for self-sacrificing patriotism, courage in the field and a disregard of death approaching the sublime. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the intercourse with the West, the consequent growth of democratic idea and the framing of legal codes on the basis of the individual rather than on that of the family are weakening these fundamental principles of Japanese life.....Despite heroic measures of repression—socialist cancer spreads. *Pari passu* with this loss of reverential regard for the sovereign, there has to be recorded a perceptible diminution of the religious sense. That this grave change has been recognised by the most paternal of Governments as a change for the worse, is

shown by the official attempt, within the past twelve months, to establish a new, composite, and generally acceptable, religion.

In general it may be said that Japan having reproduced in an Oriental environment the material part of the civilisation of the West, is now applying herself with characteristic thoroughness to the assimilation of its social and ethical side. In the dominion of politics, the new era, for some years to come at least, promises to be distinguished by a feature quite foreign to the old..... Japan has pursued the path of expansion. In view of these circumstances, the almost invariable optimism of Japanese writers and publicists has, of late, given place to a somewhat chastened mood in dealing with the outlook for the future. It is asked whether Japan did not reach her zenith in 1905; and the older statesmen are blamed for keeping things too much in their hands and failing to prepare the people for the time, when they would be sheep without a shepherd. With regard to the relation between Japan and Great Britain there are reasons for believing that the next few years will be marked, not indeed by conflicting aims, but by a diminution of common interests, arising out of the changed conditions in Eastern Asia. The opening of the Panama Canal can scarcely fail to have the effect of imparting a certain intensity to the relation between Japan and the United States.

The future of Japan is for good or evil bound up with that of China. In matters of policy, of late years Japanese statesmen have been wisely listening to "the call of blood". By skill and moderation in diplomatic debate, they have reduced, to a vanishing point, the difference between the two countries. The Chinese recognise that in resisting the invasion of Russia, Japan was fighting their battle as well as her own. The Japanese, as a whole, official and unofficial, would have preferred—and still prefer—anything to that last of all calamities—the partition of China among the Powers of the West. The real revolution that has taken place in China is the recognition of the fundamental value of material strength. The nation in whose eyes the profession of the soldier ever ranked the lowest, has learned that for her own security she must call her sons to arms. In a sense, Japan needs China more than China needs Japan. China's immensity, her vast reserves of man-power, will render her valuable as an ally, formidable as a foe. While China's immediate needs are military rather than commercial, Japan's are commercial rather than military..... No doubt the suggestion of an offensive and defensive Alliance between the Chinese and Japanese Empires as one of the probabilities of the near future, will suffice to conjure up in many minds that still uninterred bogey "the yellow peril."

Of this, however, the world may rest assured that if the "yellow peril" ever materialises in the shape or anything like the shape its exponents assign to it, the responsibility for the ensuing cataclysm must be laid at the door of the West, and of the representatives of its civilisation in the East. Aggressiveness—the chief attribute of the West in her dealings with the East—is utterly foreign to the Chinese character; prudence is the key-note of the Japanese. Union, one might

almost say, the fusion, of the two races is inevitable. But only a keen and unquenchable sense of resentment—the memory either of material wrongs inflicted, or of accumulated insults endured—can ever arm the East against the West or precipitate a war of the Hemispheres.

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

JANUARY 1913.

[(i) The Collapse of the Special Infantry Reserve (His Grace the Duke of Bedford K. G.) : (ii) Personal Observations during the Balkan War : (1) Bulgaria and Servia in War : the Revelation of Nationality (Howard Whitehose, M. P.). (2) Press Censors and War Correspondents : Some Experiences in Turkey (E. N. Bennet) : (iii) Peace (G. F. Abbott) : (iv) The Great Drain of Gold to India (Moreton Frewen) : (v) Style in English Literature (R. V. Tyrrell, Litt. D.) : (vi) The Gospel according to Prisca (M. A. R. Tucker) : (vii) Heirlooms of Empire : A plea for Animals in India (The Hon. Mrs. Charlton) : (viii) The Portraiture of George Treder Wicats (M. H. Spieman) : (ix) Disraeli ; the Second Phase (Walter Sichel) : (x) The Hope of Small Farm Holding under a New System (T. Jamieson) : (xi) Mystical Experiments on the Frontiers of Early Christendom (G. R. S. Mead) : (xii) Some Thoughts about the Novel (Mrs. Frederic Harrison) : (xiii) The Future of Ireland : (1) Settlement by Consent (The Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, K. P.) ; (2) The Home Rule Bill Reconsidered (G. H. Morgan) ; (3) Industrial Aspect of Home Rule (Maurice Woods).]

HEIRLOOMS OF EMPIRE.

Lady Charlton with a truly womanly heart takes up the plea for the animals of India in her article, "Heirlooms of Empire", in the Jan'y. Number of the *Nineteenth Century*, and urges a crusade against the cruel treatment of animals in India. She says, "Even statesmen and politicians of all nationalities may well recognise that the shafts of cynical criticism can no longer be hurled at human efforts on behalf of the animals, for this work has quietly, with dignity, and in its own appointed place, become one of the most important levers for the betterment of society.....No one who has gained an insight into animal life in India can fail to have observed that various "Prevention of Cruelty to Animal Acts" are more honoured in the breach than in the observance. It must not be forgotten that in these great commercial centres, Calcutta for instance, a vested interest, unfortunately exists in the perpetuations of cruelty, and in such localities we are on the deadly slopes of self-interest." Then she complains of the coldness of the different commercial associations in helping to remove these atrocious sights as enacted by the cart-drivers in the streets of Calcutta and remarks that "Magistrates seem curiously disinclined to inflict adequate penalties in the case of cruelty to animals." Appealing to the national conscience of the British race, she concludes, "Such deeds of darkness should awake the national conscience and should make us face the situation frankly and realise that no half-measures are possible, for this betrayal of justice is too barefaced to brook

delay or palliation. The method under which such wrongs can happen requires bringing into the light of day and should be rigidly and impartially scrutinised."

THE GREAT DRAIN OF GOLD TO INDIA.

'Of all human machinery,' said Molowski, 'Money' is that which costs the least when we consider the service it performs'. After quoting the above, Mr. Moreton Frewen says, "Having won this gold at an inconceivable cost, we are today shovelling it under the hearth-stones and into the hiding places of three hundred millions of our fellow subjects in India." Gold is the very bed-rock of modern international finance. "On every side we hear it repeated as though an axiom needing no proof that if prices go up it is because there is more gold." Apparently the supplies of the new gold are not now keeping pace with the expansion of the world's foreign commerce. Bankers misled by the large arrivals of new gold and attracted by the profit of lending at high rates, are lending freely ; and it is the unexampled emission of credit money which must be held responsible for the advance of all prices. The persistence of the Government of India in forcing forward their gold standard Bimetallism has become a menace to all Christendom. India's favourable balance of trade (the excess of her exports over her imports) was, for 1911, 52 millions sterling: truly a portentous figure. It gave her an available balance, after deducting 17 millions for Home Charges, of 35 millions. Instead of drawing this in silver, thanks to her new bastard Bimetallism, she has drawn in gold. At present the total production of gold is nearly 100 millions of which one quarter is consumed in arts and manufactures. Thus, of the 75 millions remaining, nearly one half is being flung upon India. In its larger aspect, the Silver Question is the question of the exchanges with all Asia. "The small savings of the Asiatics from times prehistoric are in silver. Thus, the lower the price of silver, the higher to these Asiatic myriads is the (gold) price of our goods." Unlike gold the price of which is fixed, the silver product is subject to unknown quantities—the yield of the vein and the price of the silver in the market.

AMONG BOOKS : NEW AND OLD.

RABINDRA NATH TAGORE'S "GEETANJALI."

Though the name of this small volume is Bengali, its language is English. And the large number of our English-educated countrymen unacquainted with the Bengali language and literature will feel grateful to the "India Society" of London, for this English translation of Rabindra Nath's "Song-Offerings". Rabindra Nath is universally recognised as the greatest of our living poets, and his name has long been familiar, even to the educated classes outside Bengal, as a great force in our present national thought and life. But this is the first time, I think, when they are given an opportunity of gaining some idea of his poetic genius, directly and at first hand.

This volume has, evidently, been published for the British people, and is, perhaps, of the nature of an experiment. One could not, indeed, be sure how the productions of so strange a literature as that of Bengal, would appeal to British tastes. And this natural doubt and hesitancy is, I think, entirely responsible for the Introduction by Mr. W. B. Yeats. But though Mr. Yeats writes with sincere appreciation of these poems, to those who are intimately acquainted with Rabindra Nath's life and writings, his Introduction naturally seems to do very scant justice to his character and genius, and is even hurtful to our national self-respect. Possibly a word of commendation was needed for introducing this volume to the English reader, but that need might have been better met, I think, by Mr. Rothenstein, who has been to India and has known Rabindra Nath more intimately than Mr. Yeats. Mr. Yeats has drawn all the materials for his Introduction from an ardent admirer and disciple of Rabindra Nath, whose very love for his master rendered him unfit for presenting any sober estimate of his life and work. I do not know Mr. Yeats personally. I have no idea even of the position he may have in the literary life of England. I have no doubt that he means well and feels very kindly towards Rabindra Nath. But I cannot conceal the feeling that his Introduction has not been happily conceived or written. He would have done much better if he had simply given us his own inner impressions of these translations, without mixing up with these a lot of things gathered from an Indian acquaintance of his, as he has done here.

There is another view-point, even far more important than this, from which Mr. Yeats' Introduction will, I am afraid, be found to be still more unsatisfactory. There is a ring of what they call mysticism in Europe, in these "Songs" of Rabindra Nath. And it would have been really helpful to the European reader of these "Songs," if some one could clearly point out their true place in the general range of the literature of this class in Europe. Mr. Yeats has made absolutely no attempt to do this. He has simply suggested how different Rabindra Nath is from Christian monastics of the type of St. Bernard or Thomas A. Kempis. Madame Guion and some of the Germans might have helped better to indicate to the European reader the type which Rabindra Nath represents. I wish some one had tried to show that while Rabindra Nath, as a religious mystic, does not approach anywhere near our ancient Bhagavatas or our later Vaishnava poets, yet how almost immeasurably deeper are his strains and experiences than those of most European mystics. Why could not the "India Society" ask Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal to write an Introduction to this book? An Introduction from him, with a preface by some one, even like Mr. Yeats, would have been simply splendid. It is said that other volumes of Rabindra Nath's are to follow this one; and if Dr. Seal could be induced to write an Introduction for these, it would greatly help to secure for Bengal's greatest living poet his rightful place in the Republic of Modern Letters.

Coming now to the book itself, the first thing that I should like to point out is that these "Songs," excellent as they are, in no way represent Rabindra Nath at his best and highest. Like most poets, Rabindra Nath is a man of many moods; and in his present mood he himself perhaps puts a very high value on his religious poems. But in India where from the earliest times we have had a succession of poets who were not poets only but seers as well, who combined very high poetic genius with life-long spiritual disciplines, and thus utilised their genius in painting the most profound experiences of the sport of the Lord with his own creatures,—Rabindra Nath's deepest religious poems or songs seem naturally more or less superficial, if not, at times, even unreal. In our view, therefore, Rabindra Nath has not reached the high water-mark of his poetic genius in his religious poems, as in what may be called his secular pieces.

Secular is, however, not the most appropriate term for this class of poems. Strictly speaking, as in our general culture, the distinction between the sacred and the secular is very feeble, so also in Rabindra Nath's poems there is hardly anything which could be strictly

characterised as secular. What I mean by secular in this connection is, therefore, that which has reference to the purely human side of our experiences, without any conscious reference to the Divine that is universally implied by them. In his idealisation of the human flesh as flesh, of the human passions in all their native nakedness and majesty, of human love as purely human, without any conscious reference to either religion or ethics, Rabindra Nath has attained a perfection and grandeur which has rarely been reached by the greatest poets of the world. He has given us the highest that is in Whitman with a refinement unattained and which was utterly unattainable by Whitman, for instance. He is not less sweet than Shelly and frequently soars as high or descends to as deep depths as we find in Browning. All this may sound strange to the English reader, unacquainted with the original productions of Rabindra Nath. But in the present volume we have a hopeful promise that some day, if God spares him, Rabindra Nath will himself be his own interpreter to the outside world.

We had hitherto known Rabindra Nath as a past master in the handling of his own mother-tongue. Before seeing this book we had no idea that he was also so superior a master of English, and especially of poetic English. In fact, this English "Geetanjali" does not read like a translation at all. But for the announcement in the title-page one could not suspect it that the author had not written all these originally in the language in which they appear here. And, in truth, this English "Geetanjali" is in one sense less and in another more than what we usually understand by a translation. It is less, because the author has omitted from these pages many portions of the original Bengali poems, portions that were clearly impossible of being faithfully rendered into sober English. And it is more than a mere translation, because all the poems bear unmistakable signs of being composed in poetic English almost directly from the author's mind, instead of passing through the mediating processes of a translation. Indeed, while reading this book it has often seemed to me as if Rabindra Nath used his Bengali productions more as mere mnemonics, to recall the old ideas and associations of his mind, than as actual materials for these translations. And it is, therefore, that this English "Geetanjali" is as much pleasant reading even to us as the originals. And for this reason this book will be found to be infinitely better than a mere translation.

And to enable the reader to test the truth of these remarks for himself, I give below a few extracts taken absolutely at random from it.

45.

Have you not heard his silent steps ? He comes, comes, ever comes.

Every moment and every age, every day and every night he comes, comes, ever comes.

Many a song have I sung in many a mood of mind, but all their notes have always proclaimed, "He comes, comes, ever comes."

In the fragrant days of sunny April, through the forest path, he comes comes, ever comes.

In the rainy gloom of July nights, on the thundering chariot of clouds, he comes, comes, ever comes.

In sorrow after sorrow it is his steps that press upon my heart, and it is the golden touch of his feet that makes my joy to shine.

51.

The night darkened. Our day's work had been done. We thought that the last guest had arrived for the night and the doors in the village were all shut. Only some said, The king was to come. We laughed and said, "No, it cannot be !"

It seemed there were knocks at the door and we said it was nothing but the wind. We put out the lamps and lay down to sleep. Only some said, "It is the messenger !" We laughed and said, "No, it must be the wind !"

There came a sound in the dead of night. We sleepily thought it was the distant thunder. The earth shook, the walls rocked, and it troubled us in our sleeps. Only some said, It was the sound of wheels. We said in a drowsy manner, "No, it must be the rumbling of clouds."

The night was still dark when the drum sounded. The voice came, "Wake up ! delay not !" We pressed our hands on our hearts and shuddered with fear. Some said, "Lo, there is the king's flag !" We stood up on our feet and cried, "There is no time to delay !"

The king has come—but where are lights, where are wreaths ? Where is the throne to seat him ? Oh, shame, Oh, utter shame ! Where is the hall, the decorations ? Some one has said, "Vain is this cry ! Greet him with empty hands, lead him into thy rooms all bare !"

Open the doors, let the conch-shells be sounded ! In the depth of the night has come the king of our dark, dreamy house. The thunder roars in the sky. The darkness shudders with lightning. Bring out thy tattered piece of mat and spread in the courtyard. With the storm has come of a sudden our king of the fearful night.

102.

I boasted among men that I had known you. They see your pictures in all works of mine. They come and ask me, "Who is he ?" I know not how to answer them. I say, "Indeed I cannot tell." They blame me and they go away in scorn. And you sit there smiling.

I put my tales of you into lasting songs, The secret gushes out from my heart. They come and ask me, "Tell me all your meanings." I know not how to answer them. I say, "Oh, who knows what they mean !" They smile and go away in utter scorn. And you sit there smiling.

SARASVATEE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE BENGALI ADDRESSES OF KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

I have this firm conviction in my mind that by the grace of God I shall be able to finally conquer the enemies of truth. Those who are opponents of truth, those who are opponents of the Dispensation of God, they can never win, this is my unshakable faith. Those who having forsaken one kind of idolatry are introducing, through their evil-mind, another form of idolatry in the Brahmo Samaj, they are among our chief enemies in the ranks of the opponents. Those who proclaim themselves as Brahmos by word of mouth but worship the shadow of a fancy of a Brahman Who moves not, speaks not, shows no sign of life—their condition is more lamentable than that of the ordinary worshippers of images. Oh Brahmo full of the conceit of your knowledge, art thou calling that senseless and lifeless thing your Brahman which cannot give answer to a single one of your thousands of prayers, which is unable to speak? Call not this false, fanciful and insensible object by the name of Brahman, That which has no power of speech, which cannot respond to the prayers of the devotee, and which can never be Brahman. Brahman is he who is of the Essence of Word. His name is Veda. He who is not the Word, who speaks not, He must be a false and fancied god. That false fancy has proceeded from the mind of man for the destruction of the world. The god who does not teach, the god who does not protest against sin, the god who does not punish sin—that god is a false god. He is a source of terrible evils.

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By the sharpened instrument of your evil understanding you have cut off the tongue of Brahman, who is of the Nature-of-Word; and you now say that your Brahman does not speak. How strange! What fearful cunning! You have cut off with your own hands the tongue of your God, and you now say that God speaks not. Your dreadful creed may be acceptable only to undisciplined and wilful people. But it can never gain victory in God's world. Those who think that God does not speak, deny the true God. They are of the class of the conceited and the faithless. Unbelief will be surely pulverised in God's kingdom. Truth and faith will surely be victorious. Do you think that, because the God of Word is not after your mind, you may cut off his tongue and establish the worship of a dismembered God?

Do not entertain such a hope in your mind, even to the extent of one half the size of a sesamum seed. If you want to abandon infidelity and atheism, and want to practise the true religion, then accept God as of the nature of the Word. True God is the Word-God. The idea of God, renowned in Hindusthan as Sarasvatee,—Brahmos, you cannot ignore that idea. Who are you? The children of the World-Mother, the Goddess of Learning Sarasvatee. You are her worshippers. She is made of the Essence of Consciousness. She is of the form of Consciousness, the Goddess of Words. What Words? Eternal words, endless and indestructible words, true words, infallible words of the Veda. She is the Word. What is word? It is of the nature of a bridge. On one side is God, on the other the world, between these is the Word of God standing as a bridge. Let the bridge be closed and there will be no connection between God and man. If the Word of God be stopped, his relation with the people of this earth will also be in a manner dissolved. By the Word of God the universe has been created and on that Word the universe rests.

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Word is the vehicle of God. Riding on the Word, God descends into this world, so full of misery. Word is the wing of the Brahmo-Bird. With its help the Brahmo-Bird comes down

had yet its native life vigorously pulsating through its veins ; and it was proved soon by two things, first, by the strength and enthusiasm of its outward movement, and secondly, by the rapidity of its return to itself.

And when this return movement started along the tide of a social reaction and religious revival, the Bengalee stage, like the faithful mirror that it has always been of the life and aspirations of the people, threw itself, with absolute abandon, into the new currents. Every note of progress was sought to be stifled ; every movement of reform, however rational or necessary, was opposed ; and every class of social or religious reformer was held up to ridicule in the various pieces that were put upon the boards of the national stage. All these hurt our personal and sectarian susceptibilities very much at the time : and naturally enough, most of us commenced to look upon our stage as an enemy of every form of enlightenment and progress.

But the work that the Bengalee stage did at this period of its life was not wholly destructive either. While on the one hand, it applied itself to the demolition of the new and more or less imitative movements of social reform, on the other, it tried with equal whole-heartedness, to revive the old and decadent religious and social ideals of the nation. This was a positive and noble work. And owing to the simple fact that every movement of revival means not merely the re-institution of effete or enervating ideals and vehicles of the social or the religious life, but also some measure of re-adjustment and reconstruction,—the Hindu revival, to meet the imperious needs of the modern man quietly worked for a new interpretation and adjustment of our old ideals and institutions also. Neo-Hinduism is thus, whether it be Vedantic or Vaishnavic, a distinct advance upon what may well be called mediaeval Hinduism which ruled the life and thought of our fathers. And the Bengalee stage, while it was working on the surface against the so-called progressive movements of our time, has all along been quietly helping the growth of our national life. "Buddha-Deva", "Chaitanya-Leela", "Billva Mangal", and others of this class have made no insignificant contribution to the religious life of our time in Bengal.

More recently, when a wave of a new nationalism swept over the country, the Bengalee stage threw itself heart and soul into its manifold activities, and helped very materially to visualise its inner soul and spirit in a variety of ways.



SWAMI VIVEKANANDA : See Page 16f.

(By the Courtesy of the Udbodhan Office.)

LAKSHMI PRINTING WORKS.

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श्रीशुगुरवे नमः ।

THE HINDU REVIEW

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND LIFE.

I

THE INDIAN COUNCIL-REFORMS AND INDIAN CULTURE.

—:—
**Council Reforms
and
Public Sentiment.**

It is notorious that Lord Morley's Council Reforms aroused very little enthusiasm even among our English educated countrymen who had for so many years been crying out so loudly and persistently for them. It may have been partly due to the tense political situation in the country at the time these Reforms were announced and introduced. But though that situation has very considerably changed for the better since Lord Hardinge took up the reins of Government, it cannot be said that the old attitude of indifference of our educated community, at least on the Bengal side, towards these "reformed" Councils has changed in any appreciable degree. On the contrary, there seems to have grown among the more thoughtful classes, at any rate, a distinct want of confidence in these imported methods of political progress.

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**The New Thought
and
The Old Ideal.**

Thirty years ago, we were completely under the spell of the European Illumination. We knew little then of our own ideals and institutions, and had not the capacity, therefore, to judge and weigh the ideals and institutions of Europe that had commenced to overwhelm us. Since then a great wave of social reaction and religious revival has passed over the country. All reactionary movements have an element of unreason in them everywhere. Our own movements of social reaction and religious revival were not free from unreason. These excesses are inevitable in all antithetical and protestant movements.

But they wear off in course of time, and the ultimate residuum which these movements leave behind them, take the course of social evolution up to a position which is distinctly higher and saner than both the reactionary movements themselves and the antecedent movements against which they had commenced to work. The new thought in India is, therefore, neither inherently revolutionary, like the earlier movements of social or religious or political reforms, nor, in any sense, reactionary, like the subsequent movements of social preservation or religious revival, but is essentially a movement of reconciliation and synthesis. And this new thought is very largely responsible for the present apathy of our educated classes towards these Council-Reforms.

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**Weighed
in
The Balance.**

Plainly speaking, the more thoughtful section of our people have been losing their old faith in the modern ideals and institutions of Europe. The almost absolute superiority of the European over the Indian ideals and institutions, which was at one time an important article of the creed of the Indian social or political reformer, is being persistently questioned to-day on all sides. We have gradually come to see that Europe has not as yet solved a single one of her numerous outstanding social or political problems by her so-called modern and rational methods. Her freedom is a fancy, her democracy a falsehood, her individualism anti-social, her patriotism anti-humanitarian. Her wealth creates much direr poverty than the world has ever-known. Her inventions, while testifying to the superior intellectual powers and equipments of a favoured few, are killing the intellectual and moral life of the many. Her splendid organisations, while calling out the capacity for initiative and leadership of a few, are practically reducing the many to mere automata. All these are being recognised by the more thoughtful classes even in Europe. They are, perhaps, being still more vividly realised by the more thoughtful classes in this country. And this new knowledge has considerably cooled down the old political enthusiasm of large and increasing numbers of our educated countrymen.

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**The Illusion of
"Representative
Government."**

In fact, even in Europe itself the highest thought and culture of the twentieth century will be bound to gradually demand a more or less radical reconsideration of many ideas and ideals that had been accepted as the truest and the best by the speculations and aspirations of the

eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. And possibly among the very first to be so reconsidered will be the shibboleth of Representative Government. In England and America, at any rate, Mill's Representative Government still dominates, it is true, the most advanced political thought of the people. But in England and America, again, the Government is absolutely in the hands of what is called the bourgeoisie in France. It is the educated middle-classes who, really belonging neither to the aristocracy nor to the people of the country, almost absolutely control and guide the course of Government more or less in their own interest. At one time this middle-class was nowhere in the political life of their country. This system of so-called Representative Government was their special device to wrest, for themselves, in the name of the people, the political power and authority that had lain in the hands of the landed aristocracy of the country. The masses in England no more govern themselves even to-day than the masses in Russia or Tibet or Timbukto. Representative Government means, thus, simply a replacement of one small body of rulers by another equally small body, who though ostensibly "returned" by the people or at least by a section of them, are neither of the people nor are really controlled by them.

Those who have any acquaintance with the way that Parliamentary Elections are conducted in Great Britain, know what little freedom the voters have in the matter, and what judgment they exercise in the disposition of their votes. At one time votes were almost openly bought. The special laws that regulate and control Parliamentary Elections now have penalised these ancient practices. But no law can prevent the application of various kinds of "moral" pressure to force the voters to give their votes not to men of their own choice but to some body else's friend or nominee. The class that owned the nation's land ruled the people at one time, in the name of the King and under cover of the authority of the Crown. The class that own the works and factories rule them now, in the name of Demos and under cover of the authority of the People. But as before so even now, the real people are nowhere. Thus, the so-called Representative Government upon which the political life and philosophy of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries so much prided themselves, is being gradually found out to be a mere cunning device of the intellectual middle classes, to exploit the masses in their own personal or class interest. And there is absolutely nothing in the political thought of the eighteenth or the nineteenth centuries that can hold out any hope for the redress of this new evil of bourgeoisie rule.

Ninety years ago, great hopes were entertained in England, for instance, of the Reform Bill. That Bill became law. But though it enfranchised the intellectual middle classes, the proletariat were practically left where they had been before. Since then, Parliamentary franchise has extended very considerably; but what is the actual result? The law has given the vote to many people; but the law could not secure to them absolute freedom in the exercise of their franchise. Neither could the law endow them with intelligence to understand the complex political or economic issues that are placed before them by rival candidates, or with a sufficiently keen conscience to do the right when they have understood it.

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No law can, indeed, do it. Mere extension

Democracy of the franchise will not touch even the outer-

and most fringe of the real problem of modern

Industrialism. statecraft. Self-Government, in the true sense

 of the term, will be absolutely unattainable

in industrial Europe or America, without a complete reconstruction of the present economic structure of Western Society. Economic slavery and political freedom can never go together. The wage-earning classes all over Europe and America are more or less at the mercy of their employers. Men do not buy and sell the modern labourers as they did the Negro slaves in the plantations of the Southern States of America at one time. But these "free" labourers are really free in one respect only, namely to starve and die, if they prefer it to rendering obedience to the wishes of their employers. Otherwise, these modern labourers, grinding their life away with a view to find profits to their employer, are practically as much slaves as the old Negroes were. And long as this new form of slavery is not entirely abolished, so long true self-government will be absolutely unattained and unattainable by even the most free peoples of Europe.

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Nor is this only an economic problem,

The Problem which a fair and equitable method of distribu-

of ting the produce between employer and

High Living. labourer might be able to solve. We have

frightful poverty in India, but as yet not that debasing economic slavery which they have more or less in every Western country. And the reason is that, among other things, we have not as yet gone in for that so-called higher standard of living, which Europe and America have accepted as an essential element of civilisation.

This standard of living is really responsible for this new form of economic servitude in Europe and America. Owing to his peculiar climate, the European or American labourer wants many things, it is true, which are not required by the Indian working-man. But even after making ample allowances for these, it must be admitted that the European or American working-man can do with much less than what he wants now. And if he could do so, he might easily secure much greater freedom for himself than he is able to enjoy at present. His style of living makes, therefore, for the perpetuation of his present economic slavery as much as the greed of his employer. And it is in view of all this that I think that true self-government will never be attained by the people of Europe or America, unless there is an almost structural change as much in their economic, as in their social life and institutions.

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**European Imitation
and
Indian Wisdom.**

And the question before us in India is :—are we acting very wisely, in blindly following the lead of Europe in this matter and setting up stupid imitations of political institutions

that have not as yet been able to render a very satisfactory account of themselves even in their original home and habit, where they have centuries of experience, experiments, and disciplines at their back? The usual contention of the Anglo Indian Bureaucracy that European institutions are not suited to the genius of the Indian people, though always urged in a very offensive way, and without any deep knowledge either of Europe or of India, has, after all, some substratum truth in it. At one time we strongly resented these statements, because they implied that the Indian was intellectually and morally inferior to the European. We stoutly denied the truth and validity of these contentions, because they suggested our inherent incapacity for self-government. And our resentment was high in proportion as our ignorance of our own past history and traditions in regard to political life and thought was great. Thus it was that because we could not present anything from our own records that could stand comparison with the free political institutions of modern Europe, that the statement that these institutions are not suited to our genius and civilisation, hurt our racial pride; and we challenged our opponents to put us to the test and see how we could prove ourselves as capable of working their democratic political institutions as any European people. This, indeed, has been the psychology or all our Congress-politics.

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**Ancient Hindu
Polity.**

But the Nationalist agitations of the last few years have changed the entire venue of our present political problem. In the first place, we are gradually coming to understand that the Hindu system of polity was always constitutional, and never despotic. The essence of despotism is that the will of the king is law to his subjects. But the Hindu king was never a law unto himself. Ages before the birth of modern constitutional governments in Europe, the Hindu had worked out a complete separation between the legislative and the executive functions of his Government. His king was, therefore, only the chief magistrate of the country, who had to conduct his kingly office in strict obedience to laws which he himself did not make and which he could neither change nor amend as it suited his wishes or interests. In the constitutional monarchies of Europe, like that of Great Britain, for instance, the king enjoys what is called the right of veto, indicating that in these countries there is not as yet that absolute separation of the executive and legislative functions of the State, which is a fundamental test of free political institutions. The Hindu had completely worked up this separation ages before, indicating his superior genius for true constitutional government. Theoretically, the Hindu Constitution was theocratic no doubt : but not practically. In theory, the Law which governed both the king and his people, was no doubt of divine origin. This Divine Law was the embodiment of the immemorial traditions and customs of the race. But though without any divine sanctions, these traditions and customs form the basis even of the State-Constitutions of most of the modern democratic countries of Europe. In fact, the British Monarchy cannot exist for a moment, if absolutely divested of these ancient sanctions. But a fixed body of traditions and customs, even though claiming divine sanctions, cannot meet the changing conditions and growing needs of the historic evolution of any people. New conditions require new arrangements. New evils that arise in course of the advancing life of a people from simpler to more complex stages, demand new prescriptions. And these were provided in the old Hindu society, not by the enactment of new laws, as is done in modern Europe, but by progressive interpretations of the old Divine Law itself. And for this progressive interpretation of the Law, the Hindu polity provided a body of councillors of the king, to whom the king had to look up for sanction, whenever the situation in the country required the adoption of any new measures for the preservation or furtherance of the social well-being. In fact, all the paraphernalia of the most advanced form of

constitutional government was furnished by ancient Hindu polity for the management of the state-affairs of the Hindu people. Recent researches into ancient Hindu civilisation are bringing these facts out. And in proportion as our knowledge of our own past history and culture is expanding, and we are coming to know how we too had a very superior political philosophy and had developed a very advanced State-Constitution, the old eagerness to prove our capacity for self-government by submitting ourselves to be tested by the standards of Europe, through the actual introduction and working of modern European institutions in our country, is gradually waning. And with the birth of a new national self-consciousness, we have gradually been gathering sufficient courage even to question the absolute superiority of European institutions over anything that we ourselves had in the past or what we may by and by evolve at present in consonance with our special genius and culture for meeting our present requirements. And we are no longer afraid of recognising and even openly admitting any element of truth or reason that may exist in the indictments of our European critics and opponents.

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**A Straight-
forward
Admission.**

We are, therefore, no longer afraid of admitting that the institutions of so-called self-government as they have been developed in Europe, are not entirely suited to the special genius and culture of our people. And we

feel absolutely no shame in making the confession, because it does in no way prove our incapacity for true self-government. On the contrary we have an idea that Europe herself is far less endowed with the moral and mental qualities that fit any nation for real self-government, than ourselves. The whole philosophy of what is called Representative Government in Europe is essentially individualistic and inherently anti-social. It has been so far worked up on the assumption that there is an inherent antagonism between the interests of one individual and another as well as between those of the different classes of the community ; and Representative Government is the best device that Europe has so far been able to think out for the safeguarding of these separate individualistic and sectional interests against the attacks or encroachments of their respective rivals and competitors. We see it proved every day in every Representative Assembly in Europe, which are only so many arenas for the different classes of the country to fight out the interminable battles of their class-interests. The sense of the organic unity of the nation is lost every where in the

clang and clash of these class-wars ; and it comes occasionally to the surface only when the nation goes to war with another nation. And even then it is only a poor particularistic sentiment, unrelated to the ideal of Universal Humanity. And this being the true character of the Representative Institutions that Europe has been able so far to develop, what reason is there for us to hang down our heads in shame and humiliation if we are told that these are not suited to our genius and character, or if we ourselves openly confess it.

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**India and
The Modern Ideal.**

In fact, it is a rudimentary principle of the Nationalist School that European institutions should not be bodily imposed upon us by the authority of the British Government in the country. For it holds that all such superimpositions, however kindly meant, are more likely to hinder than help the real progress of our people towards the highest modern ideal. This modern ideal is no more the special possession of Europe than it is of India. It is the result of various forces that are more or less operative as much in India as in Europe or America. It is the common heritage of all the civilised peoples of our time. The West is no nearer to the realisation of it than the East. And ultimately this ideal will be bound to realise itself in diverse forms, through diverse methods, in the different countries of the world. Europe has been seeking to realise this ideal in her own way, following her own special genius, along the course of her special historic evolution. India, with a different genius and character, a different course of past historic evolution, will, if left to herself, develop her own lines of progress towards the same common ideal. These are very common-place psychological facts. Unfortunately, however, Europe has not yet been trained to study the course of social evolution in the light of psychology. Had Europe done so, there would have been much greater appreciation of other world-cultures and the social and political institutions of other peoples, than what we see at present. Even our own English-educated classes have but very feeble appreciation of these facts. If they had it, there would be a more cautious and critical attitude towards many of the "reforms" that are being introduced by the Government for the political advancement of the country.

It is for want of this cautious and critical spirit that our English-educated classes so enthusiastically welcomed Lord Ripon's scheme of Local Self-Government, as an inestimable boon. Lord Ripon, no doubt, meant well. But his lordship had no appreciation of the pecu-

liarities of our national genius and history. His lordship practically ignored the fact that not only had we a very superior form of self-government in our ancient village-communities, but that we had, even thirty years ago, in many parts of the country, an actual measure of communal freedom in regard to all such matters as did not fall within the purview of the laws and regulations of the British Government in the country. Our Panchayets, though deprived of their old quasi-political powers, were yet, even in Lord Ripon's time, a powerful instrument and vehicle of the corporate life of our villages and still ruled the life of the people to a very large extent. In many places these were the general judicial authority in the small village-communities, which quietly helped the settlement of all petty disputes in a simple way, without the costly intervention of modern lawyers and law courts. Lord Ripon's scheme practically ignored all these facts, and imposed a new and alien form of municipal government which, though enthusiastically received by the English-educated classes for whose special benefit it was evidently created, was neither understood nor appreciated by the masses. The masses, in fact, had neither part nor lot in this new "Vakil-Raj" that Lord Ripon's scheme practically sought to set up in the country.

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| <p>Indian Self-Government and European Institutions.</p> | <p>And the experience of the last thirty years of our so-called municipal self government completely proves how difficult, if not utterly impossible, it is to cultivate the true spirit of self government in our country through imported foreign institutions and alien methods. Though municipal commissioners are elected in most places by the rate-payers themselves, there is really no self-government in any of our municipalities. The primary object of the franchise, whether municipal or parliamentary, is to provide an effective check upon the tendency of those who are entrusted with the duty of carrying on the administration, of the town or of the state, to run the business in their own private or class interest. This check has not as yet become effective even in democratic countries like America or England, which have had a long training in the working of these so-called popular institutions. And it goes without saying that in our elected municipalities the rate-payers have not only failed so far to realise this primary end of the municipal franchise, but that they have, the educated and the uneducated alike, no appreciation even of this primary end. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that our so-</p> |
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called municipal self-government has been, so far, a dead failure. And even where, as in some of our presidency towns, it has been somewhat of a success, it has not been of much use as an institution for the political education of the masses, which it was reasonably expected to be. Generally speaking, I think, it may be very safely said that in most places, this municipal franchise is being sedulously exploited by a few English-educated men in their own personal and private interests. The same remark holds good with regard to our District and Local Boards also. A careful scrutiny of the records of these Boards would show in many cases, I am afraid, how the funds of these bodies are frequently utilised to increase the comforts and conveniences of the prominent members or to improve their private property. And the failure of these new institutions is due to the fact that they did not grow naturally from within the people themselves, but were imposed upon them from without. This failure does not prove our incapacity for self-government, but only the unsuitability of these to our genius and traditions. For it is well-known that in our old village life we had at one time a real measure of self-government, even without any voting register or polling booth. The spirit of centralisation that has dominated the British Administration in India almost from its very commencement, has killed these old national institutions. The new institutions of local self-government have not been able to revive, so far, the old corporate life of our villages. They never will. The Government is gradually coming to see it; and it is, therefore, trying to reconstruct our old village-panchayats. But our rulers do not seem to realise it, however, that if the old village life and institutions are to be revived at all, the work must be left entirely to the people themselves. Official intervention in any shape or form would court the same failure here again, as has overcome the so-called schemes of self-government in our Municipalities and District and Local Boards.

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The New "Reforms"
Built on
Old Failures.

The new and enlarged Legislative Councils in the various Indian Provinces are mainly built upon the Municipalities and Local and District Boards. There was really no other foundations on which these could be built.

This fact may justify the new builders, but cannot impart to their structure any greater reality or strength than what those older bodies have had. The real people of the country are practically nowhere in the Municipalities, Local or District Boards: they are equally nowhere, therefore, in the new and enlarged organs of self-government in their

country. The Municipalities, Local and District Boards have hitherto been practically either official bodies or bourgeoisie organisations. They have been run, in many places, by the local officials after their own mind. Where the non-official element has been strong, these have been run by the English-educated middle-class not merely after their own mind, but frequently even in their own personal or class interests. It is no use shutting our eyes to these facts. And as these Municipalities, Local and District Boards constitute, under the present regulations, the largest electorates of the so-called "Reformed Councils"; there is no reason to hope that these will not be run in the same way, to protect and further the interests of the English-educated middle classes, more than to advance real popular freedom or safeguard the interests of the masses of the country. In the early stages of the struggle between the prerogatives of the Crown on the one side and the rights of the people on the other, the educated classes even in Europe made common cause with the uneducated masses and spoke and acted in their name. This way lay their only chance of success. We, too, have been doing this all these years. In all our past political agitations, we have also been speaking and acting for the masses. And we have generally been honest in this. Perhaps, there are many people among our English-educated classes who still sincerely believe that they represent the interests of their uneducated countrymen. But as elsewhere, so here among us also, what is now an honest belief will gradually become a meaningless, if not a dishonest, cant. For, in proportion as the powers of government are gradually transferred from the present bureaucracy to an Indian bourgeoisie, in that proportion will develop an antagonism between the interests of this new ruling class on the one hand and those of the general masses of the country on the other. It is the common experience of every democratic country in the West. And human nature being more or less the same all the world over, the same social, economic, and political conditions will be bound to produce, not exactly perhaps the same, but undoubtedly similar results everywhere.

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**The
Evil of the
"Reforms."**

In fact these conditions will very likely produce much worse evils in India than they have done in England or America. In Europe, these so-called representative institutions have grown slowly, following the general

course of the historic evolution of the European peoples. And where any social or political institutions grow in this natural way, they develop

not only the needful checks and counter-checks for securing all the good that may be in them, while eliminating, as far as possible, the evils that are inevitably bound up with the good in every human institution ; but, what is far more important, the social organism learns at the same time those subtle tricks of nature which every organism practices for purposes of self-preservation. When, however, any social or political institutions are imposed upon a people artificially, from without, these natural advantages are lost. And consequently the evil side of these grow here more vigorously than their good side. So there is much greater chance of an unhealthy middle-class-rule growing here than there was in England, for instance. Because, in the first place, the struggle between the Crown and the People was both much keener and more prolonged in England than the similar struggle between the present Bureaucracy and the People of India is ever likely to be. In fact, the British Bureaucracy here, representing the British bourgeoisie, have already been willing to share the authority of the Government in India with chosen representatives of the English-educated Indian bourgeoisie. This is the declared policy of Lord Morley, the author of the "Reformed" Indian Councils. And the increasing participation of the Indian bourgeoisie in the rights and emoluments of the present rule, will be bound to separate the interests of this class from the general economic and political interests of the uneducated masses. These Council "Reforms" make, therefore, not for the consolidation and strengthening of our new national life, but distinctly for the creation of new class-interests and communal antagonisms, calculated to weaken it.

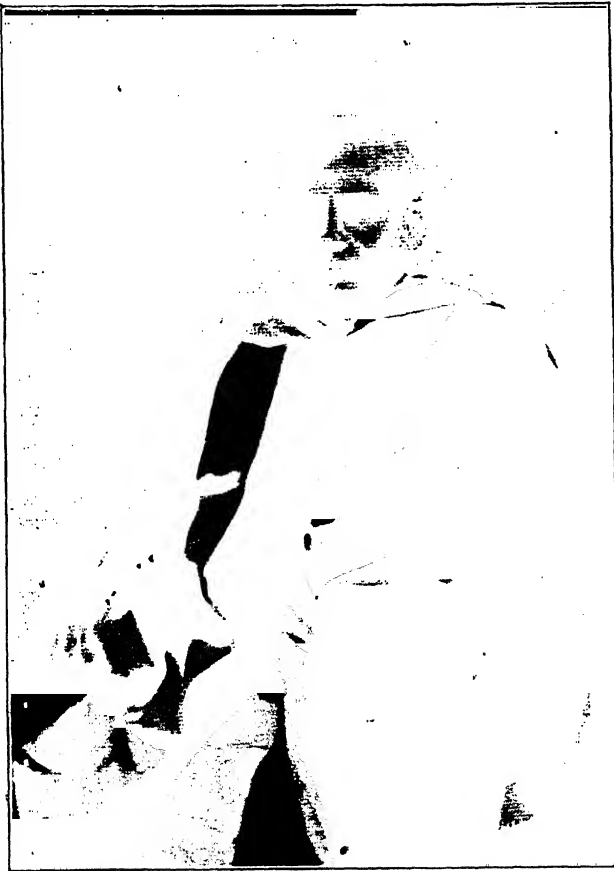
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**The Test
of
These "Reforms."**

The true test of all social or political institutions is not material but moral. The question, therefore, in regard to these "Reformed Councils" is, do they make for a larger manhood than what we have in the country ? Do they make for the expansion of the interests of life ? Or are they narrowing them ? Do they make for the subordination of personal and private interests to the larger interests of the nation ? Do they feed our enthusiasm for the public good, or do they simply help to give us a field for the satisfaction of our personal vanity ? These are moot questions here. And judged by these questions, these new "reforms" stand self-condemned. The records of the latest Council Elections prove this very conclusively.

For, in almost every case it has been a mean and degrading personal contest. In Dacca, for instance, there was a fight between Babu Ananda

Chandra Ray and Babu Ambica Charan Majumdar. Now, can any body suggest any semblance of a decent reason, why these two gentlemen, each very esteemable in his own way, both prominent Congressmen, who had never before been known to differ in their politics, fought this election against each other? It is inconceivable that either of



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these gentlemen could urge against the other anything except that he is either less able or less experienced or less honest than himself. In the absence of any conflict of political opinions or difference of political programmes between them, the contest was naturally a personal and mean one, in which both parties must have fought for purely personal

and private ends and on purely personal grounds. It is not their fault, but their misfortune. In England, these two gentlemen would have likely belonged to opposite political parties, and might have fought each other upon the less degrading grounds of public policy or party programme. But there are only two political schools, among those who care to go in for seats on the "Reformed Councils." One is the official school and the other, their rival; the Congress school. The officials are precluded by the Regulations from taking part in these elections. Consequently, all the fight is practically between one Congress-man and another. And the fact that Congress-men cannot select the best men for all the non-official seats from among their own leaders, but that these latter should be left to scramble for these in competition with one another, shows the nature of the political education and the type of public character that the agitations of the last quarter of a century have produced in the country.

As in Dacca, so even in Calcutta also, the same shameful story was repeated. Here also Congress-leaders fought with one another. There were about half a dozen Congress-men, including Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, fighting the Presidency Division Municipal seats. There was just a chance of Babu Surendra Nath's not getting in. And what a humiliation to him, and what a scandal in our public life it would have been if this had happened! Why could not the Calcutta politicians bring the pressure of their own influence to bear upon the various candidates, and thus prevent the chance of such a scandal? In the Calcutta University, it is absolutely inconceivable upon what public grounds Dr. Deva Prasad Sarvadhicaree's seat was contested at all. Dr. Sarvadhicaree had done his work well both in the last Council and in the University. With the exception of Sir Gurudas Banerjee there is, perhaps, no other prominent member of the University who is in wider and closer touch with the educated classes in the city, if not in the Province, than Dr. Sarvadhicaree. And the fact that even such a man's seat was contested by people who have never been known to differ from his politics, shows the character of these Council-Elections most clearly.

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Super-Imposed
"Reforms."

The fact of the matter really is that these evils will be bound to come in the wake of reforms that do not grow from within the life of a people but are super-imposed on them from without. The Indian Legislative Councils have, from the very beginning, been really such super-impositions. They did not grow out of any real and vital need of the people. When a

people feel any vital need for any institutions, that need itself creates the organs that are best calculated to meet it, and these have then, necessarily, an organic relation to their general life and activities. They are rooted on the past of that people and are an expansion and evolution of some of their old organs and institutions. The Indian Legislative Councils did not grow thiswise. They were first instituted, not because the people wanted them or felt any need for them, but because the new British Administration found it both difficult and dangerous to govern an alien people, of whom they knew practically nothing,—without the help and guidance of their “natural” leaders. When these Councils were subsequently reconstituted upon a partially elective basis by Lord Cross’s India Councils Act, it was done, again, not to meet any vital need of the people, but to stop the clamour of the English-educated classes, who were kicking up a dangerous agitation against the present bureaucratic methods of government and were making the rulers of the country slightly nervous by the fervour of their denunciations and the growing strength of their political organisations. Lord Cross’s “reforms” did achieve their object in a very large measure ; for they did take the wind out of the sails of the Congress agitation to a very perceptible extent and diverted the energies of the Congress-leaders from the old agitations against the Government to the new election-contests against one another. The Congress became, thus, as a direct result of Lord Cross’s reforms, a “harmless” thing henceforth. When, however, the new Svadeshi agitation came into being, following in the wake of the Partition of Bengal, and the Government once more stood face to face with a tremendous popular upheaval, the like of which had never before been seen in the history of British India, a fresh need was felt by the authorities for a further reconstitution of the Indian Legislative Councils. This is the real genesis of Lord Morley’s “Reforms.” The people did not want them. They were asked for by a few representatives of the British-created bourgeoisie who scarcely live or move with or among the people and have hardly anything in common with them except their colour or their caste. And the Government gladly granted their prayers, with the professed object of “rallying” the so called “Moderates” about them. It will thus be seen that from the very beginning our Legislative Councils have been only so many super-impositions on us. They have not grown out of the natural expansion of our own civic or political life, as they did in Europe. It is only inevitable, therefore, that these “reforms” should bring in their train new political and moral evils for which our social organism has not, as yet, developed any remedy.

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**Must be suffered :
Though
not Supported.**

Under normal conditions, all institutions are the natural and legitimate embodiment of the complex life and ideals of a people. Political institutions, are the natural expression and embodiment of a people's political life. First comes the idea, then its expression. First is quickened the life-force, and then follow, as a result of its own needs, the outer organs and instruments for the organism's own self-realisation. With us, however, the political institutions have been set up before the birth of real political life. Or more accurately speaking, whatever political thought and life may have already commenced to quicken in the country, did not create these alien institutions and stands completely outside them. The institutions are larger and more complex than the real political life and thought of the people. The organisation is heavier than what the organism actually needs or can bear. This is the root of the evil. But however much we may feel their evil, we cannot do away, or even perhaps absolutely do without, these Councils now. They are parts of the Administration of the country. And they will have to be suffered even where they may not be actively supported.

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**The Only Remedy :
Organisation
of the Nationalist Party.**

But since we cannot stop or alter these Councils, we must devise adequate means for minimising their evils and increasing whatever possibilities of good there may be in them. And the only way to do it is to strengthen and organise the Nationalist Party, which, with its legitimate ideal of self-help and self-reliance for the people and its policy of *laissez-faire* so far as the Government is concerned, will at least be able to set up a powerful rival Party to that of the Congress in our present political life. Such a Party will largely remove the mean and demoralising personal emphasis from the Council Elections, and impart even to the debates in the Councils themselves a note of reality which they can scarcely have under existing conditions. The Indian Councils are built upon the model of the British Parliament, to some very slight extent. And the party-system is the very soul of the parliamentary institutions of Europe. Left to ourselves, we might have developed new institutions of popular self-government, in our own way. We may yet do so, by and by. But in the meantime, we cannot allow the existing Legislative Councils to grow in their own way, importing unknown evils into our country, and manufacturing a body of middle-class legislators, who, as the same class have done elsewhere, will exploit the Administration

in their own interest. It is, therefore, the distinct duty, I think, of the Nationalists in the country, to actively take the field against these new and dangerous forces, and contribute their thoughts and labours to the work of the Administration. They cannot, without committing political suicide, stick to their old policy of aloofness from the Government any longer.

As on the one hand, we must throw ourselves into current political activities, taking our rightful place and part in the new Councils, so on the other hand, we must organise our forces and apply ourselves to the more real and useful work of training the rising generations of the country in the true nationalist ideals, inculcating the duty of self-abnegation and self-restraint, in the interest of the common life of the nation. The immediate work before us is more moral and intellectual than political. It is more economic than administrative. And for this work, the decadent life of our villages must first of all be revived and reorganised. The new generation should, therefore, be encouraged in every possible way to keep to their own villages and lead and organise the economic and social life of their people. If we are able to do this, then political progress will come naturally of itself. But if we neglect to do this betimes, or fail in the attempt, no amount of political struggles or agitations will help to secure for our nation its rightful place in the coming Federation of the World.

II

THE STORY OF IRISH HOME-RULE.

The Success of The Irish Home Rule Movement.

Whatever the British House of Lords may do, or whatever the Tory Members of the House of Commons may say, the final success of the agitation for Home-Rule in Ireland is absolutely assured. Ulster may bark, but Ulster will never bite. Once the Bill is passed, and there is no reason why it should not be passed during the life-time of the present Parliament, even Ulster will cease to bark and accept the inevitable with as much good grace as it can muster. And the successful termination of a struggle that has lasted for more than a century now, has a lesson for all the dependent nationalities of our time, as well as for those who hold them in subjection to-day.

**The Secret of
The Irish Success.**

Superficial observers will no doubt set this success to the credit of what they call constitutional agitation ; and to some extent their contention would not be altogether wrong either. But we should not forget that to whatever extent this success may be a triumph of constitutional agitation, it is due to the primary fact that Ireland has a distinct place and position in the British Constitution. Her representatives have, ever since the Union, sat with their conquerors in the same Legislative Assembly. For years they were no doubt in the minority. Strictly speaking they are even so to-day. But with the gradual evolution of new political parties in the British House of Commons, which have split up the two old parties, and have thus weakened them both, the Irish Members, though in a minority, have found themselves in a position from which they can dominate the House of Commons in a way that no other minority at Westminster can do. They hold the balance of power in British Party-politics. Neither Liberals nor Tories can now expect to carry on the Government of the country unless supported by the Irish Nationalists. In the present House of Commons, for instance, the Tories count only two or three more than the Liberals, while there are forty Labourites who stand against them. These Labourites, though for the time working in association with the Liberals, are yet an independent political Party, and would, if it suited their purpose, throw their weight with the Tories and against the Liberals any day. Neither the Tories nor the Liberals, therefore, own an absolute majority in the House of Commons. Nor would such a majority be secured even by a coalition between the Liberals and the Labourites or the Labourites and the Tories. Consequently the peaceful carrying on of the King's Government by either of the two dominant and traditional political Parties in Great Britain, depends entirely upon the support of the eighty Irish Nationalists. They are thus the real masters of the situation in the British Parliament to-day. And their present success is entirely due to this fact.

**The Triumph of
Irish Patriotism and
Statesmanship.**

It is a triumph of constitutional agitation no doubt, but of a constitutional agitation which gave to the Irish Party in the House of Commons a power by which they could make the carrying on of the Administration absolutely impossible. And they could do this constitutionally, by simply using their position in the House of Commons to reduce every Party which came into office to a minority. This

position the British Constitution gave them. The strength of their own nationalist sentiments, the sacrifices of their fellow-countrymen both at home and abroad, and the discipline of their Party,—enabled the Irish Members of the House of Commons to utilise their position for the furtherance of their cause. If the assured success of the Home Rule movement be a triumph of constitutional agitation, it is also in a much greater degree a triumph of Irish patriotism, and the wonderful discipline which that patriotism helped to establish among Irish politicians. For years past, in fact ever since Parnell came into the leadership of the Irish Nationalists, the Irish Members of the House of Commons have uniformly voted upon every matter as one man. The influence of a political leader who could command eighty votes in any division, irrespective of the merits or demerits of the matter which has to be voted upon, could not be ignored. Gladstone saw it; and therefore coalesced with Parnell to save his own position in the House. But his Home Rule Bill failed because of the split in his own ranks on the one side, and of the comparatively greater strength which the Conservatives had then in the country, on the other.

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**Twenty-five Years
Ago
and Now.**

But these twenty-five years have materially changed the position of political parties in Great Britain. The birth of the Labour Party, out of the loins of the two old political parties, has weakened them both, and has immensely increased the difficulties of either of the older Parties to command an absolute majority in the House. This third Party is generally in favour of Irish Home Rule. Though not in name, but undoubtedly in substance, the Labour Party is a Labour-Socialist Party; and the political philosophy of Socialism is not in favour of the subjection or exploitation of one people by another. The only chance of defeating the Irish in the House of Commons lay in a coalition between what may be called the Tory-Liberals or the Liberal-Imperialists, as they used to call themselves at one time, and the Tory-Democrats. It was a coalition between these two, under the new name of the Unionists, which killed Gladstone's Home Rule Bill twenty-five years ago. A similar coalition might do so even today. But there is no chance of such a re-shuffling of British political parties just now. The Radical section of the Liberals is too strong for such a coalition. There is even a moderate section of the Tories who are more or less liberal in their ideas and ideals, and who would fight shy of a new combination that would increase the inherent conservatism of the Tories. Indeed, the very

attempt to form such a combination would drive the Radicals and the Labourites to coalesce with one another, and this new combination would defeat the very ends of a Tory-Liberal coalition. Consequently, any such coalition is out of the question, at least for the present. It may, indeed I think will be bound to,—come later on, when the Labour-Socialist forces in the House of Commons develop and threaten to overwhelm both the older political parties. Then we may possibly have once more only two great political parties in the United Kingdom,—namely, the Radical-Socialist Party on the one side, and the Bourgeois-Capitalist Party on the other. But that is a distant contingency. For many years to come, the two old political parties will be at the mercy of the Labourites and the Irish Nationalists; and even more at the mercy of the Irish Nationalists than of the British Labourites. This is the real psychology of the success of the Home Rule movement in the present House of Commons.

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**Mr. Redmond
and
The Present Parliament**

For it would be the merest affectation to deny that Mr. Redmond, the Irish Leader, has held the fortunes of the present Liberal Government, absolutely in the hollow of his hands. The cartoon in the London paper which painted Redmond as the King in Westminster, represented, thus, a great truth. Mr. Redmond may well declare, as he has been made to do by the Cartoonist of the Tory Party, that though England may govern Ireland, it's me—John Redmond—who rules England. If Mr. Redmond withdraws his support, Mr. Asquith and his people will have to go back to the wilderness once again, at any moment. And if the Tories come to office, they will be as much at the mercy of Mr. Redmond as their rivals are to-day. The Tories know it. The more cunning among Tory publicists have indeed suggested the wisdom of coalescing with the Irish and give them Home Rule, provided they agreed to protect Tory interests in other directions. The suggestion was publicly discussed by the London Tory-papers, when there was a conflict between the Lords and the Commons over Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, in 1909, and the Government brought in, in consequence, their Veto-Bill. And all these things show why and how, after more than a century of the bitterest struggle and agitation, the Irish problem is at last approaching a final and satisfactory solution. It is a triumph of Irish patriotism, Irish self-sacrifice, and the wonderful capacity for organisation and self-discipline—virtues that are so difficult of cultivation for a subject nation—of the Irish Nationalists.

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**Parnell's
Contribution.**

Nearly three quarters of a century ago, Gavan Duffy, then editing "The (Irish) Nation," wrote, "there are two parties in Ireland; namely those who profit by, and those who suffer from, the foreign domination of the country." The inevitable result of this domination was to make the people subservient and their leaders selfish. Yet all this was changed in a few years, mainly through the genius of one man—Parnell. By all accounts he was an absolutely selfless man. He never considered consequences; but went straight on to whatever appealed to his love and devotion. It was so in his public life, as much as in his private life. This was what made him so great and irresistible in his public life. This was what ruined him too in his private life. But his love for his country was of the same type, essentially, as was his attachment for the woman through whom his public life was destroyed. Both were equally passionate and wreckless. In both, the man drowned himself in his passion. With supremely passionate natures like Parnell's, the Ten Commandments have but little influence. They always live and die for their passion only. His passion for his nation and his country, as much as his passion for the woman for whom he killed all the chances of his public career, had no room for considerations of the Ten Commandments in it. This was Parnell's limitation. Possibly, therefore, the very cause to which he so selflessly devoted himself met with such scant success during his life-time and under his leadership. But now that the final success of that cause is well within sight, one cannot forget how much it is due to the inspiration that Parnell imparted to it.

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**The Organisation
and
Discipline of
The Nationalist Party.**

It was Parnell who really organised the Irish Party and placed it on the footing which with varying fortunes it has held ever since. And the power of the Irish Nationalists in the British Parliament has been due to the strict discipline to which the rank and file of the Party submitted themselves, for the pursuit of their common end. This discipline has been the most valuable asset of the Irish Nationalist Party in their fight for Home Rule. For, if individual Irish M. P.'s had been free to go their own way, in the discharge of their Parliamentary duties, the position of the Party would never have been so powerful as to be able to force the hands of the Government. For the last quarter of a century and more the Irish Members have come to Westminster with one determination only, namely, to see a satisfactory Home Rule

Bill Pass through the House. They have cared for nothing else and have but rarely taken any part, as a Party, in anything which had not, either directly or indirectly, any reference to their own, specific object. They have thrown good sense and good manners, conscience and reason, and even the common claims of humanity, to the winds, with a view to secure their own specific object. For this they have oftentimes courted abuse and, contumely, and have, without the least compunction, sought to destroy the traditional dignity of the British Chamber, simply to obstruct the course of business of the Government which held out no hope to them for the success of their cause. Yet, personally, these Irish Members have never been a bad or disreputable lot. In private life, like all their race, they are the pleasantest people to deal with. Endowed with a free and open mind, a soft heart, a broad sympathy, and an inimitable good temper, the Irish are one of the finest specimens of European humanity. To meet an Irishman is oftentimes to love him. And those who know them in private can hardly understand how these men could earn such an evil reputation in the House of Commons. But their rowdyism and churlishness in the British Legislature have always been assumed as part of their plan of campaign. And now that the success of that vigorous campaign is well within sight, one can better understand the inner psychology of all the evil repute that the Irish Nationalists deliberately earned for themselves from the British politicians and the British publicists. Such a generous and sentimental people can never be uncompromising. If they have hitherto appeared to be so, it is because no just and honourable compromise had so long been seriously offered them.

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**The Spirit of
Compromise
of
The Home-Rule Bill.**

The Home Rule scheme embodied in the Bill that, having passed through the House of Commons, has recently been thrown out by the House of Lords, has been formulated by the present Irish leader in a spirit of fair compromise. Mr. Redmond, like every modern statesman, is fully conscious of the fact that the days of small and isolated sovereign states are gone. We have been brought now face to face with a world-situation which calls for the federation of all smaller sovereign states living in close geographical or intimate historic associations with one another, into larger wholes. Irish statesmen seem very clearly to have realised this fact; and they do not therefore desire the break-up of the Union, but rather its strengthening and consolidation, through the development of an organic, a free, and a co-operative partnership between Ireland and

the United Kingdom. Such a partnership would be for the good of both the parties. The present Home-Rule scheme is based upon this federal principle. Herein lies its strength. This, we now know, was the object of Parnell also. He too did not desire absolute separation from Great Britain; but worked only for an honoured and honourable place in the true co-partnership of the British Empire.

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**The Difficulties
of
Parnell's Position.**

But it was no easy task for him to lead his people to accept, from the very beginning of the Home Rule agitation, this broad and statesmanly ideal, and work wisely for its realisation. And Parnell's difficulties came

more from the British politicians and placemen than from his own people. Every honourable and peaceful settlement of the Irish question had been persistently opposed by the Tory politicians and publicists in England. The Irish were ill-treated at home and abused abroad, for their sinful desire to be in their own country what almost every other European peoples were in theirs. Their intellectual and moral capacity to manage their own affairs was denied by those who were interested in keeping and proving them to be a weak and incapable race. Their classes were bribed by office and honour, their masses deprived of all opportunities for self-organisation and self-realisation; their old and beautiful language, their fine literature, their ancient institutions, their hereditary instincts were all sought to be suppressed in the interest of the "Union." For centuries their religion was used as a political disability. And in view of it all, it was only natural and inevitable that there should have grown in the people's mind an extreme bitterness against everything British. This bitterness for which their rulers were far more responsible than the poor Irish themselves, caused all the troubles of the last thirty or forty years. The rankling recollections of these stand even to-day to some extent in the way of the fullest and universal acceptance of Mr. Redmond's policy of peace and reconciliation in Ireland. There are many Irishmen and Irish women, who look upon Mr. Redmond as more or less of a renegade, and who would have nothing to do with the British Parliament or the British people, and who have no faith in the settlement which Mr. Redmond is working out. They are for an absolute severance of the British connection. This may be common human sentiment, but not farseeing and wise statesmanship. This sentiment, if kept within due limits, may even be helpful to the consolidation and development of Irish Nationalism, in the coming years by keeping a vigilant watch over the new National Government at Dublin which the Home

Rule Act will set up. As a matter of fact this new Government, though subject to the control of an Irish Parliament, will, at least in the earlier stages, be manned very largely by men brought up in British politics, and who are still more or less out of touch with the deeper currents of the life of the Irish masses. This class in Ireland is somewhat similar to the English-educated classes among us. This class while politically the rivals of the British Bureaucracy are all the same, intellectually, and and morally their slaves. They take their intellectual and moral ideas and ideals from England and Europe and not from their own history and culture. These are almost as far removed from the true soul of their people as the European, and look down upon their own culture and civilisation as much as the ignorant and unsympathetic foreigner does. They hate, more or less, to live like or among their people. There is the same class in Ireland also. A Government run by such people may be Irish in name but will hardly be national in the true sense of the word. And the real problem of National Self-Rule in Ireland will not be solved at once by the establishment of an Irish Parliament at Dublin and the organisation of an Irish Government there subject to the control of that Parliament. This will not end, but in a deeper sense, really start the struggle for true National Self-Rule in Ireland. And in this more vital struggle even the present attitude and distrust of the small but important body of Irish Seinn-Finners may be helpful. They will keep the National Consciousness and the National Conscience wide awake amidst circumstances which are likely to exert a more or less soporific influence upon the old leaders.

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**The Continuance
of
The British Connection.**

Yet the present success of the Irish Home Rule Movement is due very largely if not entirely, to the sincere desire of the Irish leaders not to break, but rather to strengthen and consolidate the Union. The maintenance of the British connection is a very vital element of the policy of Mr. Redmond. And Mr. Redmond contends that in this, as in other matters, he is only following in the footsteps of his late leader. During the darkest days of the Home Rule Movement, when the Phoenix Park murders had aroused the worst passions of the British people against the Irish patriots, Parnell openly announced this policy, But no body believed in the truth or sincerity of his pronouncement then. And in view of the extreme bitterness that had been created in the Irish mind by the British Executive in Ireland, it was hard to believe that even if Parnell wanted really to preserve the Union, his people, once they had a

chance to do it, would not recklessly try to break it up. Indeed, I have a suspicion that even Parnell did not repeat this declaration of his real policy lest he should lose the confidence and support of his race. He knew full well the peculiarly emotional temperament of his people. He knew it, therefore, that to keep up the agitation for Home Rule in full vigour it would not to do cool down the ardour of the people by saying or suggesting that what he wanted for his country was not absolute independence, but only a modified form of self-rule which would not be absolutely incompatible with the preservation of the Union. But though for these reasons Parnell did not think it politic to preach any other ideal to his people except that of ultimate national independence, it is impossible to deny that his real objective was to keep and not to break the British connection. But, whatever may have been the real views of Parnell, there can be no question about the absolute sincerity of the policy of Mr. Redmond. The general trend of world politics has considerably changed since the time of Parnell. The problem of the British Empire itself has become more clear to-day than what it was in Parnell's time. Federation is in the air. And the Irish leaders must be credited with this much pre-vision at least as has enabled them to see that it would be infinitely more advantageous for Ireland to be a part of the Self-Governing Empire of Britain than to live apart as an independent and isolated Sovereign State. Mr. Redmond and his colleagues fully recognise it on their side. Mr. Asquith and his colleagues recognise this on their side, also that it would be absolutely impossible to maintain the unity and strength of the British Empire without fully and frankly accepting the right of Ireland to manage her own affairs herself, without any let or hindrance from her dominant partner. The Irish have spread themselves over all the British Colonies. The sympathy of the Colonies with Ireland's demand for self-rule was becoming stronger and more articulate every day. The campaign of political violence that found all the excuse in the early eighties of the last century, for executive repressions and jingo reprisals, had practically stopped. The situation was thus much quieter now than what it had been for years in Ireland. And all these things have contributed to bring about the present assurance of success of the movement for Irish Home Rule. And all these have in them very valuable lessons for those who are struggling for national self-rule in our time. And we, in India, can least afford to ignore these valuable lessons.

III.

THE HINDU UNIVERSITY : WHERE WOULD IT LEAD US TO ?

"A Straight Question."

The question has been raised by a rising Hindu educationist, in a letter which he has kindly sent to the HINDU REVIEW. He writes :—

"An institution which promises and professes to be "Hindu" would naturally and certainly appeal to us like a cheerful cry to the ears of an exile uttered in a foreign country, but in the language of the exile's lullaby. The Hindu, though living in his own country, has become no more than an exile from the heart of Hindu civilisation and things Hindu. The cry of "Hindu University" must, therefore, appeal powerfully to him and act charmingly upon his imagination. But before we allow ourselves to be entranced by this attractive and inviting appeal, let us pause a little and consider where it will actually lead or land us."

"The Hindu University movement is, I think, both a confession and a protest. It is a confession of our helplessness, and it is a protest, at the same time, against the Napoleonic and secular system of Governmental Education. But what are we going to have in place of the secularism of the British Universities in India? Are we going to have the darkness of mediævalism of the so-called orthodox schools? Does the Hindu University promise to teach us the duty of disobedience at the bidding of our reason and our conscience, in the interest of social progress, or that of unquestioned and unquestioning servility to existing customs and institutions, in the interest of so-called order? What are we going to learn in this promised University?—The "divine" inequality of men, which you can never escape if you have even a single dive into the ocean of Hindu literature, or the fundamental truth of the equality of man, upon which modern culture and civilisation has firmly taken its stand? Would you play the obscurantist or the "Buddha" and the "Bodhaka?"

"Classics of any country, if not understood in their real historical worth, become mere shackles on the progress of an old community. Would the Hindu University promote the study of our ancient classics as the histories and antiquities of other peoples are studied and taught in the modern universities, or as sacred books whose statements must be accepted as true and whose injunctions must be followed and carried out as right? Would the Hindu Shastras be taught and explained as reverent records of the past, telling us of things that

had their justification once but have none today? Or, should we study and teach these as absolute injunctions for the guidance and regulation of our lives today? Would the University simply explain how in our old *Śāstras* that preached such lofty humanitarianism on one side, an almost inhuman position was assigned to the Sudras on the other? or would it preach for the maintenance of the same position even to-day, when many a born-Brahmin is found immeasurably inferior both intellectually and spiritually, to many a born-Sudra? We put a straight question and want and expect a straight answer.

"Let us know what we are going to get. Would the Hindu University, in teaching the Vedic lore, confine and restrict its work to the charmed circle of the stagnated "Dvijas," or would it extend it to the long-despised but fresh and full-of-life Sudra also,—the brother and descendent of Chandragupta, and Asoka, and Shivaji, and Desapande, Kalim and Nabha and the poet who sanctified the name of Rasarhan? If "yes" is said to the former part of the question, then it is the distinct duty of every Hindu to put forth all his strength to oppose and suppress the movement of the Hindu University: if "yes" is said in reply to the latter part of the question, then we must do all we can to help it.

"Sometimes we can afford to be patriotic: but we cannot afford to be patriotic for entering a Den of Darkness, simply because it bears the sacred talisman of the Hindu name on its sign-board. We are not made for "Hinduism" but "Hinduism" was made for us. We do not want gaudily-labelled preserves of even our own ancient civilisation for a National Marmlade-Shop: what we want, or should want, is to revive and restore their decadent manhood to the present generation of millions of our fellow-Hindus. If the Hindu University do not desire or dare to attempt this, then we had better be without this new apology for a degraded and decadent mediævalism, as a modern institution, in our midst.

"Let us for a moment pause and consider the new scheme of this Hindu University, in the light of the practical results of the present system of Governmental education in the country. We are not concerned with its policy here; only just let us note its practical results. This result, though indirect, and possibly unintentioned, is vast, so vast, indeed, that anything like it was unknown in this country except in the days of the rise and progress of Buddhism. Its one parallel is the Reformation in Europe. It is transforming and metamorphosing the Indian community. It forces equality upon us. The Kayastha and the Brahmin, the Hindu and the Mahomedan, the

"high" and the "low," have to sit side by side on the benches of the Government School. Then the school and the college produce a common yet inequal type of intellectuality. The deep gap, which has existed in this country, as it existed in pre-Napoleonic days in Europe, between the Pandit and the Pariah, is being narrowed down. This is no small gain. We cannot afford to have, if we care for the growth and consolidation of our national life, on one side of the intellectual plane, a gigantic, living, moving library, and on the other, an ignorant fossil.

"The evils of the present Governmental system of education are great, very great, indeed. But the antidote to these evils is not obscurantistic theology and "Benares (Besantine ?) Hinduism." The medicine should not be such, as seeking to cure an existing malady, would instigate a greater distemper in the body politic. And we want to know exactly what is the actual nature of the remedy that is going to be prescribed by the promised Hindu University."

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**The Tone of the
Question : and the
Importance of the Issue.**

The tone and temper of our correspondent's "straight" questions may possibly jar on the nerves of some people, but that the issues he raises here are both absolutely relevant and exceedingly vital cannot, I think, be denied. And the success or failure of the Hindu University movement will be absolutely determined by the spirit and manner in which the leaders face these issues. Funds will not be lacking for an institution like this ; and, I think, it will perhaps be easier to raise funds for an institution on mediaeval lines than one on truly modern lines. This, indeed, is a very great temptation to the organisers. But apart from the question of funds, the real difficulty in organising a truly modern Hindu University will be in the matter of ideas and ideals. The ordinary leaders of thought among our English-educated countrymen have little appreciation of the root-ideas and ideals of Hindu culture. They are much too steeped in modern European thought to be able to take a correct measure of their own thoughts and institutions. The so-called orthodox section of them, who affect Hindu ways, are no more fitted to interpret the thought and culture of their people than the so-called heterodox classes. They too are too much under the influence of Europe to do this work properly and correctly. And our first and greatest difficulty in regard to the organisation of a Hindu University, as, indeed, in regard to the working of Hindu institutions of any kind, is lack of men with a genuine Hindu spirit and a deep knowledge of Hindu evolution, among the leaders of the present Hindu society.

Orthodoxy

or

Hybridism ?

The fact of the matter really is, that while we have Hindu "reformers" among us on the one side, and Hindu "reactionaries" on the other,

we have perhaps not as yet found one single true Hindu in the leadership of the present generation of our country. The gentlemen who are making such large sacrifices in both time and money for the Hindu University, for instance, are very esteemable persons, no doubt, but it would be very difficult to accept them as representatives of the highest Hindu thought or life. Many of these gentlemen, though Brahmins by birth, are either Vaisyas or Sudras by profession. Even mediæval Hinduism with its monkish and monastic emphasis and its hidebound rules of caste-and-order or Varnasrama, would not tolerate the class to which these gentlemen belong, in the leadership of the Hindu community. For even mediæval Hinduism with all its intellectual limitations and social injustice, was better than the curious hybridism that has commenced to claim the name of Hindu orthodoxy in our time.

Broadly speaking, as I pointed out elsewhere,

"The Reformer."

we, the English-educated Hindus of the present generation, stand divided into two

opposite camps. Some are "reformers" and some are "reactionaries"; and neither of these two classes have any real appreciation of the true character of their own culture and civilisation. The standard of judgment which the "reformer" applies to the consideration of his own religion and society is derived neither from the rational generalisations of the course of past historic evolution in India itself, nor from those of universal human history and culture, but from the crude and ignorant conclusions of modern European empiricism only. Judging his own national history and institutions in the light of the history and achievements of modern Europe, the "reformer" is constantly condemning his own country and culture; and with the relentless pity of the missionary propagandist, he is always seeking to ruthlessly improve them more or less after these alien ideals.

The "reactionary" from a different motive,

"The Reactionary."

and pursuing quite an opposite method, also applies unconsciously the standards of Europe,

not to abolish but rather to revive and re-establish the social and religious institutions of his country. In religion, the "reactionary" is setting up for the Indian scriptures, for instance, the same claims to infallibility and absolutism, that credal systems like Christianity or Islam popularly claim for the Bible or the Koran. He forgets that neither verbal infallibility nor any exclusive and absolute authority had ever been vested in the

religious scriptures of Hinduism. In sociology, the "reactionary" tries to revive the relaxing rigidities of the Hindu caste-system in the spirit of the class-domination of Europe; and, thereby, he ignores the patent fact that the genius of the Indian caste-system never tolerated this spirit of domination in the so-called higher, and consequently rarely evoked any spirit of envious revolt in the so-called lower castes. Conceit of superiority has been uniformly condemned in the higher castes; while the almost absolute autonomy enjoyed by the different castes in regard to all matters concerning their caste-life, and the sense of mutual interdependence cultivated in all the castes, both higher and lower, as limbs and organs of a great organic whole,—left, indeed, but little room for the growth of such conceits. The "reactionary" is, thus, as much under the spell of European ideas and ideals as the "reformer." The only difference between them is that while the latter is trying to consciously control and regulate his social evolution after the manner of Europe, the former is unconscious of the domination of these alien ideals.

Both the reformer and the reactionary are, thus, found, at the final analysis, to be equally inspired, the one consciously and the other unconsciously, by the spirit of Europe. Both have more or less imbibed the European temperament. Both are, though in different ways, emphatically objective and materialistic. The one is dominated by individualistic ethicism, the other by effete formalism; and both these equally lack that true inwardness which is characteristic of the thought and culture of India. The one revels in the unrealities of subjective abstractions; the other in the unrealities of effete and un-understood rituals. The reformer by his unilluminated and empirical criticism of our life and institutions strengthens the forces of reaction in the country; while the reactionary by the infidel tenacity with which he is seeking to hold on to the lifeless and decadent forms of our social and religious life, lends strength and vitality to the reformer's revolt. And by their mutual wranglings and recriminations, they are constantly confusing every social or religious issue before us.

**The Confusion
of
Issues.**

The Hindu University movement is not altogether free from this confusion. Our correspondent evidently represents, to some extent in any case, the view-point of the "reformers." The prominent organisers of the movement are themselves more or less identified with the "reactionaries." The truth of the matter though partially represented by

both, is not completely apprehended, I am afraid, by either. In so far as our correspondent is dominated by the European gospel of "freedom," "equality" and "happiness," he is unfitted to take a correct measure of the problem before us. In so far as he represents the dynamic elements of the social evolution of the Hindu, he is on the right track. But one need not be an advocate of the "divine inequality" of the Sudra and the Brahmin, to refuse to accept the "divine equality" of the French Illumination with its individualistic, anti-social tendencies, its principle of "right" and its methods of competition. Nor need one be an upholder of Popery and presticraft, if one refuses to accept the Protestant gospel of the right of private judgment as the final and only Court of Appeal for the determination of religious truth. In the experience and culture of the Hindus there are much better solutions of the problems of individual freedom and private judgment than what we have, perhaps, in the experience and culture of Europe. The Hindu University will fail of its purpose, if in seeking to help the solution of the complex problem of national education, it were to ignore the dynamic elements and the progressive methods of Hindu evolution. What these elements are, and how they worked in the past and how they may be adapted to meet the needs of the present are vital questions. But they cannot be even barely indicated, much less discussed, in a note, in a mere incidental way.

There is, however, one part of our correspondent's straight question, that must be immediately and boldly answered. It refers to the qualifications of the students who will be admitted to the Faculty of Theology and Scriptural Studies in the proposed University. Our friend asks—will the Sudras be admitted to this Faculty? I ask, will women be excluded from it? Mediæval Hinduism had prohibited the study of the Vedas to both these classes. Neither of these exclusions has any Vedic sanction, and absolutely not the semblance of any intellectual or moral justification, at least in our time. To seek to revive a distinction that does not practically exist any longer, for no penalty is attached now anywhere in India to the attempt of Sudras or women to read and explain the Vedas,—would be simply suicidal to the Hindu University Movement. I can hardly believe that the leaders will take so unwise a step. But if they do so, the inevitable result of it will be to drive the Sudras to rise up, and in the name of the same Shastras, to demand their credentials of Brahminhood from present-day Brahmins. I hope the leaders of the Hindu University will not wantonly provoke this conflict. It will be bad for all concerned.

CHARACTER SKETCH.

SIR TARAK NATH PALIT.

Man is a curious bundle of contradictions, and the more real a man is the greater and more perplexing seem to be the contradictions of his life and conduct. In fact, the man who is not a contradiction, can hardly



By the courtesy of the Hindoo Patriot.

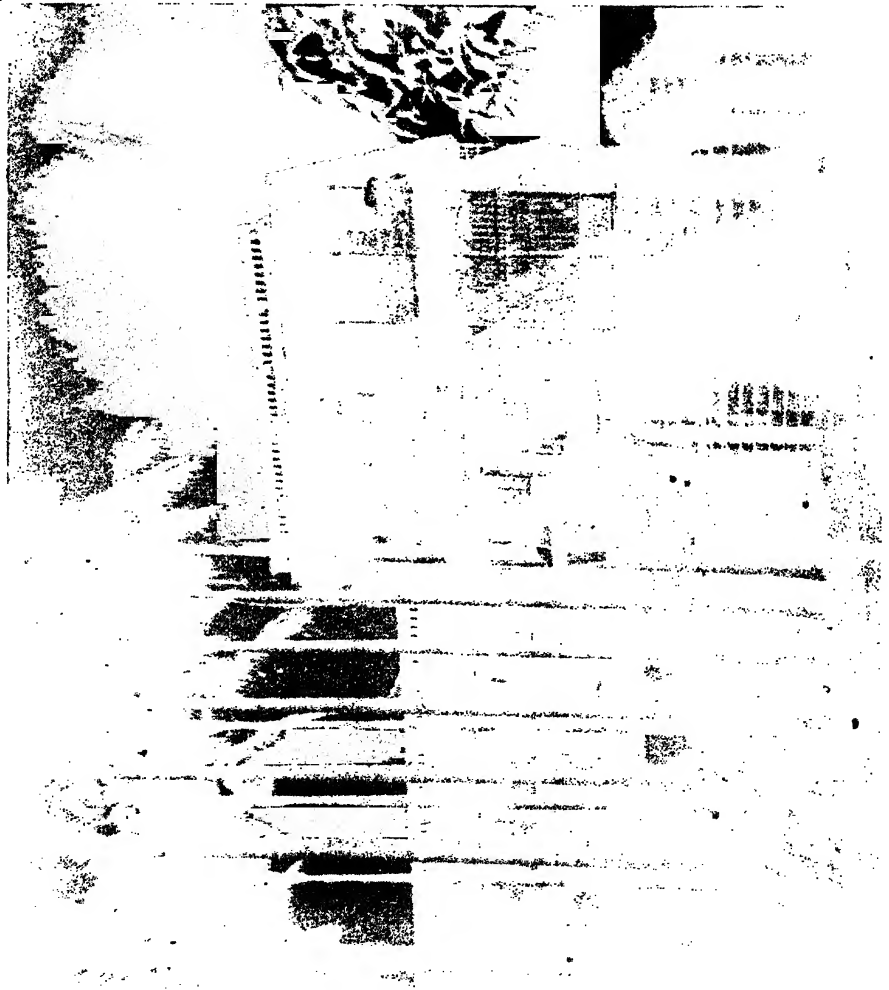
Sir Tarak Nath Palit as a Youngman.

be called a character. Mr. Tarak Nath Palit, recently knighted in recognition of his munificent gift to the Calcutta University, is, by common consent, a character. He has, therefore, stood somewhat, out of the common run of his contemporaries, among the English educated community of Bengal. One of the ablest members of the Calcutta Bar, Mr. Palit did not earn the distinction that fell to the lot of many of his brother-Barristers, not because he had not their ability or even their opportunity, but because he had a sturdy independence, which was sometimes interpreted by some people even as a vicious temper, and that is a thing which never pays in any profession, not even in the so-called independent profession of law. He never put up with any nonsense, neither from judge nor from counsel, and least of all from the Anglo-Indian Judge or the English Counsel. And no counsel, however able he might be, has any chance of getting to the top of his profession, unless he can stand well in the good grace of the Court. Tarak Nath Palit never tried to do so. He never would have succeeded even if he had tried it. And this is why, despite his very superior endowments and acquirements, he did not gain the distinction that some of our Bengalee Barristers did in his time.

The same reasons worked to keep him more or less out of our political platform and public life also. The man who would not play up to the judges of the High Court, could not be expected to play down to the gallery in our Congresses and Conferences. Compromise is the very soul of public life. In the true statesman, the spirit of compromise is a very high quality. There its end is to avoid or minimise the possibilities of coming evils and secure and advance those of future good. In the petty politician, expediency is whose one universal principle of life, this compromise is a mean and degrading thing, calculated to demoralise rather than to uplift personal character or public life. This compromise had no place in the philosophy of Tarak Nath Palit. He could never stoop, not even to conquer. He knew many of the men who were running our public political shows. He knew from behind the scene the amount of paint and powder that goes usually to the make-up of the ordinary patriot and politician in this country; and, therefore, not having the suavity that could be all things unto all men, he never made the vain attempt of playing this role. This is why he is not so widely known in other parts of India as some of our older Barristers have been. Even in his own Province, Tarak Nath Palit never was a force in its public life. And no one ever dreamt that he would, in the evening of his days, secure for himself a lasting place in the gratitude of his people, by dedicating the entire savings of a lifetime, to the cause of scientific education in his country. This is practically the one public act of his; and it has, to a very large extent, revolutionised all the popular estimates of the man.

Yet, if one had critically analysed his character, one would have easily seen that Tarak Nath Palit's is of that type of personality which is most capable of making the greatest sacrifice if only the object which demanded it could touch his heart. Inside a very rough and even repellent exterior, Tarak Nath has been known, from his boyhood, to carry a very tender and highly susceptible heart. Like many a greater man, he has a brusque manner, a terrible tongue, and a quick temper, joined to a very impulsive and not ungenerous disposition. He has, therefore, been known to be the most steadfast of friends and the most relentless of foes in private life. No one could do the least evil turn to any of Tarak Nath Palit's friends, without making him an enemy for life. Certain aspects of Sir Tarak Nath Palit's character reminds one sometimes of Pandit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar. Of course, there is very wide difference between the two men. But his difference is more quantitative than qualitative. The same sturdy independence, the same quick temper and brusque manners, joined to a soft and susceptible heart,

characterise Tarak Nath Palit as did the great Bengali Philanthropist. And there is also the same assumption of cynicism in him as was characteristic of Vidyasagar. Tarak Nath Palit has also the keen humour which one always found in Pandit Isvar Chunder. And lastly, by his great gift, Sir Tarak Nath has secured for himself a place, though much smaller and lower, in the same niche in the history of modern education in Bengal, where the memory of Pandit Isvar Chunder Vidyasagar is lovingly enshrined.



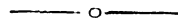
Sir Tarak Nath Palit's House, —Made over to the University.

Tarak Nath Palit has not been a saint, and it would be doing him great injustice to try to canonise him now for his great gift to the Calcutta University. Saints don't grow, as the late Lord Salisbury once said at the Banquet of the Royal Academy in London, in modern civilisation ; and to paint the modern man or woman as a saint would be, his lordship reminded us, to risk prosecution for libel in our law courts.

Nor is there any need to take that risk in Sir Tarak Nath's case. For he would be the last person to appreciate such pleasant exaggerations. For whatever his faults, Sir Tarak Nath has never been a humbug in all his life. A nature like his could not, in fact, play the part. And it is for this reason that even those who do not like him, cannot refuse to respect him.

But for all that, Sir Tarak Nath's offer to endow a Technical College in connection with the National Council of Education, Bengal, was received with considerable distrust by a large section of his educated countrymen. He had never posed as a patriot or philanthropist before. And owing to his want of confidence in the current public life of his country, he could not feel sure that his gift would, if absolutely made over to the National Council, secure reasonable permanence to the institution that he wanted to establish. This is why he was so cautious,—and as it seemed to some, even vacillating in his dealings with that body. We did not like Sir Tarak Nath's attitude in this matter at the time. As he was suspicious of the Council, so a large section of his countrymen were equally suspicious of him. He did not believe in the capacity of the National Council ; and many people did not believe in the sincerity of Sir Tarak Nath. Events have, however, proved, I think, that he was right and we were wrong. For it can scarcely be denied that the National Council has not been faithful to its charge. The movement that called the Council into existence is dead. The institution that sought to concretise the ideal of National Education among us, lies almost still-born. An experienced man of affairs, Sir Tarak Nath evidently presaged it all, : and so he did not like to throw away so much good money upon a wild goose-chase. It is a pity that the National Council could not get the trusteeship of this large fund : but it is not so much the fault of the donor as of the Council itself. He might have placed his donation with the Calcutta University seven years ago ; if he did not do it, it was because he was sincerely anxious to have it administered by a people's organisation. And it is only the failure of the Bengal National Council to justify itself that has led to the final disposition of the money to the Calcutta University. And one cannot justly hold that Sir Tarak has not done right in this matter.

And the conditions of the gift show that Sir Tarak Nath has tried his best to preserve as much as possible the original idea of his endowment. All the Professors connected with it will have to be Indians. I have been told that there was considerable ~~difficulty~~ in getting the Government and the University accept his gift on this condition. Theoretically it does seem rather individious to make any such condition in regard to the working of an educational institution whose one end should be to secure the best training for those who may be placed in it. But under present conditions, when the Indian Educational Service, as reconstituted by Lord Curzon, offers such restricted opportunities to Indian talents, the imposition of some such racial limitation in the working of the new endowment was absolutely necessary. Without this condition, Sir Tarak Nath's munificent gift would have practically failed of its real purpose, namely, the promotion of scientific culture among his people. But I have very grave doubts whether Sir Tarak Nath would have got this condition accepted by the University, if the present Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, had not used all his subtle influence with the authorities in favour of the offer.



An American Municipal University.

In an article headed "A Municipal University's Claims to Public Support" in the January Number of The American Review of Reviews it is stated that in the Cincinnati Budget of October last, it has been most impressively shown :—That this Municipal University, unlike any other institution of learning in the United States is closely related to all of the city's educational, industrial, social, medical and beneficial interests. The College of Medicine, for example, co-operate with the City Hospital, the Board of Health, the Anti-Tuberculosis League, the Maternity Society, the Visiting Nurse's Association and the Milk Commission. The College for Teachers co-operates with the Art Academy. The College of Engineering has a remarkable system of co-operation with the several industrial plants of the city.

The College of Arts maintains evening classes for the benefit of those students who have to work during the day.

Sixty-seven per. cent of all the male students of the University work during vacation and 59 per. cent work during the college session. The record of student-self-support is unusual for a university.

It was shown that during the past decade the institution has developed from a college of moderate size into a University with nearly 2,000 students.

LETTERS ON HINDUISM.

LETTER I.

THE STRANGE TOLERANCE OF HINDUISM.

Personal
and
Prefatory.

I have read your last letter with mingled pleasure and pain. The anxious enquiry you make about our religious thoughts and disciplines naturally pleases me. But at the same time, that I should have in any way destroyed or disturbed your native faith in the religion of your fathers, has pained me. For I know, my child, that in these matters it is far easier to break than to build. Missionary religions, like Christianity or Islam, actually deem it their duty, we know, to violently destroy other people's faith with a view to supplant it with their own, which they believe to be not only higher but the only way to salvation. All people believe their faith to be higher than that of other peoples, and the Hindu would not be human if he had not the same conceit regarding the superiority of his own religion over that of others. But unlike the ordinary Christian or Mahomedan, he never sends to eternal perdition all those who do not accept the truth or follow the rules of his religion.

Conceit
or
Culture?

This is a thing which even cultured foreigners find it very difficult to understand. I remember my revered friend Mr. W. T. Stead actually putting this feature of Hinduism down as a proof of the narrow conceit of the Hindûs. The European is always eager to give out to the world whatever he finds most acceptable to himself. He takes it to be a sign of his supreme love for the world. But he does not understand it that what is best for him may not really be the best for others. He understands it in the ordinary affairs of life. He would even enforce it in his social relations, and would, as a matter of pure duty, keep those who are his social inferiors, "in their place." And he would do it with a clear conscience because he thinks that what is good for himself or his class, is not really good for those who stand below him in the social scale. But when it is a question of the religious life, the European Christian thinks that what is good for one person *must* be good for all persons. It hurts his faith in his God to think that it is not so.

And the reason of it is that the European Christian judges religion always and only by its ultimate end. That end being to give salvation to humanity, it cannot be that what is good religion for one will not be equally good for another. Because such differences would make salvation possible to some and impossible to others. And the European's instinct is essentially correct here. For, salvation cannot be the exclusive privilege of a few.

**Universality
of
Salvation.**

The Hindu also believes that God's salvation is for all His creatures. In this respect, the Hindu is even more liberal than the Christian. For, while Christian orthodoxy, as we know it in the churches, limits the privilege of being saved to those who accepts Jesus Christ and his Atonement as the only way to salvation, the Hindu never imposes any kind of condition whatever, credal or otherwise, upon man's right to be saved. The universe has come from God and must, by the very law of its own being, return to God again. In the Hindu's philosophy there is no difference as regards the ultimate goal ; all must, sooner or later, reach it. And because the Hindu believes in the universality of salvation, he is not so anxious or impatient as the Christian or the Mahomedan about the salvation of his brother.

**One Goal :
Many Ways.**

But though the ultimate end is one and absolutely assured for all, the means for the realisation of that end are various and many, indeed, are almost infinite. There are as many different ways of realising this ultimate end, as there are individual human beings. For, each person's inner constitution must determine the particular way along which he or she must proceed with a view to reach the ultimate goal of existence. This inner constitution is the resultant of many forces that have worked to make the individual what he or she is now. And these forces are not of one kind or character : some are physical, some physiological ; some are psychological and some social ; some mental and some spiritual. These have acted and reacted upon one another from even before the birth of each individual, and have really determined the course of his physical, mental, and spiritual evolution. All the training that the individual receives in his life, all the experiences that he gathers, and the way that he uses these experiences, all these are dependent upon his or her original constitution. No education or training can succeed unless it works upon the peculiarities of the original constitution and temperament of each individual human unit.

Modern Pedagogy is gradually coming to understand and recognise these facts. The Hindu had always understood and recognised this truth even in his religious life and thought. And he was able to do it so successfully, because with him religion has ever been a matter of culture and not of creeds.

**Ethnic Religion
and
Credal Religion.**

In the earliest stage, religion is everywhere a question of culture, it is true. Creeds grow late. Judaism, for instance, was not a matter of creed but essentially one of social and ethical culture. It is the same in all

ethnic religions. Creeds grow gradually in these ethnic systems as they proceed from the earliest perceptive to the later reflective stage of evolution. The characteristic note of this reflective stage is what may be called the logical note. The categories of formal logic dominate the mind at this stage. Identity or difference, these are about the only essential categories of formal logic. A. is B. or A. is not B.: these are the only possibilities recognised by formal logic. In the reflective stage, therefore, man's religious thought divides the entire body of human experience and human institutions into two mutually exclusive classes, namely that which is true and that which is false. In ethical matters man in this stage similarly divides all actions and motives and all customs and institutions, into two classes, namely, those that are good and those that are bad. This fundamentally dualistic interpretation of human experience and human institutions is a universal feature of the early reflective stage of man's religious evolution. And it is in this stage that credal religions take their birth. It was at this stage that Buddhism grew out of the ancient religion of the Indo-Aryan settlers of this country. It was at this stage that Christianity grew out of Judaism, and Islam grew out of the ancient religion of Arabia. Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, are all credal religions. Credal religions are also missionary religions. Because they hold that salvation depends absolutely upon the acceptance of their special creed, which contains the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, in them. And all these credal religions proclaim that salvation can be attained only through the pursuit of the special culture which they have each introduced into the world. To attain salvation one must be a Christian, or a Mahomedan, this is the faith of the Christian, or the Mahomedan. To save humanity from perdition every body must be made a Christian, or a Mahomedan; this is exactly how an orthodox Christian or a Mahomedan feels. And they propagate their respective religions with such zeal for the simple reason that unless

they do it, God's Dispensation which has been promulgated for the salvation of humanity, will not be fully realised. This is the meaning of the missionary spirit and enthusiasm of these religions.

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| <p style="text-align: center;">Relativity of Human Knowledge.</p> | <p>Hinduism is not a missionary religion, because it is not a credal religion like either Christianity or Islam. It claims no exclusive knowledge of the truth or of the ways of God.</p> |
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All knowledge, the Hindu says, is relative, including even our so-called knowledge of God. The understanding, sometimes also loosely called the mind in your language, is the organ of all knowledge. And this understanding gathers its materials from our outer experiences of men and things. To use your own philosophical parlance, the one, namely, the understanding, supplies the *forms* of thought and knowledge, while the other, namely, outer experiences, supply what are called the *contents* of thought and knowledge. Both these are essential elements of all thinking and knowing. And both our understanding and our experiences are continually growing things. These are universally admitted facts. And if this be true, then all our thoughts and knowledge must also, necessarily, be continually growing and expanding. For absolute thought and knowledge is that which is complete in itself, and can, therefore, know no growth or expansion, can admit of neither more nor less. The thing that admits of growth and expansion is necessarily a part and not the whole of it. Consequently, all our knowledge, admitting of growth and expansion, can only be partial, and never complete.

The question then is : can, under these conditions, our knowledge of God's Nature or of His Ways be ever complete or absolute ? God is Infinite. This is the common belief of all religions that have passed beyond the stage of animism. It is the common belief of both Christianity and Hinduism. And if this be so, the Hindu does not understand how the Christian can claim an absolute knowledge of God or of His salvation. For if all our knowledge grows always from less to more, our knowledge of God, who is Infinite must grow infinitely and can never reach any finality.

The Hindu had realised this fundamental truth about the relativity of human knowledge from of old; and he never, therefore, claimed for the dogmas of his religion that absolute character which is claimed for the dogmas of Christianity or Islam by the votaries of those religions. The wisest among the Hindus never, therefore, said that they had a full and perfect knowledge of God. In fact, you will find, an element of agnosticism at the back of all our most devout and profound theological

speculations. We thus read in one of our oldest Upanishads,—the Talabakaropanishat or what is popularly known as the Kenopanishat of the Sama-Veda:—

यदि मन्यसे सुवेदेति दम्भमेवापि नूनं त्वं वेत्य ब्रह्मणो रूपम्

यदस्य त्वं यदस्य देवेचय नु मीमांस्यमेव ते मन्ये विदितम् ।

नाहं मन्ये सुवेदेति नो न वेदेति वेद च ।

यो नस्तद्देद तद्देद नो न वेदेति वेद च ।

यस्यामतं तस्य मतं मतं यस्य न वेद सः

अविज्ञातं विज्ञानतां विज्ञातमविज्ञानताम् ।

If thou thinkest that thou hast perfectly known Brahman or the Supreme, then, to be sure, thou hast known very little of Him. (Hearing this the Disciple said :) I do not think that I have known Brahman fully. I do not think that I know Brahman, I do not think that I do not know Brahman. (Hearing this the Teacher said:) It is not true that I know Brahman; it is not true that I do not know Brahman: Whoever among us knows the significance of this text, he alone knows Brahman.

He who thinks that he does not know Brahman knows Brahman; and he who thinks that he knows Brahman, does not know Brahman.

This is from our earlier records. But you will find this spirit of agnosticism running through the entire range of our history and culture. It is, however, a much healthier kind of agnosticism than what is usually known as such in modern thought and speculations in Europe. True agnosticism can never be dogmatic; yet your modern agnostic is as dogmatic in his denial of what he professes not to know as your orthodox religion is in what it professes to believe. Our Hindu agnosticism is very different from this. It is more humble, and refuses to dogmatise about what God can be or can do. The Hindu's strange tolerance of all faiths, however different from his own, or repugnant to him, is due to this underlying agnosticism of his fundamental philosophy of life. It is, to my mind, the only healthy kind of agnosticism known to history, the type of agnosticism which is essential to every form of true universalism.

The absence of dogmatism in our religion is the direct fruit of this healthy spirit of agnosticism that pervades all our thoughts and speculations. And Hinduism never dogmatises, because it knows that all our knowledge is really relative and not absolute, only partial and not full and complete. And in this plane of relativity all experience is true. Our errors arise not in what we actually experience, but in what we infer from that experience. Very little, indeed, of what we claim to

know, is the result of our direct experience. There is always a very large admixture of mere inference in all that we claim as direct knowledge. In fact, it is a common character of our mind that while we really know in parts, we all the while think ~~in~~ in wholes. A very common illustration of it occurs in your own philosophical literature. Take, for instance, our vision of round objects. A little reflection will tell you that we never see round things. You never see all the sides of a tea-cup, but only that part of it which stands directly in the line of your vision. And that which you actually visualise is flat and not round, though there is undoubtedly a suggestion of a curve even in that flat surface. And what you really do is to take up this suggestion and infer from it the completion of this curve on the other side of the cup, which is really just now beyond the range of your vision, and thus, you say that this is a cup, that is, a round object. As in the case of this tea-cup, so in almost everything that we usually claim to know, there is always a very large element of inference mixed up with our direct knowledge. And all our disputes, as well as all our errors, are due to this universal element of inference that gets mixed up with our direct perceptions of things or thoughts. If only we could always carefully discriminate between what we actually experience and what we only infer from that experience, all our disputes and differences might be automatically settled. And because the Hindu did try, from of old, to make this discrimination between actual experience and natural inferences deduced from that experience, that his religion has been always so peculiarly free from that dogmatism which is characteristic of the other great religious systems of the world.

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| <p style="text-align: center;">Ex p r i e n c e vs. Traditions and creeds.</p> | <p>All knowledge is the result of direct experience. Our knowledge of God or of the facts of the inner soul-life, is no exception to this rule. We can no more know a thing or a person without some immediate experience, than we can know God without similar experience. Of course we do know of things and persons from the testimony of others also. But this is mere hearsay, and not true and real knowledge. Popular religion all the world over is based almost entirely upon such hearsay. The man in the street everywhere receives his beliefs from the traditions of of his family, his church, or his race. And therefore he follows the rules of his religion more or less automatically everywhere. Popular religion all the world over has, consequently, much far greater power of resistance than capacity for adaptation and growth, greater inertia than life. It is the same with Christianity and Islam as it is with Hinduism.</p> |
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And the chief reason of this inertia is that popular religion everywhere is very little related to the actual and direct religious experiences of its votaries. But whenever and wherever religion is a matter not of hearsay or tradition but of actual, living, inner experience, then and there we find a slow but sure process of the falling away of all hidebound dogmatism and bigotry. With the growth of real experience of the inner life, man's spiritual vision gets more and more clarified, and with this clarity of his inner vision comes the conviction that after all what he knows is only a very infinitesimal part of what he shall know through the eternal ages. And from this conviction there grows within him a spirit of real humility which refuses to dogmatise either about the Nature or about the Ways of the Deity. The real saints in every Church have, therefore, infinitely greater toleration and respect for other peoples' faiths than their followers are usually found to show. There is, thus, far greater affinity between the life and teachings of the Buddha on the one side, and those of Christ, for instance, on the other, than there is between the "faithful" Buddhist and the "faithful" Christian. Similarly there is much less conflict between the spirit of the teachings of Thomas A Kempis on the one side and those of our own Samkara-Acharya on the other. We know of Sufi saints in Islam who have much greater kinship with our Hindu Sadhus than with members of their own faith. And a Hindu saint of Bengal who was living not very long ago in a village in the District of Dacca, used to say that one of the very few '*Brahmins*' that he had seen in his life, was a Mahomedan whom he had met in the Caaba at Mecca and his name was Gaffoor. And the reason of the strange affinities that are discovered in the life and teachings of the saints and sages of all the different religions of the world, is to be found in the fact that with these holy men religion is not a matter of mere creed or tradition or of so-called faith, but of actual, direct, personal experience. Credal religions, however, have everywhere an inevitable tendency to set their supernatural creeds above man's natural experience, and in doing so, they develop an intolerent missionary spirit which is more or less unknown to the non-credal religions of the world.

Hinduism has never been a missionary religion like Christianity or Islam for the simple reason that it has no creeds. It has no doubt a philosophy of its own, or more correctly speaking many philosophies that seek to explain and interpret it. It has also its sacraments and ceremonies, its rituals and disciplines, its laws and codes. There are these

**The Law of Evolution
and
The Demand of Creeds.**

things in Hinduism as much as they are found in the other world-religions. But while it demands submission to its disciplines, it never insists upon the acceptance of any particular creed. And if you just calmly think it out, you will find, I am sure, that in this, Hinduism is really far more rational and shows much deeper insight into the nature and working of the human mind, than the more aggressive missionary systems of the world.

For, what is more futile and foolish than the ordinary methods of propagation of the so-called missionary religions of the world? There is, indeed, no more fruitless work than that of trying to argue people out of their old into a new belief. We cannot accept anything as true simply by an effort of our will. The will is not the organ of faith but only of work. The true organ of faith is the understanding, or what is loosely called the mind. And the mind follows no man's order but always and only its own bent. This mental bent is, again, the result of many forces, physical, social, biological, psychological as well as what is called spiritual. To create a particular set of mental convictions in any person, one must be able to direct and control all these numerous forces. Do you think that it is for nothing that some people are naturally credulous and some are inherently sceptical? Some are wonderfully quick and others are dreadfully dull? There is such a thing as mental inheritance, characteristics of the mental life which we get from our forbears. There is such a thing as physical environments, the impress that our mind receives from its contacts and conflicts with the physical and physiographical facts and forces of our habitat. Then there is also such a thing as society whose traditions and customs, laws and etiquettes, divisions and diversions, as well as contacts and conflicts with other neighbouring societies, all work together to develop certain peculiar mental temperaments in us. And our capacity to accept anything as true or good is very largely, if not absolutely, determined by all these forces that have constantly been working upon us from before, indeed, we were born. Our mind cannot take in anything which stands entirely isolated from or in opposition to, our inner temperaments and outer environments. To accept any new and strange dogma or doctrine as true, we must translate it into the living terms of our real intellectual and moral life. And in this process of translation it is frequently found that the original meaning of the dogma or doctrine as understood by the missionary who propagated it, is entirely altered. This is why Syrian Christianity was different from Alexandrian Christianity, even as the latter was so different from the Christianity of St. Augustine and the Latin Fathers. For the same reason, the religion

of Mahomet which originally grew in the arid region of Arabia took in such lovely and tender colours when it came to the softer-fibred races of the land of brilliant roses and sparkling wines. And all these show, my child, the futility of the attempt of your missionary religions to propagate their creeds among people whose mental temperament and social traditions and natural environments have no suggestion of their truth or goodness in them. Hinduism has always reconised these facts, it has, therefore, never sought for proselytes from other religions.

But it is a very large question, and I must return to it in my next letter.

Love's Lament.

[An English rendering of a Bengali song beginning with

“यदि पराणे ना जाग आकुल पियासा”]

If no yearning deep arise
 In thy heart, Love, I implore,
 Only thus to please my eyes,
 Hither, O Love, come no more.

Loving me, Love, feel'st thou pain ?
 Love, then, falling at thy feet,
 Not to love me e'er again
 Humbly thee, Love, I entreat.

In my loneliness, alas !
 Gazing on thy wonted way,
 Waiting, Love, for thee to pass,
 I shall sit and watch all day.

Waiting, Love, all night for thee,
 I shall watch and banish sleep,
 And the moon herself with me
 Will a lonely vigil keep.

All thou wishest, Love, to thee
 Fain, oh fain, will I restore,
 Save one thing—the memory
 Of the days that are no more.

THE LATE HARINATH DE.)

THE BENGALEE STAGE.

II

The Ultra Puritanic View of the Stage.

There are people who are opposed to the stage for no other reason except that it is not the pulpit. In their narrow philosophy of life there is no room for any kind of amusement or art which is not openly and directly religious. In examining the need and utility of the stage as an organ of the social life, one must leave this ultra-puritanical set or school out of consideration altogether. This class of people can never judge things or even consider them from any other view-point except their own.

The Bengalee Stage and Public Morals.

But there is another class of people, at least among us here in India, and especially in Bengal, who object to the Bengalee Stage upon more sober grounds. They freely patronise English or American Theatrical troupes but are strongly opposed to the Bengalee theatres. And their objection is based upon the fact that the Bengalee actresses are recruited from a community which stands outside the pale of respectable society, and are usually classed with the unfortunates. And one must respect an opposition that bases itself upon considerations of public morality. Even the most ardent advocates of our national stage must admit that it would have been best for all concerned if our actresses could be recruited from the respectable classes of the community.

The Stage as a Respectable Profession.

But the difficulties in the way of getting respectable people, and particularly respectable ladies, to adopt the stage as a vocation, if not as a profession, are absolutely insuperable among us. Some years ago a series of tableaux vivants were given by some of our ladies belonging to the most advanced section of the Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta, in one of our public theatres. But the whole community both Hindu and Brahmo rose up in arms against them. It was an amateur performance, organised for an absolutely public purpose, namely, to raise funds for the Brahmo Samaj-Mandir at Bhowanipore. But notwithstanding all this, society could

hardly tolerate this public display of its womenkind. And this episode is worth recital as showing the impossibility of securing ladies of the respectable classes for working on the stage.

A Choice
of
Evils.

It may perhaps be suggested, why not do away with female actresses altogether? At one time, we had no females on our stage. Female parts were represented by boys and youths. Of course from the view-point of

Art itself it was not at all a desirable arrangement. But was it less objectionable, from the point of view of morals, even? The ancient Greeks found it to their cost what moral deterioration both to the profession and to society at large follows the attempt to put up boys and youths to act female parts on the national stage. And this evil grows most seriously among people whose wives have neither part nor lot in the gayer side of the life of their husbands. And I think it may be safely said that both the beauty and the morality of the Greek Theatre distinctly improved with the replacement of the boys by the hetæra. Nor are we ourselves without some experience of it even in the history of our own *Yātrās* and Theatres. In our Mediæval *Yātrās* or musical plays, boys have always acted female parts; and a more demoralised set of youths than these "*Yātrāwālā* boys" it would be difficult to find any where. Nor was the evil influence of these boys confined to their own class or set either. The relations of vicious wealth with these boy-actresses were as bad, if not, infinitely more so,—as they have since been with the girl-actresses of our present national stage. Dispassionately judged, I think, it will have, therefore, to be conceded that our stage had only a choice of evils; and I do not feel the least hesitation in saying that it very wisely chose the lesser of the two evils that lay before it.

The Moral Aspect
of the
Question.

One might perhaps even contend that in taking up these women into the profession, the organisers of our national stage rendered no mean moral service to the community.

For they have found a respectable means of livelihood for at least a few of those whom either the rigours of a flesh-and-blood-less social code or the pitiful accidents of their birth, had condemned to a life of untold misery and degradation, out of which there was absolutely no escape. We cannot force people into purity. Least of all can we do so with regard to those who have vice in their very blood and whose early education and environment have combined to destroy all those helps to the moral life that come through our sus-

ceptibility to the fear of public opinion. The best thing that we can do for these unfortunate people is to find them a respectable means of earning their livelihood by following the bent of their own inner natures. No missionary organisation could render half as much effective moral help to these unfortunate women, no Rescue Home could have done them a hundredth part of the good, that the Stage has offered them. Bohemianism is in the blood of these people. The utmost possible freedom in the play and fulfilment of the emotions, is the very breath of life to all artistic temperaments. The laws of the emotional life are the only laws to which the inner natures of these people can be made easily and profitably to submit. And when one considers all these, one can scarcely think of a more suitable line of work for this class of women than what the life of the stage can offer. And it is therefore that I think that in taking up these women into the profession, the leaders of the Bengalee Stage have, whether consciously or unconsciously, rendered a distinct moral service to the community.

**The Discipline
of
The Stage.**

In fact, few people seem to understand that the pursuit of every form of Art has a necessary uplifting and self-restraining influence upon the artist. I do not refer here to what are called the chorus-girls in the English theatres, but to those who are real actresses, who have to study, to understand, to practise the different characters in the play which they are called upon to interpret before large and critical audiences. All these require long meditation, continued concentration of the mind upon the subject of study, the attempt and the practice to forget one's own separate personality and lose oneself in the character of the part that has to be played. In short, the requirements of their profession impose considerable intellectual and moral discipline upon the actors and actresses every where. The approbation of the public, which is the universal incentive of all actors and actresses, supplies that moral check to them which social opinion does to ordinary men and women. To place women, for whom all ordinary social checks have been destroyed, under this discipline is to render no mean help to them for the advancement of their moral life. An artist may be what they call Bohemian, in his tastes and habits. He or she may not obey the conventions of society. All this is true. But an artist can never afford to be a profligate or libertine, without killing every possibility of success in his or her high vocation. Few people know, or care to see what strict discipline the fundamental requirements of their own profession impose upon actors and actresses in modern civilisation. Idleness is the bane of the

life of the class from which our actresses are recruited,—idleness and lack of any absorbing interest that can make them forget their soul-killing environments. Those who go upon the stage are rescued from these mortal evils. They have to work hard



Late Babu Girish Chandra Ghosh as 'Pasupati.'

year in and year out to keep their place. And they have here an absorbing passion which must take their souls out of their environments. The hide-bound ethicism of the soul-less puritan or social-reformer, may see nothing in these; but the larger and diviner humanity of our time does recognise even in the Bengalee Stage, inspite of all its failings, an institution that really makes for the alleviation of human misery and the elevation of human character.

Our
Religious
Plays.

The real nature of the moral influence that the stage exerts anywhere as much upon the out-side public as upon its own actors and actresses, largely depends upon the character of the pieces that are usually put on the

boards. And here, one must admit, that the Bengalee Stage stands on a much higher moral level than even the English or the American Stage. For, most of our plays are either directly or indirectly, religious. It has been specially so during the last twenty or twenty-five years. Our "Buddhadeva" and "Chaitanyaleela" occupy as high a moral and

spiritual plane as the celebrated Passion Play of Oberammageaum. The playwright, the late Babu Girish Chandra Ghosh, worked up these plays under the potent inspiration of his Guru, Rama Krishna Paramhansa. The writing of these uplifted him to a very high spiritual and moral level. Those who acted these have confessed to the miraculous transfiguration which they worked in them, making them, for the time being at least, pure and holy. The holiest of our holy men,—saints like Prabhupâda Bijaya Krishna Goswamee and Paramhansa Rama Krishna, for instance,—have been to our Theatres to see these plays acted, and this is in itself an incontrovertible testimony to the superior moral and spiritual worth of these plays. And whatever the measuring-tape methods of ethical judgment might say, our National Stage could not possibly help being elevated and inwardly purified by association with the soul-saving ideals of pieces like these.

**The Stage
and
The "House."**

The real moral influence of any stage upon society at large, is determined, really, far more by the type of the plays that are put on the boards and the way these are rendered by the different artists, than by the private and per-

sonal character of the actors and actresses themselves. And this is why, inspite of everything that can be urged against the private life of the actors and actresses, our National Stage has so far been a great influence for good among us. Of course, there are people with low and vicious tastes in every society, and these people everywhere contribute to the degradation of the stage. This has happened among us also to some extent. Vicious and uneducated play-goers have, I am told, forced to lower the standard of the stage in some of our theatres. But that is inevitable in a cosmopolitan city like Calcutta. And the true remedy against this evil is not to boycott the theatres altogether, but rather for men with superior education and more refined tastes to largely patronise them. For the character of a stage is universally determined by that of its "house." If we want to elevate the stage, we must try and improve the "house."

**The Stage
and
The Public Tastes.**

But even as they are, I do not think there is any reason to be ashamed of the tastes of at least the better-conducted theatres of Calcutta. I cannot speak of the others, for I hardly have been inside them, but

nothing that I have seen on the stage of the STAR THEATRE has ever seemed to me to be vicious or vulgar. In fact what has very frequently struck me in this Theatre is a pronounced delicacy of

deportment of its actors and actresses. Such delicacy is not always met with except in the very best of English theatres. Whatever the origin or class of our actresses and whatever their private character, there is an air of sobriety and decency, the subtle scent of that peculiarly female virtue known as hree (হ্রী) in our language, a term that is almost impossible of being rendered into English,—in the demeanour of most of these actresses, which one finds but rarely in the English



Babu Amrita Lal Bose.

actresses when they are on the stage. This is partly due no doubt to the hereditary temperament of these Hindu women ; but it is equally due, I think, also to the strict discipline which Babu Amrita Lal Bose has always imposed upon all his actors and actresses. The least attempt on their part to take or allow undue liberties with one another has frequently led, I am told, to instant dismissal of the offenders,

But not merely in the refinement and delicacy of their deportment on the stage, but
Histrionic Achievement. equally also in the quality of their art some of our actresses could well hold their own in competition with the best representatives of the English Stage. Those who have seen the part of Reziya



Sreemati Tara Sundaree as 'Reziya.'

as it is played by Sreemati Tara Sundaree, will bear out the truth of this statement. Reziya's is one of the most complex characters met with in

any literature. Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth comes very close to it. But even Lady Macbeth is possibly a shade simpler than Reziya. And Tara's rendering of Reziya has been declared by competent critics, who have seen the best European actresses, to be as good an achievement as



Sreemati Tara Sundaree as 'Reziya.'

the best rendering of Lady Macbeth by the most capable of English actresses. But to do full justice to this Star of our National Stage, as well as to this popular play, I must take them up another time.

DR. BARNARDO'S HOME.

II.

"Home, sweet home—be it ever so humble, there is no place like home." This is a very popular English song, composed, I am told, by a well-known Irish patriot. Its pathos and sweetness go straight into the hearts of men, women, and children alike, the wide world over. But with what a tragic note it must strike those poor wretches who know not the meaning of that magic word 'home.' And there are hundreds, nay thousands in this civilised England who wander destitute and homeless, day after day, week after week; and when they can wander no more there is that great and wonderful institution of civilisation known as the work-house waiting to receive them. This is a shelter to them, no doubt, to live like



The Children's Church, Girls' Village Home, Barking.

cattle, but no home. And children who are so unfortunate as to be dependent upon the charity of the work-house are indeed to be pitied. These institutions, kept up by the State, provide food and shelter for the absolutely destitute, provided they can prove their destitution and furnish satisfactory references. And that is all. But when once the doors of the work-house close upon these unfortunate people, whether men, women, or children, they absolutely lose their individuality while they stay there. How often one reads in the newspapers of some poor wretch who preferred death in a miserable garret or even by the road-side or

perhaps in the cold depths of the Thames, rather than enter one of these State-aided institutions of civilised England. Only the other day I read in the newspapers of a strange incident that happened in a work-house. A kindly matron who had perhaps some pity for the poor little waifs under her charge, placed a bunch of flowers upon the table where the children take their meals. One or two members of the Board of Guardians who were making a periodical visit to the place, seeing the flowers, ordered them to be taken away, remarking that it was not a proper thing to have in a work-house. This, and many other instances that I have no time to quote, will sufficiently convince one of what life must be inside a work-house, for little innocent children who have the misfortune to be born of poverty-stricken or perhaps vicious and demoralised or invalid parents with never a taste of the joys and sweetnesses of homelife. Is it to be wondered at that these



Dr. Barnardo's Homes :—One of Our Kindergartens.

children grow up in their turn to be the same as their parents or if not that, at least, are hardened and embittered in mind against the fate that ordained their life. I have often thought over the pitiable condition of these outcasts of civilised society and often have I wondered what makes England talk of her civilisation and tell us that it is her sons who civilise us. When Englishmen tell us of their civilisation and their human brother-hood, and condemn our caste-system, I wonder how they can forget that they have the slums among them? Where is caste-feeling more bitter, indeed, than in little England? We have the caste of birth: they have the caste of money here. Millionaires are everywhere supreme in the West. Perhaps in some cases in India we find it like that too, but then that is not what we believe in. If the Brahmins were the highest caste, they were also the poorest as far as wealth went. In democratic America things are just as bad as in England.

Yet, to England's credit, Dr. Barnardo was born here, and he was a man amongst men, a man with a heart that ached for the poor and the homeless ; he was a man who may be ranked amongst the greatest men of the world. He was the first to realise the evils of the work-house system and after years of self-less labour he succeeded in establishing a truly humane system for the housing of homeless orphans. It was a very modest plan. His first idea was to build a few cottages in the country where girls could be sent home under the charge of some kind women, and where home-like comforts could be provided. But all this meant funds. He approached a few friends with no result. He had faith in God and his constant prayers gave him a strong self-confidence which made him more and more determined not to give up the good work inspite of the disappoint-



Dressmaking at the Girls' Village Homes Barknigside, Essex.

ments that he might have to face at every step. Just at that time he was suddenly called away to Oxford. One day, while staying at a hotel there, seeing his name in the visitor's book, a stranger called on him. He had seen Dr. Barnardo's appeal for his village homes in the papers, and without much introduction the stranger said "Put me down for the first cottage." This sudden offer when he least expected it, seemed to Barnardo as a divine response to his prayers, and this gave him fresh energy to strive for his cause. This was not however the only instance in which Barnardo's prayers were heard. I shall quote some more instances like this. The present age is not an age of "Faith" and perhaps it will sound rather foolish to many. Yet there are men and women throughout the world who believe in Faith and have not been dis-

appointed. And the following anecdotes from Barnardo's life will be interesting reading, at least, to them.

"Several years ago, says Dr. Barnardo, I had to raise £500 by June 24 or submit to the foreclosure of a mortgage. The 14th of June arrived and I had no money in hand. I had two friends, wealthy men, who had told me to apply to them whenever I was in great difficulty. I wrote to them both, only to hear that one was out of town for an indefinite period, and the other was too seriously ill to attend to any mundane affairs. By the 20th things had got worse. No money had come in, but instead there was an additional claim for £50. The 21st passed : no money ; the 22nd, ditto ; on the 23rd the average receipts for the Homes were lower than usual. On the morning of the 24th all that arrived by post was 15s. Almost in despair, I made my way to the lawyer's office in the West End who held the mortgage, hoping that I might induce him to grant me a postponement.

"Passing down Pall Mall, I noticed standing on the steps of one of the large clubs, a military-looking man who stared intently at me as I came along. I glanced instinctively at him, and then resumed my way. In a moment or two I felt some one patting me on the shoulder. "I beg your pardon," said my interlocutor, as he raised his hat, "I think your name is Barnardo." I said, "Yes, that is so ; but you have the advantage of me." "Oh !" he said, "you do not know me, but I recognise you. I have a commission to discharge. I left India about two months ago, and Colonel — gave me a packet for you. It contains money, I believe ; for he is a great enthusiast for your work, and he made a large collection for you after a bazaar that his wife held. But I have not been long in London, and have not had time to go down and see you. Only this very morning, however, I was thinking that I must make time to call upon you, when, curiously enough, I saw you coming along. Do you mind waiting a moment until I fetch the packet ?"

"I gladly acceded to his request, and returned with him to the club. He ran upstairs, and presently brought down a large envelope addressed to me, carefully tied up with silk, and sealed. I opened it in his presence. Imagine my astonishment and my delight when I found in it a bank draft to the value of £650 ! This had been sent from India rather more than three months previously, before I myself realised that I would have to make the special payment which was that day due. I cannot doubt that in the providence of God the bearer of the message was allowed to retain the package until almost the last minute, so that my faith might be tested.

"My readers, who imagine that everything always glides smoothly at the HOMES can scarcely realise what one feels when for many days, and even weeks, the daily receipts are seldom higher than £20. During all this time the expenditure cannot be much less than at the rate of £100 per day, so that the deficit is continually increasing in extent, creating a wide and deep gulf, which can only be filled up by extraordinary gifts. The trial of faith, and the weight of the burden felt by even the least anxious must necessarily be great when an alarming deficiency of about £1,000 stares one in the face at the very beginning of the summer season, when, judging by past years, funds will continue very low for months ! This was my experience up to the first week in May, and I am free to say that it was with a heavy heart that the necessary arrangements were being made for our Annual Meeting. Of course, every day, the burden was brought before the Lord, and, to some extent, rolled over upon Him. Without this, and the real relief and comfort thus realised, the work could not have been done at all.

Yet each day, on reaching the office, the donations for that particular day were eagerly scanned in the hope that a stimulus had been conveyed to our funds. But up to the 3rd instant, there was little to encourage and very much to depress. During this season of waiting, it became an evident duty to continue earnestly the work the Lord had given us to do and leave the results with Him.

"On the afternoon of the 3rd May I was informed that "a person" wished to see me who was sitting in the lower hall, and declined to leave until she had done so. She refused to tell her business to any one. I did not know her, she said, but if I would only see her for a minute she would be content. So she sat down among messengers porters, several poor boys making application for admission, and a huge bale of articles which were being packed to send away. Summoned from a room at the upper part of the house, where I had tried in vain to get a few minutes' quiet for necessary writing, I came through the lower hall, where my pertinacious visitor sat,

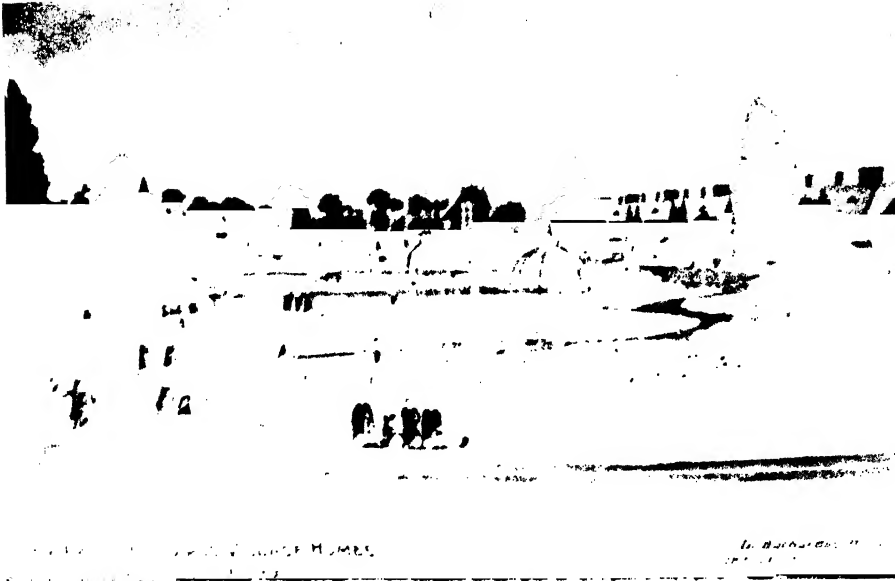


Musical Drill at the Girls' Village Homes, Barkingside, Essex.

to reach another caller, who was waiting in the Sale Room. As I passed, my visitor said, "You are hard to approach." I replied, "Not exactly so, but I am very, very busy, and unless those who call have some definite business to communicate, I leave them to my kind helpers, who are glad to relieve me as far as possible." "But I have some money for you," she said. "Thank you," I responded; "I am always glad to receive such help, and just now especially so. Please sit down for a moment and I shall be free." Leaving her still in the outer hall, I advanced to meet my other visitors. Quickly disposing of them, I called my pertinacious friend into an inner office; standing at the door of which she said, while tears rolled down her face, "I bring you this money because your doors are never closed to any poor child. Go on with your blessed work! Never turn away one destitute child. God will surely help you!" And, to my astonishment, she placed in my hand a Bank of England Note for £1,000.

"I had heard of such things, but never before had an incident of this kind befallen me. I fairly gasped for breath, while wonder and gratitude struggled for expression. My visitor gave me, however, fresh cause for such feelings, as she added, "And I rejoice to know that your children are kept free from the workhouse badge or taint, and that you seek to bring them up in the fear of the Lord"; and then another note for £1,000 was placed in my not unwilling hand."

"East is East and West is West, the twain shall never meet" has often been quoted by English and Indian writers alike, but in Barnardo's case it was not so. For the materialistic West though it has a religion that teaches faith, has no faith in Faith; the East is the land of Faith and Fate. In the East we are used to hearing of men who never strove for anything but depended on their unlimited faith in God and they never suffered. Here men will laugh at it, though not



A View in the Girls' Village Homes, Barkingside, Essex.

all. The more I read Barnardo's life the more I feel convinced that the nature and trend of his ideas were more of an Eastern character than Western.

Having seen the Boy's Home at Stepney, I was asked by the Secretary to visit the Girl's Home at Barking. I took train at Liverpool Street and alighted at Barking Station and proceeded on foot to the Homes. I was admitted at the lodge-gate by a kindly old porter who took me to a fair-sized room utilised on visiting days as waiting room. The ladies present gave me a hearty welcome and having signed my name in the visitor's book I was conducted round the village by a matron. I first visited the children's church, a fine building with seating accommodation for twelve hundred children. The church is the gift of a lady who did not like her name to be made known to

the public. It is an unconsecrated church by preference, in order that the officials of Doctor Barnardo's Home may be free to invite Ministers other than the clergy of the Church of England to conduct services. I was next led to the day school, also a large building and the gift of friends. During class-work, sections are separated by partitions but when required, these are all thrown into the central area, forming an auditorium capable of accommodating upward of a thousand people. Here the children enjoy their daily drill and are put through gymnastic exercises and games. The school is under the Educational Department just as other Elementary Schools are. It works under the Education Code, undergoes examinations, is visited by Official Inspectors, and receives grant in the usual way. Then I passed through the school of cooking where I found girls receiving their usual lessons under a qualified cook. Then we arrived at the work-room where I found about sixty girls making dresses and garments. Sewing machines were busy, and every seat seemed occupied. Next we came to a cottage. It was one of the more recent erections, where seventeen girls reside with a 'mother.' The lady was matronly and active and of bright and



pleasant countenance. She took me all over her cottage, into the seating room, dining room, kitchen and bed rooms. All the work of the cottage are done by those who live in it. The "mother" keeps things going with the aid of her "family" quite independently of other cottages. They have their own little troubles and pleasures and interests all to themselves. There are, I was informed, sixty-two detached cottages like this one, which accommodate in all over one thousand three hundred girls. Then we came to the Laundry House. Here the machinery of an extensive business is kept going. The girls at work were strong and grown-up for the most part. All stages of washing, dyeing, starching and ironing are taught here. The out-put of the laundry is over 2,00,000 articles per annum.

There is so much to say about this wonderful work that I could never finish discussing it. In short, at these homes the girls do not live for eating and

sleeping, but they live just as other girls born in more fortunate conditions do in their homes. These orphans have all the home comforts and are brought up to have a fixed aim in life, to be good wives and good mothers, and are taught different trades according to their tastes and capabilities. I am told there is always a demand for girls and boys trained at Barnardo's Houses. Barnardo's name deserves to be handed down to posterity as a great benefactor of his race. I wish there were men like Barnardo, and plenty of them, in every country. There would then be no tears in the eyes of the poor. Truly and very justly was Barnardo called the "Father of nobody's children."

LONDON, }
January 31st, 1913. }

NIRANJAN PAL.

Indian Students in Great Britain.

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

January, 1913.

Thinking that it is now peculiarly opportune to deal with such questions as the sojourn of the "Indian students in Great Britain" when they must necessarily engage the attention of the Public Services Commission now assembled in India, Mr. F. H. Brown after giving a rather long history of the sojourns of Indians and specially of Indian students in Great Britain, says:—that great injury was done to the broad interests of Indian culture by long years of neglect when the Government could have regulated the flow of Indian students to Europe, confining it to promising and suitable men. The growing volume of entry for the English Bar should have been noted, and there should have been modification of Government and High Court rules to prevent the anomalies and disadvantages the system has produced. The rush of Indians, unsuitable as well as suitable, to the Inns of Court will continue so long as the present arbitrary precedence for the barrister is maintained or alternatively until legal training in India, as in so many other British possessions, including the adjacent Brown Colony of Ceylon, qualifies for the Bar).

Generally the standard of education in India should be raised, so that an Indian lad may there find facilities capable of yielding opportunities not inferior to those open to his contemporaries who study abroad.

The policy of Sir Harcourt Butler of increasing the number of Indian Universities and making them more residential is to be heartily commended. Only the picked men should be sent to Western lands; too often the ordinary Indian is de-nationalised by residence in England.

At the same time, it is the clear duty of Englishmen to treat with all consideration and helpfulness these sojourners in a strange land.

Above all things, Indians who wish to complete their education abroad, should be encouraged to select the United Kingdom, rather than the Continent or Japan or America, so that they may have every opportunity to imbibe the spirit which underlies British rule: the spirit which has brought India to a new birth, a larger ever expanding life.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF ENGLAND.

THE IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

In my first letter I gave your readers some idea of the splendid work carried on by the London Polytechnic. As I have said already, the Polytechnic is undoubtedly meant for the education of the lower middle and the working classes of London. The initial idea of its founder was to allow the workers better facilities to improve in their own trade or business pursuits, so that a clerk or a mechanic employed at day time in his works could take a special course of instruction at night to improve his knowledge. Although the Polytechnic is very good in its own way, it hardly has any provision to meet the requirements of higher technological or scientific training. It was not the fault of its founder, nor is its present Council to be blamed for this drawback. It is practically impossible to provide higher education with such moderate fees as are charged in the Polytechnic. State-aid is essential for this purpose, and unfortunately the Polytechnic does not get a penny from the Board of Education. London abounds in technical and industrial schools, where preliminary knowledge in technical or scientific subjects may be obtained at nominal charges, but higher education being expensive in different ways, it cannot be expected that these schools should be able to provide it, and as every one does not go in for higher education for more reasons than one, it may be easily seen how beneficial these schools for preliminary education are to the people.

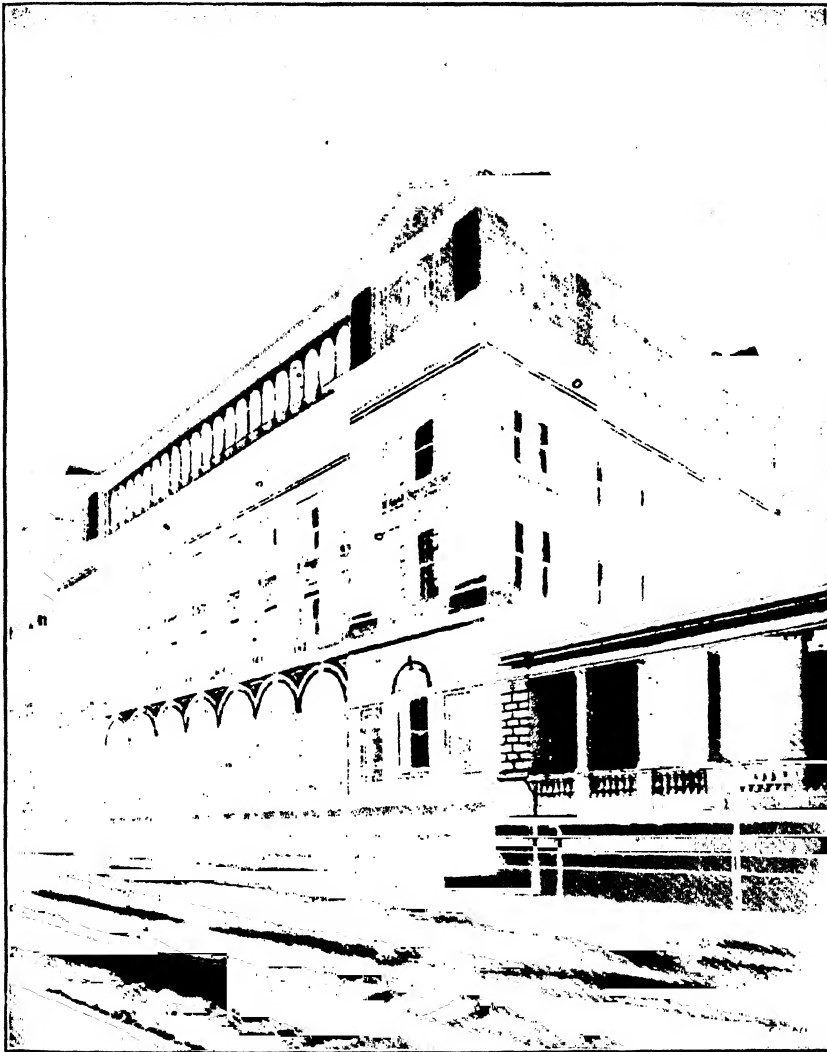
One of the largest institutions in London which meets the requirements of the higher technological and scientific training is the Imperial College of Science and Technology situated at South Kensington. I had the privilege of visiting its numerous departments and allied institutions, and in a series of articles I propose to deal with its various branches, and the general methods of its working.

The Imperial College of Science was incorporated under Royal Charter in 1907. It is an Institution or a group of associated Colleges with its principal seat at South Kensington. The Colleges at present considered as its integral parts are :—

- (i) The Royal College of Science.
- (ii) The Royal School of Mines.
- (iii) The City Guild's Engineering College.

The objects of the Imperial College are, to give the highest specialised instruction and to promote the advancement of science and technology.

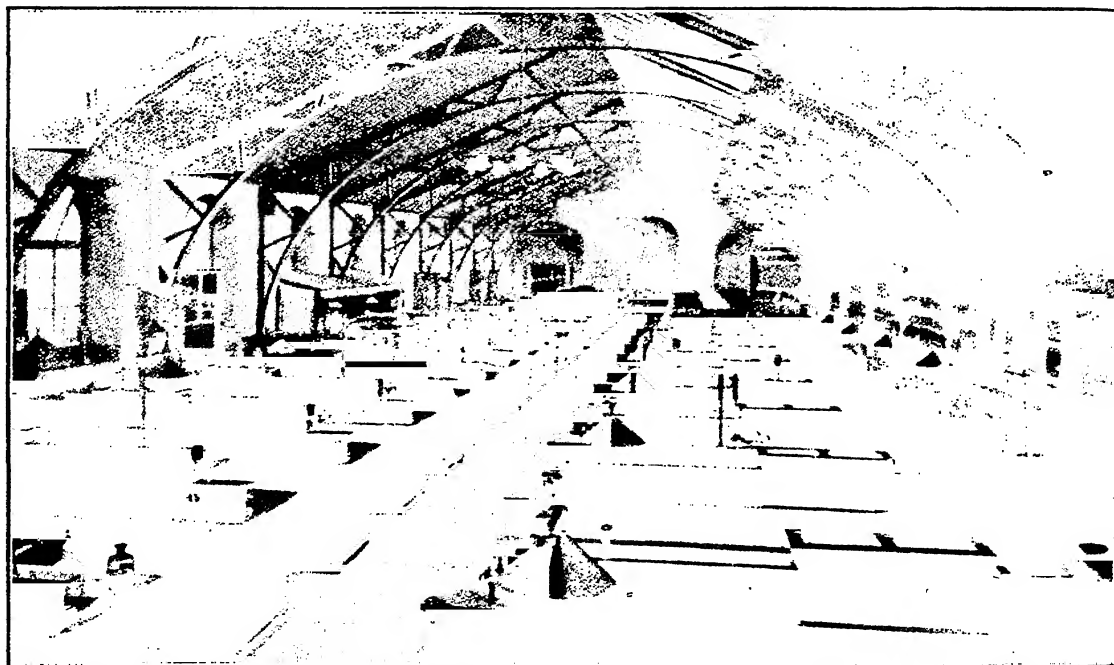
training and research in various branches of Science, specially in its application to industry. And secondly, to carry on the work of the Royal College of Science and the Royal School of Mines, and to establish colleges and other institutions or departments. The Imperial College of Science is one



THE IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE.

of the results of the Exhibition of 1851. Before the Exhibition, the Londoners cared very little for higher scientific and industrial training, but having seen with their own eyes the products of the French manufacturers, a keen sense of envy was aroused in their minds, and they wanted to

compete with their continental rivals, and they decided to establish an institution to help them do it. Since its establishment fifty years ago, the Imperial College of Science has increased ten times in its activities and dimensions. It was first known as the Government School of Mines and Science applied to the Arts. And having undergone many changes both in name and form, it finally became incorporated, five years ago, with three of the most important Scientific and Engineering Institutions of London. Besides giving diplomas and certificates of proficiency to its students it affords them all the opportunities and training necessary to enable them to go in for the London-University degrees. The fees charged here are in no sense

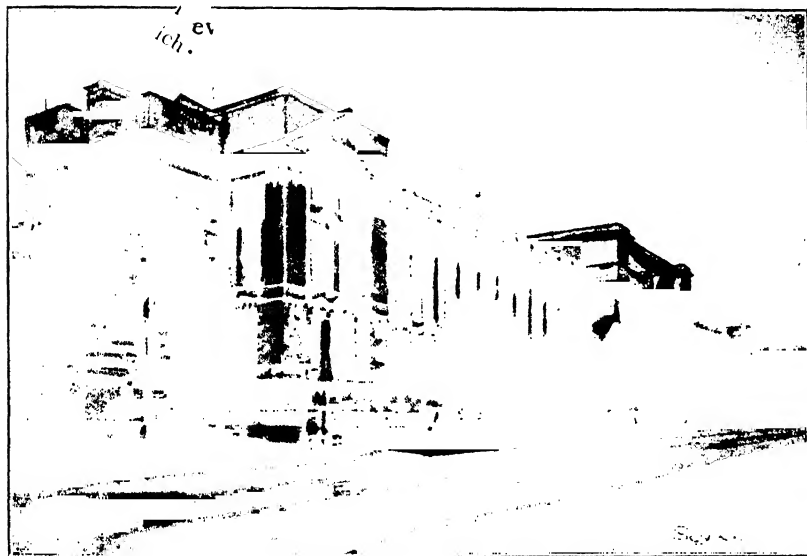


Chemical Laboratory.

heavy considering the ample provision it has for higher scientific education. A student taking a three years' course in Chemistry and Physics will have to pay a fee, say on an average of £30 a year, and this is what is charged by most of the other Scientific and Technological Institutions affiliated to the London University. Scores of scholarships and studentships are awarded to successful students at the Entrance Examination and they are admitted free of charge into the College. A good scholar has every chance of getting a free admission.

The buildings of the Imperial College of Science are situated quite close to the London University at South Kensington. There are six different large

buildings used by the six chief departments of the College. First of all I was conducted by one of the officials of the College through the Department of Chemistry. The accommodation in the wing devoted to Chemistry is divided into four principal departments, (1) a large laboratory and lecture-room in which first year students receive instructions. (2) A laboratory and lecture room for physical chemistry. (3) a laboratory and lecture room for advanced analytical works, and (4) a laboratory and lecture room for organic chemistry. I must admit that I was very much impressed with the principal chemical laboratory, for although I have visited almost all the important colleges possessing chemical laboratories in London, never have I seen such a large one. It is supposed to be one of the largest in the world, the large hall being 95ft by 75ft. and 33ft in height. Except the famous University of Berlin, I under-



City Guild's Engineering College.

stand, there is no other institution fitted up with up-to-date scientific and chemical apparatus as the Imperial College. The chemical laboratory has a working accommodation for one hundred and forty-four students, and unlike in other chemical laboratories of London, the students of the Imperial College do not find any difficulty to carry on their experiments for want of space.

I found about ninety five students belonging to different nationalities of the world working side by side in that hall. This intercourse between young men from almost all parts of the world has alone a great educational value, and no distinction is made on grounds of race colour or creed. From here I passed through the large lecture theatre, where first year students receive

theoretical instructions in chemistry. This hall I was told, has a seating accommodation for about two hundred and fifty students. Leaving the lecture hall I was shown round the Physical Chemistry Department which is on the same floor as the main laboratory. It has a separate laboratory of its own and contains complete installation for electro chemical experiments. Passing on I came to the organic chemistry-department which consists of a large laboratory having working places for forty students, and allowing about twice as much space to each as in the main laboratory. This laboratory is provided with accessory rooms for balances, combustion furnaces, stores and a darkroom and is provided with arrangements for heating sealed tubes with safety. There is a separate lecture theatre on the same floor with a seating accommodation for fifty students.

Lastly I came to the Advanced Analytical Laboratory on the top floor of the building which provides for about fortyfour research scholars. It is furnished with most up to date apparatus in addition to which there are combustion muffle furnaces. The chemical department also includes a complete installation of electro-driven compressors and liquifier for the production of liquid air. Lectures on special branches of Chemical Technology are given in the main building, and there is provision for instructions in laboratory work in connection with their course. The authorities contemplate to extend at an early date these branches and to transfer this section of the department to a specially designed and properly equipped building in the immediate neighbourhood of the main chemical laboratory.

LONDON, }
January 30th, 1913. }

NIRANJAN PAI.

AMONG BOOKS OLD AND NEW.

— ❧ —

THE LIFE OF THE SWAMI VIVEKANANDA VOL I. *

Swami Vivekananda's disciples have undertaken to publish a full and detailed memoir of their Master. It will be complete in three volumes.

The first of these volumes has been lying upon my table for the last few days. It is a big book running into 432 pages of Demy Octavo matter. I have not yet had time to go through the whole of it. A full and considered review of it must therefore wait for a future number of the Hindu Review. In the present issue, I am only willing to bring it to the notice of my readers, and tell them that it is a book which every student of our present thoughts and movements should carefully read, mark, and inwardly diggest.

It is a big volume no doubt, but being written in a rather charming style it makes very pleasant reading. It contains the narrative of the early life of Vivekananda, until his twenty-fourth year. And though Vivekananda, the Teacher is not revealed as yet, we should perhaps get a better view of Vivekananda, the Man here, than in his later life. Here one may see the native article, fresh from Nature's hand. No man can afford, or ought to avoid, the disciplines that shape and mould him from an individual human unit to an organised social being. But all the same it cannot be denied that these disciplines do lend an air of artificiality to our character and conversation. Even the freedom of the Sannyâsin, large though it is, is not absolutely free from all conventionalities. Of course, those who knew Vivekananda say that he showed but scant respect for the dead formularies even of the monastic life. I have myself seen him on occasions giving himself an amount of freedom,—which the more puritan even among his own people would perhaps call by another name,—that no person who had any regard for his own reputation for religious life would care or dare to take in this country. And the real reason of it seemed to me to be the utter disregard of the man of what are called appearances. It is only your little man, who is always mindful as to what others will or will not think or speak of him ; who is always self-conscious. To all truly great men, the real measure of what is

* (Published from the Advaita Ashrama : Mayavati and Almora : To be had of the Udvodhan Office : Baghbazar, Calcutta.)

good and what is bad, what is right and what is wrong, is in themselves and not in the smiles and frowns of others. It is a common characteristic of all our greatest saints. One saw it in Paramhansa Ramakrishna. One found it always in Prabhupada Bijaykrishna. And I wonder if it was not this affinity between Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, that was among the things that drew them so strongly to one another.

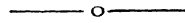
Like many of his English-educated countrymen, of the generation to which Vivekananda belonged, he too at one time joined the Brahmo Samaj. Like many others, he too seemed to have been drawn to the Brahmo Samaj not so much by its spiritual life as by its note of personal freedom and its spirit of rationalism. For, those who knew young Norendra in those days say that he was then more or less of a free thinker. A free thinker, indeed, he was, I think, all his life. Every Vedantist in this country is more or less so. And this rationalistic bent of his mind, joined to his intense love of personal freedom, which bred even a defiant spirit of revolt in him, drew Vivekananda, I think, to the Brahmo Samaj. But the new-forged bonds of this Samaj soon became, it seems to me, almost as irksome to the robust freedom of the man, as the traditional bondage of the old society; and his love and enthusiasm for the Brahmo Samaj gradually cooled down. On the other hand, coming into personal contact with Paramhansa Ramakrishna, Vivekananda found in his life and teachings a spirit of freedom such as is not found even in the freest of our modern liberal religious movements. Even the Brahmo Samaj did impose a creed upon its members. It may be a very simple and reasonable creed, but all the same the credal character of the organisation cannot be denied. But here, in the communion of the Paramhansa, there was absolutely no such limitation. Brahmos and Christians, and orthodox Hindus, and even Mahomedans would be welcome here. The Paramhansa, like all his class, was ever-ready to answer the questions of those who were in doubt or difficulty, but never asked any man as to what he did or did not believe. Here there was not only no credal bond or limitation, but not even any so-called moral bondage. No man was asked first to become pure and holy and then to seek admission into the Master's fold. People whom the ethicism of the Brahmo Samaj which had already developed something like what is called the non-Conformist Conscience in English, could not admit into the membership of its congregation, were received with open arms by this holy man. And it seems to me that it was this intense humanity of the Master, and the air of perfect freedom that pervaded the atmosphere that he breathed, which first drew this young man, yearning for the freest possible life that could be lived on this earth,—to him. From the

very cursory view that I have been able as yet to take of this big volume, it seems to me that it is this fascinating picture of young Norendra Nath Dutt, as Vivekananda was known in the days when he had not become Vivekananda, that his disciples have presented to us here. To quote from their own words,—

‘The first volume presents the narrative of his personality until his twenty-fourth year and the training he underwent at the Feet of his Master for the attainment of spiritual insight and realisation. It takes into account the theme around which the Swami’s life is drawn,—the theme of Hinduism, its setting, its basis and its structure. It reveals the growth of a gigantic mind through modern agnosticism into complete Saintship. It presents the character of the Swami’s Master in the light in which the Swami himself understood him. The reader will become familiar with the Swami in the first volume as “Noren” or “Norendra,” the name by which he was known both to the Master and to his brother-disciples and friends, as his proper name was Norendra Nath Dutta. The first volume shows how Noren, having become de-Hinduised became re-Hinduised through his perception of the Synthesis of Hinduism as lived and realised by his Master. For the sake of a clear understanding of the process by which this was effected, several chapters of the first volume are devoted to the elucidation of the Hindu religious and philosophic consciousness. One sees in the first volume the man, the saint, and the prophet in the making.”

II.

JAGANNATH AND THE PARIA WOMAN. *



The story is recited, in ballad form, in a small Bengalee book called 'UJANEE' by a young Bengalee poet, Babu Kumudranjan Mallik. It is a very recent publication, and I sincerely thank the author for sending me a copy of it. Bengalee literature is very rich in poetry. From the days of Vidyâpati and Chandidâs, whose love-lyrics, relating to Radha-Krishna, have found not merely great artistic enjoyment but the profoundest spiritual inspiration also to many generations of Bengalees, we have had a brilliant galaxy of poets almost unrivalled in any literature, old or new. The greatest of our living poets, Babu Rabindra Nath, stands among the very best and highest of modern poets whether Indian or foreign. To seek distinction in such company is no mean ambition, and to attain it, in however small a measure, is no small achievement, either. Babu Kumudranjan Mallik has, I think, very clearly established his right to an honoured place in this Temple of Fame. He has not yet given us many poems, but the few that he has given, have in them not merely a high promise but a very great fulfilment also in the realm of the poetic art. Poetry has been defined in our literature as Rasâtmakam Vâkyam—रसात्मकं वाक्यम् i. e. words the very soul of which are the human emotions. Judged by this definition, Babu Kumudranjan's booklet deserves a very high place in our poetical literature. And the superiority of his poems lies especially in their homeliness and simplicity. He shows almost with a master's hand the simple grandeur of the inner soul of the unlettered Bengalee cultivator, whose whole life is lived in the midst of his own family and relations, in his humble hut, shaded by the outspreading branches of the mango or the jack-fruit trees ; covered with green, flowering creepers ; protected from the impertinent and unsympathetic gaze of the stranger by thick bamboo bushes at the back and the perpetually flowering jâvâ, and other trees and creepers in front. We have had in our old poems, the holy amours of the gods. In our more modern poems we have had exquisite delineations of the complex and refined life and emotions of the men and women of our cities. But I do not know if with the exception of Mukundaram among our old and Rajanikanta among our modern poets, any one has tried, like Babu Kumudranjan, to paint with

* Ujaneë—By Kumudranjan Mallik B. A. : Published by the Indian Press, 24, Middle Road, Entally Calcutta.

such faithfulness to details and such keen penetration into their inner soul, the life and love of our villages. Almost each one of the pictures that he has painted with such exquisite delicacy in this small book, is a revelation to me. And it shows that after all, there is more real life and love in the unlettered, and unshirted and unshoed, unsoaped and unscented, "unreformed" and "unenlightened" Bengalee villagers than in our carpeted and cushioned hybrid homes and city communities. Notwithstanding all our tall talks about civilisation and humanity, we city-people, are an incomparably meaner and coarser lot than the simple folks of our distant villages. Babu Kumudranjan has rendered a very signal service to his country and his generation, by giving us these lovely studies of the beauty and grandeur of our village life and associations, for it is these that must really form the plinth and foundation of our new and revived national life.

Ujānee is the name of a village in the Burdwan District. In naming his book after this village, the author wants us evidently to know and love his village and all its simple folks. In fact he says in the short preface, that most of the incidents related here are drawn from life. "It is the petty history of our petty village. They are commonplace pictures of commonplace lives." The young poet says all this in a spirit of humility. But they are nonetheless true. And to my mind, this very commonplace character of the scenes and incidents that he has depicted with such exquisite skill, makes this book far more enjoyable and valuable than even the most attractive pictures of our city-flirtations. In reading these poems one has the same sensation that the city-man living all his days in the close and dusty streets of his town feels, when, after long months, he goes out for a week-end to the green fields and the wide wastes, and scents the mango-blossoms and hears the chirping of the birds and the chorus of the rushing streams. I do not want the author to write many books, for I believe that who writes much must write lies. But I do desire to see him as one of the greatest poets of the New Renaissance in Bengal.

Ujānee contains 32 poems, each a sweet little picture in itself. I wish I could translate a good many of these in these pages. But time and space forbid the attempt. I shall, therefore, content myself by just giving a prose rendering of the first poem, the subject matter of which is described in the heading of this article.

An old and lame Paria woman, to see the Divine Face of Jagannath on the Car, by herself she walks, slowly and slowly along the Midnapur Road.

All through the day she only walks just a mile or two;

what strange vow has she made—a hundred-two-miles' distance from her home she wants to go to Puridhâm.

Group after group the Puri-pilgrims go. Who takes note of his fellows? She falls behind them all, unable to walk up with them.

At last, when of the Car-Festival only two short days remained, with great pains she came at eve near the town of Katak.

Whither goest thou, old woman? Asked a way-farer of her. Going, my son, to see the Lord on the Car, the woman said. Softly smiling the stranger said—How shalt thou go, old woman; at break of day the festival comes, how wilt thou see? Hearing this, in sudden anger, the Paria woman said—"A long way yet lies before me, and how darest thou to say at break of day, tomorrow, the festival comes: this cannot be."

Laughed the way-farer and said—Yes it is even so. Walk, mad woman, walk: if thou art not there who the Car will draw."

The old woman slept. At break of day, she rose and told herself—let's go on now. But pain there was in both her legs: she had not the power to rise.

Oh the pain! She cannot walk, yet she crawls on and on. To see the Divine Face on the Car, the old woman thus moved along.

Devotees all have gathered at Puri, it is the day of the Car-Festival, The Lord of the Poor has got upon the Car. adorned in new dresses.

But what is this? Strange and unheard-of-before! The Car of the Lord moveth not, though the ropes are being drawn by millions of devotees, and the road is plane and dry. Elephants were brought and tied to the ropes, yet the Car stood as fixed as ever.

Lost in anxiety, trembling with fear, with tears rolling down his cheeks, the chief of the Pandas fell prostrate on the ground, and in his trance saw a mighty Bhakta drawing the Car backwards.

As long the selfsame Bhakat touches not the front rope of the Car, a thousand elephants might be called to work, yet the wheels would not move by even the span of an inch. This he saw in his trance.

Out ran then the hosts of Pandas in search of that mighty Bhakat. They brought mendicants many in their loin-cloth, many a saint and Vaishnava bedecked in Tilaka and wrapped in *Nāndābalee*, and many a holy Brahmin too. But at touch of none that mighty Car would move even by the measure of a sesamum seed.

Searching near and searching far, at a long way off, at last, the Chief of the Priests saw, alas, a lame, old woman going Puri-wards.

The old woman crawls, and crawling moves. Asks the Priest,—“To whose door goest thou, woman, in this scorching sun, to beg for alms?”

“The heated sands are burning thy feet, thy eyes are filled with tears. Take this silver, and go and rest under yonder banyan tree.”

The old woman says,—“Tell me, father, when is the Festival of the Car. I want no silver. I long to see the Divine Face on the Car, for this alone I am moving in the sun.”

Thus addressed, the Brahmin burst out in tears, and took the old woman up in his arms. And crying at the top of his voice “I have found,” “I have found”,—ran along the road to Puri.

The bewildered woman cried,—“Leave me, leave me, Father, a polluted Pariah woman I.”

“Let me take the dust off thy feet, Mother, thou art the Guru of my Guru.” the Brahmin replied.

Then, of a sudden, the pilgrims shouted,—Victory! Victory! There comes the Chief Priest, lo! with a lame woman in his arms!

Fixed that Car, now commenced to move, so soon the old woman put her hand on it. In wild ecstasy the multitudes cried :—“Blessed! blessed! Jagannāth.”

With tearful eyes, with million voices, cried a million souls:—

True, True, Art Thou, The Lord of the Poor, Hari! the Bhakta's Bhagavān!

CONVERSATIONS OF AN ARTIST.

—————: O :—————

"The Critic"
and
"The Creator"

The function of the critic is fundamentally different from that of the creator. It is, though not less useful, yet a rather inferior function. In any case, it is a much easier work to criticise than to create. The critical intellect must be essentially analytic. The creative intellect must be essentially synthetic. The critic generally sees things in part, and rises to the highest excellence of his vocation when he is able to relate these partialities to their full totality, and in the light of the whole weigh and judge the parts. The creator, on the other hand, must be possessed by the vision of the whole, his sense of the different parts of his creation must be dominated, perhaps even more or less overwhelmed, by his intuition of the whole. It is, therefore, that though we have often had very correct verdicts upon works of art by superior artists, we have scarcely had any real and illuminating art-criticism from them. People have generally been left to discover the mind of the artists, the principle and ideals of their vocation, from their works, with but precious little help from themselves. But whenever the artist is able to detach himself from his own creations, judge them as a stranger would perhaps do, reflect upon the methods that he followed, oftentimes almost intuitively perhaps,—then we get such valuable light thrown upon his art-products and generally upon the universal principles of the artists' work, as is very rarely had even from the most capable among art-critics.

The Conversation
of
Rodin

In one of my foreign exchanges of this month,—the January "Magazine Number" of that excellent American Weekly, the **OUTLOOK**.—I chanced to stumble almost upon a valuable contribution of this character, in which the writer gives us quotations from a recent American publication, issued by Small, Maynard & Company, which contains a series of conversations on Art between Rodin and one Paul Gsell,—“in the reading of which” says the writer in the Outlook, “we receive an explanation of the things that Rodin has given us in clay.” In these conversations, some of which have been quoted by the Outlook, we have an interpretation of art as Rodin himself sees it and Rodin is no mean artist himself. There are people who say that he is the greatest sculptor since Michael Angelo. This may or may not be true; but that he is counted among the greatest sculptors of our time, can hardly be gainsaid. But I am concerned here, not with his creations, but only with his criticisms, his views on Art in general and how excellence is attained in the realm of art-creations.

With these few words by way of introduction, I shall here quote the few

"selections" from Mr. Gsell's book, which have been culled by my American exchange.

**Engineers and
Manufacturers vs.
Artists.**

The first of these refers to the decadence of popular interest in Art in modern Europe and America.

"Last year, at the close of a beautiful day in May, as I walked with Auguste Rodin beneath the trees that shade his charming hill, I confided to him my wish to write from his dictation, his ideas upon Art.

"You are an odd fellow", he said. "So you are still interested in Art. It is an interest that is out of date."

"Today artists and those who love artists seem like fossils. Imagine a megatherium or a diplodocus stalking the streets of Paris. There you have the impression that we must make upon our contemporaries. Ours is an epoch of engineers and of manufacturers, not one of artists."

**"Real"
Realism.**

The next quotation refers to Rodin's method of work, which is so different from what we generally read about the way that modern European painters and sculptors work. They call this the realistic method. Rodin's idea of "realism" is evidently different and clearly saner, because unquestionably more natural. To quote from the Outlook, once more :

"What astonishes me in you," said I, "is that you work quite differently from your confreres. I know of them and have seen them at work. They make the model mount upon a pedestal called the throne, and they tell him to take such or such a pose. Generally they bend or stretch his arms and legs to suit them, they bow his head or straighten his body exactly as though he were a lay figure. Then they set to work. You, on the contrary, wait till your models take an interesting attitude, and then you reproduce it. So much so that it is you who seem to be at their orders rather than they at yours."

Rodin, who was engaged in wrapping his figurines in damp cloths, answered quietly :

"I am not at their orders, but at those of Nature ! My confreres doubtless have their reasons for working as you have said. But in thus doing violence to nature and treating human beings like puppets, they run the risk of producing lifeless and artificial work."

**Beauty
and
Ugliness.**

The modern man, so absolutely taken up by the sensuous side of life, needed to be reminded, as Rodin does, that in the domain of Art, what is commonly called "ugliness", may be transformed into a thing of great beauty. And here, it seems

to me, Rodin comes very near our own conceptions of true Art. The object of

Hindu Art has never been the quest of what is called Beauty alone. Hindu Aesthetics is based not merely upon what is called "The Beautiful" in Europe, but upon the Emotions, or upon Rasa-Tattva (*রসতত্ত্ব*) as we call it in our literature. It is the science, not of the Beautiful but of the outer expressions of every form and variety of human emotions. But the European mind is not familiar with these aspects of our thought. Rodin's protest against the common idea that Beauty alone is or ought to be the subject of the highest artistic treatment is both correct and timely. He says, in this connection :—

"What is commonly called ugliness in nature can in art become full of great beauty.

"In the domain of fact we call ugly whatever is deformed, whatever is unhealthy, whatever suggests the idea of disease, of debility, or of suffering, whatever is contrary to regularity, which is the sign and condition of health and strength ; a hunchback is ugly, one who is bandy-legged is ugly, poverty in rags is ugly. Ugly also are the soul and the conduct of the immoral man, of the vicious and criminal man, of the abnormal man who is harmful to society ; ugly is the soul of the parricide, of the traitor, of the unscrupulously ambitious.

"And it is right that beings and objects from which we can expect only evil should be called by such an odious epithet. But let a great artist or a great writer make use of one or the other of these uglinesses, instantly it is transfigured : with a touch of his fairy wand he has turned it into beauty ; it is alchemy ; it is enchantment !

"Let Francois Millet represent a peasant resting for a moment as he leans on the handle of his hoe, a wretched man worn by fatigue, baked by the sun, as stupid as a beast of burden dulled by blows—he has only to put into the expression of this poor devil a sublime resignation to the suffering ordained by Destiny, to make this creature of a nightmare become for us the great symbol of all Humanity."

**Impression
vs.
Details.**

But perhaps the most important of these excerpts from Mr. Gsell's book is the following, in which we get a full view of the methods of Rodin. This is the more useful to us, because of the reaction that has set in from some time past, in favour of more or less ignoring the details of a figure in the desire to reproduce the totality of the impression which it leaves upon the artist's mind. Says Mr. Gsell :—

"It was a delightful little antique copy of Venus de Medici. Rodin kept it there to stimulate his own inspiration while he worked.

"Come nearer," he said.

Holding the lamp at the side of the statue and as close as possible, he threw the full light upon the body.

"What do you notice?" he asked.



At the first glance I was extraordinarily struck by what was suddenly revealed to me.

The light so directed, indeed, disclosed numbers of slight projections and depressions upon the surface of the marble which I should never have suspected. I said so to Rodin.

"Good" he cried approvingly; then, "watch closely."

At the same time he slowly turned the moving stand which supported the Venus. As he turned, I still noticed in the general form of the body a multitude of almost imperceptible roughness. What had at first seemed simple was really of astonishing complexity. Rodin threw up his head smiling.

"Is it not marvelous?" he cried. "Confess that you did not expect to discover so much detail. Just look at these numberless undulations of the hollow which unites the body to the thigh. . . ."

He spoke in a low voice, with the ardor of a devotee, bending above the marble as if he loved it.

"It is truly flesh!" he said.

And, beaming, he added: "You would think it molded by kisses and caresses!" Then, suddenly, laying his hand on

the statue. "You almost expect, when you touch this body, to find it warm."

A few moments later he said :

"Well, what do you think now of the opinion usually held on Greek Art ? They say—it is especially the academic school which has spread abroad this idea—that the ancients, in their cult of the ideal,



Burghers of Calais. (*From The Outlook.*)

despised the flesh as low and vulgar, and that they refused to reproduce in their works the thousand details of material reality.

"They pretend that the ancients wished to teach Nature by creating an abstract beauty of simplified form which should appeal only to the intellect and not consent to flatter the sense. And those who talk like this take examples which they imagine they find in

antique art as their authority for correcting, for emasculating Nature, reducing it to contours so dry, cold, and meager that they have nothing in common with the truth."

**The Science
of
Modelling.**

In the next quotation, we have a peep into Rodin's early training. "The science of modelling," he told Mr. Gsell, "was taught me by one Constant." And one day, watching him model a "capital ornamented with foliage", he told Rodin:

"Rodin, you are going about that in the wrong way. All your leaves are seen flat. That is why they do not look real. Make some with the tips pointed at you, so that, in seeing, them, one has the sensation of depth." I followed his advice, and I was astounded at the result that I obtained. 'Always remember what I am about to tell you,' went on Constant. 'Henceforth, when you carve, never see the form in length, but always in thickness. Never consider a surface except as the extremity of a volume, as the point, more or less large, which it directs towards you. In that way you will acquire the science of modelling.'

"This principle was astonishingly fruitful to me. I applied it to the execution of figures. Instead of imagining the different parts of the body as surfaces more or less flat, I represented them as projections of interior volumes. I forced myself to express in each swelling of the torso or of the limbs the efflorescence of a muscle or of a bone which lay deep beneath the skin. And so the truth of my figures, instead of being merely superficial, it seemed to blossom from within to the outside, like life itself."

**Breathing Vitality
and Movement
into
Dead Masses.**

The highest test of the sculptor's art is, perhaps, the way that he makes even his marble or his bronze to seem to move with the strength and virility of living and moving things. Mr. Gsell once put this matter before Rodin; and the following excerpt relates the story how Rodin

explained himself. Asked Gsell--

"When I look at your figure of the Iron Age, who awakes, fills his lungs and raises high his arms; or at your Saint John, who seems to long to leave his pedestal to carry abroad his words of faith, my admiration is mixed with amazement. It seems to me that there is sorcery in this science which lends movement to bronze. I have also studied other chief-d'œuvres of your great predecessors; for example, Marechal Ney and 'The Marseillaise' by Rude, 'The Dance' by Carpeaux, as well as Barye's wild animals, and I confess that I have never found any satisfactory explanation for the effect which these sculptures produce upon me. I continue to ask myself how such masses of stone and iron can

possibly seem to move, how figures so evidently motionless can yet appear to act and even to lend themselves to violent effort."

"As you take me for a sorcerer", Rodin answered, "I shall try



A Man Walking. (*From The Outlook.*)

to do justice to my reputation by accomplishing a task much more difficult for me than animating bronze—that of explaining how I do it.

"Note, first, that movement is the transition from one attitude to another.

"This simple statement, which has the air of a truism, is, to tell the truth, the key to the mystery.

"You have certainly read in Ovid how Daphne was transformed into a bay tree and Progne into a swallow. This charming writer shows us the body of the one taking on its covering of leaves and bark and the members of the other clothing themselves in feathers, so that in each of them one still sees the woman which will cease to be and the tree or bird which she will become. You remember, too, how in Dante's 'Inferno' a serpent, coiling itself about the body of one of the damned, changes into man as the man becomes reptile. The great poet describes this scene so ingeniously that in each of these two beings one follows the struggle between two natures which progressively invade and supplant each other.

"It is, in short, a metemorphosis of this kind that the painter or the sculptor effects in giving movement to his personages. He represents the transition from one pose to another—he indicates how insensibly the first glides into the second. In his work we still see a part of what was and we discover a part of what is to be. An example will enlighten you better.

"You mentioned just now the statue of Marechal Ney by Rude. Do you recall the figure clearly?"

"Yes," I said, "The hero raises his sword, shouting 'Forward' to his troops at the top of his voice."

"Exactly. Well, when you next pass that statue, look at it still more closely. You will then notice this: the legs of the statue and the hand which holds the sheath of the saber are placed in the attitude that they had when he drew—the left leg is drawn back so that the saber may be easily grasped by the right hand, which has just drawn it; and as for the left hand, it is arrested in the air, as if still offering the sheath.

"Now examine the body. It must have been slightly bent toward the left at the moment when it performed the act which I have described; but here it is erect, here is the chest thrown out, here is the head turning towards the soldiers as it roars out the order to attack: here, finally, is the right arm raised and brandishing the saber.

"So there you have a confirmation of what I have just said; the movement in this statue is only the change from a first attitude—that which the Marshal had as he drew his saber—into a second, that which he had as he rushes, arm aloft, upon the enemy."

In the same way I next studied Saint John, says Gsell; and I saw that the rhythm of this figure led, as Rodin had said, to a sort of evo-

lution between two balances. The figure leaning, at first, all its weight upon the left foot, which presses the ground with all its strength, seems to balance there while the eyes look to the right. You then see all the body bent in that direction ; then the right leg advances and the foot takes hold of the ground. At the same time the left shoulder, which is raised, seems to endeavor to bring the weight of the body to this side in order to aid the leg which is behind to come forward.



La Pensee.

**Samadhi
or
"La Pense"**

But by far the most illuminating, to me at any rate, of these "Conversations" is that which relates to Rodin's figure *La Pense*. Here Rodin had tried to paint Thought. The figure is thus described by Mr. Gsell:—

It is a young woman whose writhing body seems to be subject to some mysterious torment. Her head is bent low, her lips and her eyes closed, and you would think she slept, did not the anguish in her face betray the conflict of her spirit.

The most surprising thing in the figure, however, is that it has neither arms nor legs. It would seem that the sculptor in a moment of discontent with himself had broken them off, and you cannot help regretting that the figure is incomplete. I could not refrain from expressing this feeling to my host.

"What do you mean?" he cried in astonishment. "Don't you see that I left it in that state intentionally? My figure represents Meditation. That's why it has neither arms to act nor legs to walk. Haven't you noticed that reflection, when persisted in, suggests so many plausible arguments for opposite decisions that it ends in inertia?"

The idea of motion is however almost organically bound up with our associations of arms and legs. *La Pense*, representing the state of deep and persistent thought, which Rodin calls inertia, but which is known by a much better term in our language, namely, *samadhi* (*समधि*) had, therefore, no need of having either arms or legs.

**The Religion
of
Art.**

The last of these quotations refer to Rodin's ideal of his own vocation. "Art," he said, "is a kind of religion." And to Rodin—

Religion is more than the mumbling of a creed. It is the meaning of all that is unexplained and doubtless inexplicable in the world. It is the adoration of the unknown force which maintains the universal laws and which preserves the types of all being: it is the surmise of all that in nature, which does not fall within the domain of sense, of all that immense realm of things which neither the eyes of our body nor even those of our spirit can see: it is the impulse of our conscience towards the infinite, towards eternity, towards unlimited knowledge and love—promises perhaps illusory, but which in this life give wings to our thoughts. In this sense I am religious."

INSURANCE AND CO-OPERATION.

—:0:—

A PLEA FOR A NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE UNION FOR INDIA.

II.

Of the different branches of co-operative work, that of Agricultural and Industrial Credit has been already undertaken by Government and has only to be supplemented by higher organisations of credit as in Germany.

Those who have studied the methods of rural supply know at what cost credit is granted and what price is paid even in cash for seed, stock, implements, cloth and groceries; and that the necessity for small individual purchases means dear and bad goods. To discuss this further would be to discuss co-operative distribution. It need only be said here that experience proves a gain of from 10 to 50 p. c. in the quality and price of goods, if they could be obtained wholesale by a large buyer such as an Association, the custom of which would be valuable to any vendor.

But the collection of members' produce and its sale is an enormously big item. Many valuable products such as cotton, wheat, rice, joggery jute &c., are sold by producers at much less than the market rates only because they are sold in small quantities to petty middlemen, who are themselves frequently removed 3 or 4 times from the real purchaser. These goods are purchased by large shippers not from the ryots but from brokers, who employ agents and sub-agents to collect them in small quantities from the villagers. Hence and by reason of the advances paid often on usurious rates, the ryots get a price far below the real value of the commodities. They have to pay the wages and profits of several middlemen, while their necessities or ignorance or both entail hard bargains. If on the other hand, the Associations could gather these commodities from their members in wholesale lots and arrange to sell them in the best and most profitable markets, it can be easily proved that there would be a gain of nearly 100 p. c. to the ryot. The Associations for Collective Sale are therefore a pressing necessity and the first efforts of the Union should be directed towards their organisation. The function of supply could be easily undertaken by these Associations, as it is comparatively a very small item. The Indian agriculturists' chief supply is capital, everything else being supplied by his fields; the only remaining articles are cloth and groceries which can be easily found.

Agriculture is the first industry in this country, and its prosperity has the greatest direct influence upon conditions affecting the national welfare. Agriculture supports 20 crores of our people and the gross produce from the land is about 450 crores of rupees or 22½ Rs. per head per annum. Some estimate it at Rs. 40 and some 20 Rs. Whatever it may be, it is true that the crop-yield

per acre in India is the lowest in the world, which owing to the ignorance and indebtedness of the peasant is declining still further, and the exhaustion of the soil is fast proceeding. Again 104½ million acres of culturable land are lying waste for centuries as against 207 millions under cultivation. If only 50 p. c. of the present produce could be increased and only 25 p. c. of the culturable waste land could be reclaimed, we could get 900 crores of rupees as the gross produce thus obtaining the proverbial two blades for one we are having now.

The annual production being relatively small, India taken generally, is not in a prosperous condition. The condition of the middle classes of society has decidedly become worse than before, while the poorer classes lead a precarious sort of existence from year's end to year's end, a large majority never having even a silver piece in their possession. The average income and wealth per head is also the least as compared with other nations being about Rs. 15 and Rs. 265 respectively whereas it is 20 times greater in any European country. In short, though the productive capacities of India are great and though she possesses an abundance of natural resources, and a plentiful supply of cheap labour, her position cannot be improved unless the lack of capital, enterprise and organisation be removed. Strenuous and persistent efforts on the part of her people would also be necessary, before she could hope to secure economic progress and emancipation.

Labour is plentiful and cheap, but ignorant and mostly unskilled. The labourer is diligent and sober, but poor, unenterprising and unambitious. He possesses a natural quickness of intelligence in which he is not certainly inferior to the peasants of many of the countries of Europe, but education has not taught him how to put it to the right and best use. He usually works on his own account and takes upon himself the functions of the capitalist and the business manager, which he is quite unfit to fulfil properly. Education is therefore essential for the improvement of the condition of the agriculturists. But agricultural or technical education must be preceded by general education. Neither the farmer nor the landed proprietor nor the artisan now care as a rule for agricultural or technical education. The colleges are attended by sons and words of educated men merely for the sake of securing Government service and never for the sake of farming or trading on their own account. To be really useful agricultural and technical training should be given in the rural schools, providing facilities for imparting an intelligent and practical knowledge of the commonest objects, otherwise than through books, so that advantage may be taken of it both by the cultivator and the artisan.

It is the definite sacrifice of effort and money in the interest of agricultural and industrial education which gives cooperation in all the countries of Europe its peculiar flavour and differentiates it most clearly not only from middle-class creations such as the Syndicates and Unions, but from individual societies of strictly business outlook, such as the credit societies, sale and supply societies, dairies, &c. Denmark, Germany, and all European countries while not strangers

to the idea of educational service have gone further than mere propaganda by the central organisations by means of literature and lectures directly bearing on the co-operative movement. They have started high schools and colleges and rural elementary schools specially devoted to the work; have employed travelling professors for imparting both practical and theoretical lessons in rural areas; travelling dairies have been established and sent round various rural districts in order to give dairy-workers instruction in better methods of butter making &c; in short the whole system of agricultural and technical instruction in its manifold phases and more particularly as regards rural elementary schools have been placed on a systematic footing.

In the higher branches of co-operative education, much good work is doubtfully being done by the various agricultural colleges by devoting at least an hour and a half each week to instruction on the subject of agricultural co-operation and organisation. It is certain that the funds at their command for educational purposes could hardly be laid out to more practical advantage from an economical standpoint than in securing an increase in agricultural and industrial prosperity.

Unfortunately the efforts hitherto made in India in the matter of technical education have not yet been attended with complete success, the failure being due to want of opportunities for profitably employing the skill gained by instruction. Several people who had learnt glass-making, pottery, &c., have failed to attract capitalists to open factories to employ them. It is therefore necessary not only to impart technical instruction but to start works and factories to translate that knowledge into practice. This can only be done by co-operative methods.

The use of cattle for the purposes of cultivation is indispensable. Of late there has been a great deterioration in the quality and diminution in the quantity of live stock, all over India; and the want of good cattle has been a great drawback in the improvement of agriculture. The necessity of having cattle-breeding associations is therefore unquestionable. Now that the method of dedicating bulls seems to be on the wane, it is imperative that a substitute be found; the purchase and use in common of good stud bulls and rams would be an immediate and obvious benefit.

The loss of a large number of cattle by diseases for want of proper treatment shows the necessity of a veterinary expert to look after the cattle at the proper time; and while a single association might not be able to employ a Veterinarian, a group can do so, especially with Government aid, in which case a veterinary station and stud depot might be formed at many a centre.

There appear to be a great waste of many opportunities and natural resources for taking over small irrigation works or of creating new ones, owing to the want of joint action. Co-operative Associations could, by arrangement with Government take over many of these works. Rain has been the chief source of water and it is not surprising that the richest lands on the banks of the biggest rivers are suffering from the effects of drought, when the river water dammed or raised with a little effort might be sure to uniformly give good crop.

In matters of drainage, it would be possible, for instance, to arrange for the planting of large blocks of sugarcane, a frequent impossibility at present because of the rights of the neighbouring ryots to surface water so that a ryot is obliged to grow paddy when he would prefer sugarcane. Village plantations might be taken up for the supply of fuel and grazing without the intervention of the Forest Department.

The history of rural economy alike in Europe, America, and India has no lesson more distinct than this that agricultural classes are in a state of extreme indebtedness due not so much to usury as to causes outside the demands of agriculture, such as seasonal disasters and epidemic cattle diseases. Now the Credit Society could supply capital, the Supply Society the seed, manure cattle, and every thing, but what Society can make good the wholesale loss caused by drought or excessive rain, or by an insect pest or a crop disease? Again, the Cattle Breeding Society can supply bullocks, but what Society can avert the complete ruin of the farmer from a cattle disease? All his capital his labour, and his expenses go in a day leaving the helpless farmer a hopeless wreck. Nothing can compare with the ineffable anguish of a totally ruined farmer. The uncertainties of trade, war or even gambling cannot be on a par with the uncertainties of agriculture. And Insurance against crops or cattle is the means which can bring a farmer succour in his helpless condition; Insurance can raise him from utter helplessness to power and strength; and Insurance is verily the triumph of humanity over nature; Insurance gives the farmer security for the future; it is by means of Insurance that the farmer is enabled to form a general plan of conduct; it is by means of this that the successive moments which compose the duration of life are not like isolated and independent points but become parts of a continuous whole. The principle of security comprehends the maintenance of all his hopes. Again, man is limited to the present time either in enjoyment or suffering but he is susceptible of pleasure and pain by anticipation; it is not therefore enough to guard him against actual loss, by means of Supply Society or Credit Society, but it is necessary to guarantee to him, as much as possible, the possession and enjoyment by his property against future losses. All agricultural countries of Europe, aided by liberal State—help have secured the agricultural classes against the wholesale loss by the institution Crop and Cattle Insurance Societies.

The Indian artisans works under great disadvantages. Foreign competition has crippled and killed his industries. He works without capital, without machinery and without organisation. Each man works by or for himself with unimproved appliances. He is ignorant, unenterprising, immobile, resigned to his lot, bound by custom and fond of repose. Whereas, in Europe, the older methods of industry are completely succeeded by new ones. By saving labour and materials and by the utilisation of byproducts, goods are turned out at much cheaper cost.

Machinery has supplanted hand labour, large amounts of capital has been invested in every industry, production on a small scale has given place to large

scale production and a better organisation has been introduced. This has brought about a great increase in the productive power. Unless therefore a similar change to be effected in our artisans of the Western nations it would be foolst to expect any improvement in their lot. But this can be easily done by Association. The artisan in Europe is a not a mere unit, as he is in this country, but a member of a highly and skilfully organised combination which can not only dispose of its production in big loads but is also able to purchase its necessities of life in such large amounts as to secure a substantial reduction alike in their cost and in Railway rates for their transporation. The greatest degree of success has been obtained where the associations have been started on a very small scale to meet local, or even strictly parochial conditions, and while maintaing their individual entity, have afterwards combined with similar bodies so form district, country or even national federations for the attainment of common advantages. The direct result of these new conditions has been to cheapen and to increase production in the countries concerned; by introducing improved appliances and by economy in production being reduced to a science.

Weaving is the most important industry of our country, second only to that of agriculture. The rapid progress of weaving-mills both in India and England and the pressure of their competition is making it more and more difficult for the hand-loom weaver to maintain himself and hundreds and thousands of weavers have been thrown out of work. Again, hand-loom weaving is more expensive than power-loom weaving, but by the adoption of improved appliances and large scale organisation the hand-loom may successfully compete with the power-loom.

The fate of the shoe-maker has been still worse. Raw hide is being exported in enormous quantities and nothing is left in the country even for the use of the people of the soil, especially the poor coblers. Their fate is made still worse by the fact that the country shoes have given place to boots and English shoes which are imported in very large quantities and the majority of those who could make these English boots and shoes find it difficult to compete with their quality and price. Thus, the country shoemakers are being gradually throwp out of their work and are adding to the number of the indigent agriculturists. The people, using country-shoes have to pay a heavy price and a number of poor people have to travel barefooted being unable to pay the high price, thus exposing themselves to infection and diseases. The export of raw hide is worth from 9 to 12 crores of rupees, and stands second in the list of raw articles exported from India.

Arbitration is partly provided for by the village-panchayet system; but Associations would, even if they did not provided arbitration, be influential in directing their members towards arbitration by the panchayet instead of allowing them to ruin themselves and to promote fueds and factions by unnecessary and vexatious litigation.

CIVILISATION AND SAVAGERY.

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(MISS MARIE CORELLI IN NASH'S MAGAZINE.)

FEBRUARY 1913.

Miss Marie Corelli has a fairly long article denouncing the militancy of the modern nations, in her characteristic style. She has no faith in the conceit of civilisation of her contemporaries. Civilisation "is a great word"—she admits at the very outset of her article,—“It reads well, it is used everywhere, it bears itself proudly in the language :” all this is true ; but after all, what is it except “a big mouthful of arrogance and self-sufficiency ?”

The very sound of it flatters our vanity and testifies to the good opinion we have of ourselves. We boast of “Civilisation” as if we were really civilised,—just as we talk of “Christianity” as if we were really Christians. Yet it is all the veriest game of make-believe, for we are mere Savages still. Savages in “the lust of the eye and pride of life,”—savages in our national prejudices and animosities, our jealousies, our greed and malice, and savages in our relentless efforts to over-reach or pull down each other in social and business relations.

And she finds a most convincing proof of the real savagery of modern civilisation in the fact that War is still permitted to exist among men. For “war is unquestionably the thrust and blow of untamed Savagery in the face of Civilisation.”

No special pleading can make it anything else. We may if we like call it “Patriotism,” in our perpetual life-comedy or tragedy of feigning, but in sane moments we must surely realise that we are wilfully deceiving ourselves. Patriotism is understood to be that virtue which consists in serving one's country ; but in what way is this “Patria” or country served by slaying its able-bodied men in thousands?—the very men whose peaceful and progressive toil makes the country worth living in ? Can any adequate answer be given to this question ? Is “Honour” justly due to the heads of Governments who, themselves safely out of the fray, send such men like sheep to the shambles,—men innocent of all personal or national offence, but who, in their fine obedience to duty and the preconceived idea of conquest which has its root in old barbaric periods, consent to be shot down under the murderous fire of unseen guns miles away, simply because their rulers have so ordained it ?

All these are familiar platitudes in which the Pacifists habitually indulge. The evils of war are admitted even by those who may not be called Pacifists. But they ask, how are we to stop it ? The moral elevation of humanity, is an excellent prescription, no doubt, but suggests, after all, a very slow process. Miss Corelli proposes an original remedy. She says that as no nation can go to war without money ; and as no war can be carried on unless the belligerents can get the necessary supplies from foreign markets ; the only effective means of preventing war is to stop supplies.

Wherever such cash is obtained we know it must be weighted with an exorbitant rate of interest, so that the price of human blood fills the pocket of the lenders with a certain guaran-

teed overflow. To stop War, therefore, it should be made impossible to borrow the sums required for warfare ; and any loan started with the object of War in view, whether suggested or avowed, should be considered by a National Agreement of United Powers illegal and even criminal, as conspiring against the peace and progress of the world.

But though it sounds very easy, "this National Agreement of United Powers" is as impracticable for immediate ends, as the moral elevation of the race. In fact, in our democratic age, the Powers are as much at the mercy of mobs as the latter are at the mercy of their masters and rulers. And Miss Corelli lays her finger on the right root of the evil when she says that two classes of people who actually make modern wars, are, (i) the Financiers, and (ii) the Press. These are the only two classes with whom war is really popular because very paying. Of the "investers in a War loan" Miss Corelli says:—

With them it is undoubtedly "popular," for it opens several channels for the rapid making of money. Roughly speaking, most of the money advanced at interest for all important purposes, come from the Jews. All nations are more or less under the thumb of Israel, disguise it as we will or may. No great scheme either in peace or war can be started without Jewish gold and Jewish support. The Jews are the cleverest commercial people on the globe, and they are also charitable and benevolent to a degree that often shames Christianity. They could, as a race, do much to stop War in its very beginnings if they once unanimously and resolutely decided on such a course of action. But it is not likely that they will ever pronounce this "Veto." The idea would be too Utopian and unbusinesslike. Therefore, as things exist, it is scarcely unkind to say, that with their tribe all over the world, War is "popular." Its commencement, progress, and continuance are in their hands. And they will, from a purely commercial point of view, continue to lend cash for the furtherance and encouragement of National Savagery as long as it exists and is willing to borrow money at a high rate of interest. For with them the God of Israel is still a God of Battles.

Secondly, War is "popular" with the Press. Unctuous newspaper articles lamenting the "horrors" of War, and disclaiming all responsibility for fermenting and agitating the motives of quarrel, are only so much meaningless "copy." Useful "copy" too, because it conveys to the ingenuous and child-like mind of the man in the street that the intelligent editors and journalists who "manage" his news for him are really peace-loving, unselfish folk, and pious withal ! Whereas the very suggestion of War is a paying "sensation" for press-men,—it gives plenty of opening for big "head-lines" and attractive "posters," which help to sell their penny or halfpenny sheets to the best advantage. Whatever rumour is abroad, whatever whisper of a "Conference of the Powers" flies on the wind, the Press makes more than the most of both rumour and whisper,—and if it can only work up a national "Scare," it is as happy as a monkey with a banana. Such a Press as that of America and Great Britain could not exist without "sensation." Even in "piping times of peace" it has to resort to the most ludicrous methods of producing mild excitements,—such as a "Sweet Pea" or "Giant Carnation" or "Photographic" competition, or a "Symposium" or whether milk or fish diet is best for the brain. A murder is life to it,—while the useful, brilliant, beautiful or noble work done in Art and Literature gets scarcely a helpful mention. How often we see great space given to the description of a public dancer !—her jewels, her dresses, her opinions !—while a fine poem or picture is dismissed in a flippant paragraph. The reason of this is obvious,—it is that many of the persons who assist in the work of daily journalism are only educated to the public-dancer standard—the poem or the picture is lost on the limited area of their abilities. And it may be said again without either prejudice or unkindness, that so far as the press is concerned War is "popular," because it provides just that particular "sensation" which in its turn commands sales. Therefore if press-men, directly or indirectly, do foster national bitterness or help to stir up

strife, we must, with all patience, remember that they are only serving their own interests, and that blame is chiefly due to ourselves if we give credence to their often exaggerated statements. Bismarck is reported to have said on one occasion. "The windows which our Press break we shall have to pay for!" This is true enough. Indeed it is just possible that if there were no Press at all for a few years many dissensions would die out, many discords would cease, and many unfortunate happenings would never happen!

But the "savagery" of the modern man is seen in the modern science of war more than in anything else. "The new long-range quick-firing gun is as dastardly as it is powerful; for to shoot down men miles away who cannot see their enemies is as reprehensible and cowardly as to stab a man in the back unawares. Another instrument of treachery is the submarine—a truly devilish invention devised for the avowed object of destroying war vessels by murderous action from the hidden depths of the sea."

And now, not satisfied with attack from the secret depths of the ocean, we are preparing to shower bombs upon our enemies from "military aeroplanes," so that the hitherto neutral skies will be made spaces of vantage for pitiless assault. All these "civilised" inventions for the practice of barbarity ought to give so-called "Christian" Empires food for serious thought—yet, strange to say, it would seem that every new and more murderous weapon of warfare is hailed with columns of praise in the press and such general acclamation as may truly be called "savage,"—"for no "civilised" community, educated according to all that we boast of in our advanced state of progress, could or would rejoice over the construction of mere killing-machines for the slaughter of their fellow-creatures: Therefore, it may be asked—Are we truly "Civilised" or is it all a Sham? Are we really humane?—or as bloodthirsty as when, in our aboriginal savagery, we cracked open the skulls of our enemies with flint axes?

Miss Corelli does not spare her own nation either. Referring to the demand for "National Service" and "Dreadnoughts," she says:—

If War is still to advertise us and other nations as "Savages," We must behave accordingly! We must train our men and youths to kill,—and to use the newest and surest weapons for killing. Canada, in a fine outburst of loyalty, offers us, "Dreadnoughts,"—we accept them with salvos of rejoicing and thanksgivings. Yet,—if we have no war, these "Dreadnoughts" will, in ten years' time from the date of their completion, be useless,—and the millions they cost will be sunk into waste material. Is War imperative then?—just for the sake of putting "Dreadnoughts" into action, and proving that we can slaughter as many innocent thousands as other Savages if we chose? God forbid? May no cause arise for the visitation of such a fearful scourge upon us? Those who talk glibly about the "glory" of War, have no conception or knowledge of its true horror. Naturally, if we have foes, and they declare themselves as such, we are bound to be on the defensive. Even in civil life every man guards his own house and home, and we should be fully prepared to guard our Empire both by sea and land from Savages more Savage than ourselves, if these exist. But all bombastic and agitating talk of War is to be deprecated and deplored; and when one reads columns of mere shouting in respectable journals whose editors ought to know better than to seek to put the public mind on edge, and inflame the passions of the uninstructed and therefore unthinking multitude, one can feel the saddest contempt for such a false assumption of "Patriotism." True Patriotism is to serve and ennoble one's country,—not to ravage and ruin it. And when we can all get rid of our Savagery we shall all lay down our arms. We shall realise that civilisation means Unity, —Unity in high purpose, Unity in progress towards the general betterment and happiness of mankind. We shall not kill each other in order to decide which is the most worthy to live; our rivalries will be sane and noble,—the rivalries of attainment in beneficent rule and intellectual statesmanship. The time is surely coming when this shall be,—and when nations will

look back upon their War period with almost incredulous amazement and horror,—they will marvel at their own recorded triumphs in slaughter, and will say—“Then we were barbarous and uncivilised,—but now !——”

“Sheath’d be the sword for ever—let the drum
Be schoolboy’s pastime—let our battles cease—
And the cannon’s voice for ever dumb
Except to celebrate the joys of Peace !
Are we not brothers ? God, whom we revere,
Is he not Father of all climes and lands ?
In firm Alliance holy and sincere
Let us join hands !”

Is it too much to hope for this ? to pray for this, if our Faith means anything more than mere lip-service and outward show ? The phrase “Little Englander” has been thrown, sometimes justly and more often unjustly, at those patriots who desire to see our Empire at peace with all the world,—yet it is not an inglorious peace which the lovers of England would strive for, but a peace based on sound principles of reason and justice. Not “Little England,” but “Greater England” should be the watchword of the time—greater in intellectual capacity and mental fibre.—greater in moral courage—and greater in her guiding and saving influence wherever her dominance is felt : We shall do well to remember the lines of Tennyson—

“Step by step we gained a freedom known to Europe, known to all ;

Step by step we rose to greatness,—through the tonguesters we may fall !”

It is these “tonguesters” who would make England “little” in their boast and brag of War. “Little England” is “unprepared for emergencies” they cry, being of that small mind which loves clamour just as infants love a rattle—and, in their assumption of “patriotism,” giving away the weakness of their country—(if weakness there be)—to their country’s foes ! So far, however, England has never been found wanting either in spirit or attainment. And we hope and believe it may be taken for granted that Greater and Greatest England is always ready—ready to maintain her splendid position as a central Star of Peace, towards which every nation may look in friendship, and in the full assurance that so long as that steadfast Light shines clearly, all is well !

WESTERN DISCONTENT AND EASTERN PEACE.

—:O:—
(PEARSON'S MAGAZINE.)

FEBRUARY 1913.

Mrs. Brown-Potter, one of the most renowned members of the British Stage has, since some time past, been devoting herself to the study of Occultism. In an interview with a representative of "Nash's Magazine" she gave her views on what may be called "The Modern Discontent." I quote the greater portion of this Interview below :

"My interest in occultism and the East," says Mrs. Brown-Potter, "was first aroused by reading Bulwer Lytton's *Strange Story* and *Zenone*. I was only a child of eleven then, but as I grew older the idea gained in strength that one day I must get time to study—time to glimpse into the secrets of life.

"I left Society for the stage. I travelled in the East. I talked with great adepts in the heights of the Himalayas. I gambled all in the hope of realising my desire.

"It was no light task, but I do not regret the toil, for I believe that in the study of occultism true happiness is to be found. No misfortune could affect me now."

THE TERROR OF DEATH.

This is not the place to treat of Eastern beliefs. One cannot condense into a paragraph a science which has inspired countless tomes throughout the ages. But Mrs. Brown-Potter's studies have given her some interesting views on the subject of modern discontent and unrest.

"The terror of death has cowed the West," she says. "People forget that they are eternal—that they were and are, and are to be. They are afraid of freedom of thought. They have lost the *joie de vivre*.

"Complete self-reliance—mastery of oneself—that is the secret of happiness. One's beliefs must not be limited by the four corners of a book. You must—how shall I express it?—play ping-pong with your psychic forces—stir up and strengthen the immense forces that are within you, and render yourself impervious to every outside influence that you do not desire to admit.

"I am I, and nothing shall worry me." That must be your motto.

"Is interest in the occult on the increase? There is no doubt about it, yes. It is the topic of conversation wherever one goes, and since my first lecture I have been over-whelmed with inquiries from all classes of society.

"Mind you, it is not for everyone to succeed, just as it is not every boy who enters the Church who becomes a bishop. But personally I can say that to-day I am absolutely happy, and nothing can ever render me unhappy again. Nor can I ever feel harshly towards anyone or anything in life."

THE SOUL OF THE ORIENT.

"I have often heard it said in the West that Orientals are cruel—that they have no souls," observed Mrs. Brown-Potter as we discussed her travels. "That is not true. All Oriental nations have great souls. They are exquisite artists, they know the great literature of their countries. If you went into Billingsgate you would not find many people reading Milton, but in the East I have seen men of the people, wearing only a loin cloth, deep in the study of their great poets.



"I have never forgotten a little incident which happened to me while I was journeying one summer between Penang and Hong-Kong. It was July, and it was very hot in the Straits of Malacca. Every morning I would go up on deck and watch the sunrise in the cool air of early dawn. None of the other passengers were about—only the Chinese sailors at their work.

"On the voyage I lost a little diamond pendant which I valued for personal rea-

sons. A notice was posted up offering a reward, but the officers gave me little hope that my loss would be recovered.

"It was on the last morning of the voyage, I sat on deck as usual. A Chinese sailor whom I had never noticed before left the wheel and came up to me, holding out his hand. In it lay my pendant.

"I gave a cry of delight.

"Wait one moment," I said, after I had thanked him. "I must run down to my cabin and get you your reward."

"He drew himself up and gravely shook his head. He pointed to the sun, now well over the horizon in a blaze of crimson glory.

"You likee. Me likee," he said with a deep salutation.

"He turned away and I saw him no more; but I have never forgotten that glimpse into the intense artistic feeling of the Oriental."

THE WOMAN'S TRUE CAREER.

"What career would I commend for a woman?"

"The stage is Life's finest shop window. It is a splendid career for girls up to a certain point, but it has lost its grip on the intellectual public. Artists must stand out with almost superhuman power, and unless a girl has a strong personality I think she will soon weary of the life. Unless a girl has exceptional talent I would rather see her one of the silent workers of the world—a home, husband and children.

"A woman's lot is not at all hopeless. If the most unhappy woman were to come to me I could think out something that would bring her happiness, and more or less money. The world cannot beat down anybody; we can only beat ourselves—and that through lack of life-force.

"The word 'if' should be taken out of everybody's life. 'If' spells failure; 'I will' spells success."

THE SOUL'S VOICE.

Mrs. Brown-Potter crouched on a low stool by the open hearth, the flickering flames glinting in her Titian hair; and as she spoke, her pure, musical voice rose and fell, modulated by myriad subtle inflections, and the sound of it stole through the shadows like an instrument exquisitely played.

Which suggested another topic of conversation—the harshness of the modern voice.

"It is quite true," she said. "People do not cultivate their speaking voice nowadays. Yet speech should be so beautiful that when you speak of wonderful ideas it should be greater than song. For years it has fascinated me to study the detail of the sound. You must place and develop your voice so that you can play with it—use it as a painter uses his pigments, until you can express colour and warmth and cold distance.

"Your voice is something from within you. I always impressed on my company that the first twelve words a character speaks are the most important of the evening. You stand before your audience. They look at you—they see your outward form; but they are waiting for something to enter into them that comes from within you. You can hold an audience by your voice alone.

"The modern girl is shrill and raucous. A pleasant voice is like a beautiful flower in the desert. If only people would spare time to think what they are saying, to put expression into their voices, the world would be infinitely more harmonious."

THE SOUL OF BEAUTY.

"I wrote a book years ago on the 'Secrets of Beauty.' I was very proud of it at the time, but now I think it nothing. I have learnt much since then.

"It is not by plastering things on top that you will achieve beauty. All the creams and preparations in the world are useless. You must work from inside. The woman who trains her mind, who is young mentally and who is happy, will look young. The woman who is discontented, weary, slack, who has let her mind run down, will not regain youth and beauty from any bottle."

"And the stage? Do you regret it? Shall you ever turn?"

She shook her head.

"All my time is needed for study," she said.

EUROPEAN STAGE.

MADAME FOKINA : THE PREMIER EUROPEAN DANSEUSE.

(DON. MONTAGUE IN NASH'S MAGAZINE)

FEBRUARY : 1913.

Mme. Fokina is one of those wonderful Russians who, since the gates of St. Petersburg and Moscow were thrown open to permit the Czar's pirouetting pioneers to take the path to London, have provided æsthetic attractions for the whole of Europe. From the date, three years ago, when Mme. Fokina formed one in the ranks of the talented confreres for the concerted invasion, she has taken leading parts in all the Russian ballets in London, Paris, and Berlin, and has made herself a dancing celebrity. As the wife of that wizard of all the intricate, rhythmical motions, M. Fokina, the famous Russian master of ballet, Mme. Fokina artistically has evolved through the rigorous and severe training of the Russian State School, finally passing proudly, with honours, from the Lyceum of Moscow, an acknowledged *première danseuse* of full degree. The allied gifts of pedal artistry and histrionic ability belong indisputably to the fascinating Fokina and with this she has contributed largely to such big successes as "Cleopatra," "L'Oiseau de Feu," "Le Fentin," and "Farcisse." Old Covent Garden knows this dancer as one to whom its critical audiences have readily responded with unstinted plaudits. It is such artistes as Mme. Fokina that render the Russian dancing dynasty unassailable and turn what otherwise might be an ephemeral triumph into a real "thing of beauty and a joy for ever." Like her famous sisters of light *entrechat*s and graceful sallies, Mme. Fokina appears on the stage as if in a fairy glade of the garden of Piping Pan. There is none of the artificiality of the average ballerina about her, none of the clumsy movements of the acrobatic performer, and none of the gross grotesqueries of the "Turkey Trot" or the "Gaby Glide." She is an ethereal being in love with life and her pretty art; she is an interpreter of the joyous emotions which she herself so naturally feels and can so capably express. Her dainty satin shoes can as exquisitely pirouette and glide to the twittering notes of the orchestra as they can convey to her audience the effect of cobweb lightness and thistle down attitudes, giving the lie to the law of gravitation. Mme. Fokina is a wonderful pantomimist who portrays tragedy and comedy with equal versatility. Her face is the symbol of refinement and classical beauty; her arms are so perfectly moulded as to make their every motion a joy to beholders. In short Mme. Fokina is preeminently an exponent of the art of dancing at its highest. Berlin has been enjoying a short season of the Russian ballet, and Mme. Fokina has strengthened the affectionate place she holds in the German capital. At the Royal Opera House in Berlin the unusual spectacle of Russian dancing to a British orchestra has been witnessed and interestedly discussed in the musical world. A staunch admirer once inquired of Mme Fokina : "How do you bring

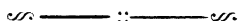
about that impression of ethereal lightness in your dances? Is there a secret to your wonderful art?" "Ah!" laughed the *premiere danseuse*, proud of the compliment, "there is no special secret: everything depends on the training, and more especially on the personality of the dancer. It is essential to a dancer's successful career that she be fascinating, accurate in all her steps and imbued with a love for everything connected with her work. Russian dancers



(From Nash's Magazine.)

leave their homes usually when eight years old and enter the Imperial Government Schools, where they are selected because of their straight limbs and prepossessing looks. They under-go a very thorough training, which is calculated to bring their dancing to perfection, and which lasts eight years. If there is any secret in my success it lies in your simple English word, work."

OUR PRESENT DISCONTENT.



(THE REV. CANON BARNETT IN THE FEBRUARY
NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER).

What is the cause of the Present Discontent? What are the Remedies? asks Rev. Barnett and says that poverty is the root-cause of the prevailing discontent.

The curious thing is that the public mind which speaks through the press hardly realises what is meant by poverty. What is in the minds of speakers, writers, and givers of charities is obviously destitution.

There are indeed many thousands of people destitute, but they form only a fraction of the poor, and can as the Poor-Law Commissioners have shown, be lifted out of the condition by action at once drastic and humane. But the present point is that, if all the destitute were removed, the poverty which is at the back of the present discontent would remain.

The sordidest of all experiences of life among the poor is the gradual declension of respectable families into the ranks of the destitute, when loss of work finds them without resources in body or skill. It is the poverty of the great multitude of the working people and not the destitution of the very poor which is the force behind the present discontent. It is fair to say that on their present income the majority of the people can neither enjoy themselves rationally nor give an intelligent vote as joint-governors of the nation. They have not the freedom which takes pride in self-government. The people cannot enjoy themselves so as to satisfy their nature because of poverty. They begin to work before they had time to enjoy learning and before they had become conscious of their capacities and tastes.

Poverty is the enemy of rational enjoyment and it also prevents the freedom which has pride in self-government. The people cannot be said to be keen to take a part in the government of their country, they are almost ready to accept a despot if they could secure for themselves more health and comfort; so the votes of the people may be at any moment fatal to the commonwealth.

Schemes of relief and charity do not aim to reach this poverty. What then is to be done? Yes, a system of more and of better education would send out men and women stronger to labour and more fit both for the enjoyment and business of life. But poverty still stands in the way of such a system of education. The family budget of the man of the people cannot keep the boy or girl away from work up to the age of fifteen or sixteen.

What then is to be done? The answer demands the best thought of the best statesmen. By some mean or other the great national income must be so shared that the vast number of the poor may have a larger proportion. Law which has determined the lines which the present distribution of the national income follows might determine others which would make the poor richer and the rich poorer. Law has lately, by a system of insurance and pensions given some security for illness, old age and unemployment. This principle might be extended. The law might by taxing the holders of the accumulated wealth of the nation subsidise education, so that no child for want of food and clothing should be driven from school before the age

of fifteen or sixteen. The Law to offer other examples might do more to nationalise luxuries which would bring within the reach of the many the enjoyments which are the surest recreations of life. It is thus possible to give examples of laws which would bring to the poor the use of a larger share of the national income. This proposition rouses much wrath, the rich do not realise the meaning of poverty, its wounds to human nature or its dangers to the nation.

Poverty is at the root of the present discontent, not the poverty which the Poor-Law and charity are to relieve, but the poverty of the great mass of workers. Out of this poverty rises the enemy which threatens the peace and greatness of a nation and this poverty is due not to want of trade or work or wealth, but to the want of thought as to the distribution of national income.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL NATURE OF CHRISTIANITY.

(W. S. LILLY IN THE FEBRUARY NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.)

In deference to the design of the founder and first editor of "the Nineteenth Century" to publish from time to time reviews of "noticeable books" Mr. W. S. Lilly thinks it worth while to call attention of the readers of that periodical to Dr. Chatterton-Hill's recently published volume "The Sociological Value of Christianity"—"The vast majority of people see in Christ, says Mr. W. S. Lilly, a mere preacher of individual regeneration and salvation ; but Dr. Chatterton-Hill's view is diametrically opposite to this. He does not, of course, deny that Christianity in condemning hatred and violence and in teaching fraternity qualifies man to fulfil his social duties, but he continues that the strength of Christianity and the secret of its survival amidst the storms of centuries are to be sought precisely in the fact that the doctrine of Jesus is a social doctrine—doctrine that inculcates rules of social life indispensable to the persistency of Western civilisation.

Dr. Chatterton-Hill begins his discussion by an emphatic repudiation of the doctrine of Animism, which is based on the fundamental notion of the individual as the centre of all religious phenomena. Their origin must be sought in social necessities not in individual necessities.

The collective mentality, the social mind, is not synonymous with the individual mentality ; society is a phenomenon *sui generis*, the evolution of which is independent of the evolution of its individual components. Religion contains *in potentia* all the various elements which subsequently dissociated and combined in a thousand ways, gave rise to the diverse manifestations of social life.

Religion constitutes an indispensable element of social unity, of social cohesion and integration ; in that it restrains individual liberty and subordinates the individual to society.

Religion, therefore, is the instrument whereby the sacrifice of individual interests of religion to social interests is obtained. The reign was originally a reign of terror. The old relentless Yahveh whose Ten commandments represent him was "a jealous God." But the great religious revolution whereby religion, whilst remaining true to its fundamental function of assuring social integration and cohesion, became nevertheless

a source of unequalled consolation for individual distress, of unrivalled hope and comfort for the individual was the works of Christianity.

The extraordinary success of the Christian Church was due to the fact that the ideas of its Founder responded to the immediate needs of society, they afforded an adequate basis for reconstructing a moribund civilisation. The debt, then, of the Western world to Christianity is a colossal one, for it is to Christianity that European civilisation owes its survival.

There is now a very wide-spread tendency to cast off Christianity among the very nation which it has formed. The individualism which constitutes the foundation of Protestantism, as cast by Roussian into the form of Egalitarianism, was the central idea of the French Revolution. Issuing from France, this false dogma has become European. It is flatly opposed to the facts both of biology and of human history.

The doctrine of fraternity as preached by Christianity implies the existence of three underlying conditions ; first, the subordination of individual aims to social aims ; secondly, recognition of individual dignity (the moral value of the individual irrespective of the latter's capacities or social position ; thirdly, individual humility as contrasted with arrogance, vanity and self-satisfaction.

The political system—if system it can be called—based on the sophism of individual equivalence, is radically incapable of instituting authority of any sort.. except the authority of brute force, which must fall by its own weight.

The great problem confronting Western society to day is not that of how to best safeguard and develop liberty but the problem of how to best safe-guard the great principle of authority...of how to safe-guard that discipline without which social integration is an impossibility.

CURRENT EUROPEAN POLITICS.

(DR. DILLON IN FEBRUARY CONTEMPORARY.)

Dr. E. J. Dillon in his Article ' Foreign Affairs ' says that :—Europe is still in the throes of their Near-Eastern crisis. Into the complicated situation as it is to-day the most sagacious statesman strives in vain to gain adequate insight.

All that can be said with certainty is that the issues still to the decided are momentous.

Europe wills peace but disbelieves the reality of her volition : It is quite certain that each one of the Powers would readily consent to a heavy sacrifice rather than drift into war, yet each one irrationally suspects the other of designs which cannot be realised without the shedding of blood.

In Austria-Hungary and Russia the number of troops ready to respond to the war-declaration exceeds considerably the normal peace contingent, (Austria has begun to demobilise.)

The Meeting of the Ambassadors has settled in principle two delicate questions concerning Albania and Servia, but temporarily laid aside all other issues of impor-

tance, because agreement about them seemed hopeless. Adrianople is the Crown of the Negotiations. Bulgaria will not forego the fairest fruit of an undisputed victory. The new Ministers of the Ottoman Empire are, of course as patriotic as their predecessors, but their policy is different.

They are in favour, it is said, of fighting for Adrianople to the bitter end.

The Powers decided to advise Turkey to allow Bulgaria to include the city of Adrianople within her frontiers.

The future of the islands of the Archipelago affects the belligerents and the chances of peace much less perceptibly.

Italy holds certain islands occupied and is bound by treaty to return them to Turkey as soon as Tripoli is evacuated by Ottoman troops. And in view of this stipulation she refuses to deliver them to Greece. The Greeks who covet all the islands are suspicious of Italian designs.

Treated on the ethnographical merits the question of the islands offers no difficulty. The population is Greek by race, language and sympathies. The Powers are agreed that most of the islands shall be given to King George's Government. There are, however, certain reserves made in respect of the four islands which command the entrance to the Straits and must, it is contended, for that reason remain in possession of the guardian of the Dardanelles—Turkey; and there are two, Chios and Mitiline—which form strategically part of the coast of Asia Minor and should not, in the judgement of one or more of the Powers, be loosened from that sea-board. Turkey contends that if she is to exist at all, these reserves are vital to her. And on these grounds she has hitherto refused to put the fate of the islands in the hands of Europe. To the Greeks the question appears in a different light. They contend that the award of the powers ought to grant them all the islands without exception.

Russia and Austria-Hungary, who have been struggling hard to achieve in the Balkans certain aims necessary to the furtherance of their national interests have both attained their main objects without bad blood or shedding good blood. Austria has contrived to carry out of European Turkey a new state to be known in future as Albania. Russia, too, has gained her point in like fashion and to a like extent. The Slabs through Russia's advocacy are about to obtain a port which will be always open to their imports and exports and a railway which no quarrel with Austria-Hungary can block. They will both be neutralised and internationalised and therefore unassailable.

The rights and wrongs of the Bulgaro-Roumanian quarrel are pretty well-known. Access to the sea is vital to Roumania. Without it the community would die of suffocation. Roumanian foreign trade is, for a Balkan state, enormous. Now the only route sea-wards which Roumania owns at present is the Dobrudja; therefore, for their existence the Roumanians should be able to defend that route efficaciously. Well, the Roumanians cannot do this, as things are now. The frontiers are against them. The spirit of the Bulgarian people, say the Roumanians, is embodied in land-thirst. Herein we discern the danger, which however, remote it may now seem, must be guarded against in time and effectively.

What gives deep importance to this attitude of the Bulgarian as distinguished from their leaders, is that a popular propaganda against leaving the Dobrudja with the Roumanians is being continuously carried on, to keep these sentiments alive in the minds of the Bulgarian people.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

JANUARY, 1913.

(Contents :—1. Wilson's Ideas of the Presidency (James W. Garner). 2. A Municipal University's Claims to Public Support. 3. Canada's Plans for a Navy (P. J. McGarath). 4. The Liberation of Bolivia (Harriet Chalmers Adams and Franklin Adams). 5. State Insurance in Wisconsin (Benj. S. Peechar). 6. Will the Democrats Reverse Our Foreign Policies? (A Veteran Observer). 7. Our National Policies as President Taft Sees them.)

THE IDEALS OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT-ELECT.

In the January Number of the American Review of Reviews, Professor James W. Garner tries to point out in his Article "Woodrow Wilson's Ideas of the Presidency" that according to Mr. Wilson, the Presidency is not a fixed thing at one time and a different thing at another time, depending upon the man who occupies the office and upon the circumstances under which its powers are exercised. The original conception of the Presidency was that the President should be only the legal executive, that is, the presiding and enforcing authority in the application of the laws and the execution of public policy. This was the whig conception of what the English King should be.

But as a matter of fact the President has become both the guide of the nation in legislation and the chief of his Party. The evolution of the working constitution and more especially that part of it which has to do with the method of his election, has forced upon the President the *role* of party leader; he himself is thus only the leader of his party and the members of his cabinet merely his private advisers. Under these conditions the President has tended to become more and more a political chief, while the cabinet has become an executive rather than a political body.

One of the greatest powers of the President is his almost absolute control of the foreign relations of the country; while the consent of the Senate is necessary to the conclusion of a treaty, his right of initiative gives him the power to determine what treaties shall be made.

The office to which Mr. Wilson has been called by the voice of the country (the United States) is undoubtedly the greatest in the world (Mr. Bryce excepts only the Papacy) and if he succeeds in fulfilling the triple role which according to his view, the occupant of the office must or should play—namely that of legal executive, party leader, and political guide of the nation—he will make the Presidency a more powerful office than it was when he assumed it.

CANADA'S NAVAL PROGRAMME.

In the January Number of The American Review of Reviews, Mr. P. T. McGrath in his article 'Canada's Plans for a Navy' says that :—During recent years citizens of the British Empire in the motherland and over-seas have had to consider

seriously the question of naval defence compelled thereto by the growing armaments of European Powers and Japan.

At successive gatherings of the British Cabinet and the over-sea premiers, the subject was debated and finally a Defence Conference was convened to formulate plans for protecting the self-governing dominions.

Canada, though the most populous, wealthy and vulnerable of the Dominions did little to fulfil her promises—Borden Government after assuming office and studying the situation decided to confer with the Admiralty as to the whole naval project and base its policy on the conclusions reached then.

The Borden Navy Policy as summarized from the address of the Canadian Premier is as follows:—Canada is to make contribution of three Dread-noughts, which are to be the most powerful warship^s in the world.

They will bear distinctive Canadian names.

The ships are to be under the control and up-keep of the British Admiralty, but may be returned to Canada at some future time, if the nucleus of a Canadian Navy is decided upon.

The ships are not to be built in Canada for lack of facilities.

Apart from the larger issue of a naval policy, there are subsidiary issues equally contentious as to ships, men and maintenance; this question of Canada's navy has its interest for the United States, because while here-to-fore Canada may be said to have relied for defence by land on the Monroe Doctrine and by sea on the British Fleet, in the event of any war between Britain and any other Power after this naval project is launched, Canada will not be immune from the danger of invasion and therefore the whole question of the efficiency of Monroe Doctrine will at once arise.

THE HIBBERT JOURNAL.

January, 1913.

1. The Civic University (Viscount Halden). 2. Marriage and Divorce (The Bishop of Carlisle). 3. Love and Law in the East (A. Mitchell Jones). 4. Joseph Priestly (Sir Edward Thrope). 5. Intellectualism and Faith (Principal Forsyth). Modernism and the Catholic Consciousness (George Cook). 7. Are "the Brains Behind the Labour Revolt" All wrong? (Prof. Hugh Walker). 8. Modern Idealism and the Messianic hope (C. G. Montefiore). 9. Consciousness as the Cause of Neural Activity (Prof. D. F. Harris). 10. The Democratic Conception of God (Prof. H. A. Overstrat). Social Service No. 6. The Needs of Discharging Prisoners (R. R. Nolan).

ARE "THE BRAINS BEHIND THE LABOUR REVOLT" ALL WRONG?

It has been told with some show of authority that "the brains behind the labour revolt" are built upon a war of classes and Prof. Hugh Walker proposes, in his above-named articles to discuss the question how far it is right or wrong. It is seldom that a body of able men are wholly wrong, says Prof. Walker, nor are the leaders of the labour-revolt in this case. They are convinced that their social organisation must be profoundly changed: in this they are quite right. They imagine that there is needed only some tinkering of the existing system, in this they seem to have erred. Capture rent and profits and enrich labour with them, and all will be well. That is the creed of the Marxian Socialism and still more of Syndicalism. It is essentially

materialistic. What revolts the thoughtful mind in relation to the industrial classes is not solely the excess of toil and the inadequacy of their reward : it is very largely the thoroughly unnatural conditions under which their lives are lived. No treatment of the social problem can be satisfactory which does not take account of this aspect : and here Syndicalism and militant Trade Unionism are silent. They leave the population of the city in the city ; they expect the workers to find their recreation in the streets and to begin to live their *real* life when they cease to work. Surely Ruskin and Morris were more nearly right when they taught that the joy which men naturally desire, is to be sought, and can be permanently found, only in the work itself. The brain-worker—the man whose hands are busied in fashioning things of beauty, the skilled artisan, whose every faculty is absorbed in his daily occupation—these can find their pleasure in their ordinary work. But he who simply feeds the machine has no such pleasure ; and under the industrial system this is the lot of the majority. Poor Law Commission found that demand for skilled labour was declining. There is apparently but one course that is feasible—back to nature. The pleasure that appeals to nearly all humanity is the pleasure of contact with her.

Excluding all ethical considerations, for it will hardly be argued that morality demands class-warfare, even the least thoughtful can suppose that the whole wealth of the rich can be transferred to the poor except with the consent of the former. Yet not a few think that they already see the shadow of the coming event (the war of classes) and millions which would otherwise have been invested at home in England, have gone where no war of classes in England can affect them. Incomparably more would follow as the event drew nearer, and industry would suffer from starvation for the fixed capital is only half efficient without circulating capital. But further credit would be shaken : and though credit creates no wealth it makes that which exists far more efficient.

War is the *ultimo ratio*, and even the militarist admits that the only plea which can justify it is the plea of necessity. Can the leaders of the labour-revolt justify themselves that the mess of pottage, however scanty it may be, can be won only at the sword's point.

Accumulated wealth and means of production will certainly not be surrendered by their present possessors without a struggle.

But what about wealth that is not accumulated ; what about unused possibility of production ? All economists are agreed that the power to produce wealth has within the last century grown far more rapidly than actual production. What has become of this enormous power ? The greatest part is not used at all and the reason is that Demand lags behind the power of Supply ; and this is not because human wants are satisfied, but because so many have not the means to pay.

If it were possible, therefore, to stimulate demand which would be done by the pleasant process of raising wages, the spectre of class warfare would vanish.

The superiority of an army to a mob is essentially a matter of organisation. In the economic field, the difference between a successful business and an unsuccessful one is often just the same.

If men were rich enough Demand would keep the forces of production in full play.

Before we can stand ready to employ the unemployed, and to do so in great measure at their own trades there must evidently be a considerable change in the existing system. What it involves is the establishment of "production-for-use associations" on a very broad basis.

There are two ways in which the State might do this ; through the army or by a system of industrial education.

All soldiers have come to the conclusion that it is within the bounds of possibility that the army might be industrialised for the supply of its own needs with profit rather than loss to its efficiency as an army. The possibilities opened up by the educational scheme are equally, if not even more, alluring. Industrial schools which already exist ; their influence where they are found is of the most beneficent sort.

As the unemployed are not producers, they can only be in the most meagre degree consumers and even in that degree they are unprofitable as customers.

Further, an organisation of the sort contemplated would react upon the rise of wages in the community outside.

It is against all experience to suppose that trade flourishes on low wages. England and the United States are the countries of high wages and they are also the countries of large fortunes. Economic prosperity diffuses itself ; so that the increased wealth to the worker does not necessarily mean diminished wealth to the capitalist. We might do better if we turned our attention to the other side of the problem, and tried to stimulate production ; for evidently this is a condition of the payment of high wages.

Again if the population now heaped layer above layer in the slums of great cities, were dispersed in cottages with gardens attached, it would itself absorb a large area of land which would acquire the value of "accommodation land." Not only would this course be beneficial to individuals but it might prove beneficial to the whole community.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

January 1913.

1. Some New Versions of Leopardi (Henry Cloriston).
2. A new England Puritan (Prof. Barrett Wendell).
3. Swift's Correspondence (Stanley Lane-Poole).
4. Father Tyrrel (The Rev. Alfred Fawkes).
5. New Facts About Mathew Prior (Francis Bickley).
6. Mind Cures from Scientific Point of View (Sir Thomas Clouston M. D.).
7. The Philosophy of Frederick Nietzsche (F. C. S. Schillies).
8. British Perseverance in Canada (Edward Porritt).
9. The Training of The Queen (Lady Robert Cecil).
10. Disraeli First two Phases (Algeranon Cecil).
11. The Majority Report of the Divorce Commission.
12. The Strategy of the Balkan War.
13. The Crisis in the Near East.

THE TRAINING OF THE QUEEN.

There is a certain irony in the fact, says Lady Robert Cecil in the above-named article in the Quarterly Review of January 1913...that the country which more than any other produced revolutionary changes in the standing of women was identified with a woman who, rigid in many directions, was no where so rigid or so unchanging as in her attitude towards her own sex.

Queen Victoria, when a young princess, knew that she was to rule over her country and she was encouraged to take a high view of the sacredness of the charge. Simultaneously, she learnt not only by direct precept which is the best part of educa-

tion, but from all the ideas and influences surrounding her, that the charge was one which must bring her into direct conflict with the sacred laws governing her duty as a woman.

The discrepancy between her actual and her theoretical obligations might have produced inconvenient results upon a mind more speculative or more sensitive to mental climates. How the Queen herself reconciled her active exercise of authority with the views she is known to have held about feminine duty, is a problem before which curiosity must retire—unsatisfied.

With her training on the purely intellectual side, the Queen in after years expressed some discontent. From the time she was fifteen, Princess Victoria began to express herself upon public affairs and to learn the vocabulary of her craft. This and her wonderful habits of industry and of accurate observation and statement were probably the best that she gained from her up-training.

Lord Melbourne's method, if method it can be called, did not err on the side of superiority. Melbourne's attitude towards monarchy was a characteristic compound of homeliness and reverence. With tears in his eyes and most emphatically he repeated to her Eldon's words: "The King of England is always King."

For a while she seems to have agreed with Palmerston in liking power and finding it very pleasant and, perhaps, she felt some of its intoxication. Excess of political excitement brought reaction.

Public affairs, it has been said, are most safely engaged in by those who have some dislike for them and are under no illusion as to what they are. Government, as taught by Lord Melbourne, was no glorious game. A true public servant, she was called after her death, and one may suppose that this was the title which Queen Victoria, in the height of her power, would have carried with most pride, and that Melbourne would have desired for her.

THE INDIAN REVIEW.

(*Madras—February 1913*).

The place of honour in this Review for February is given to a short summing-up of the work of the Public Services Commission in Bengal and Burma, by the Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Mr. S. Subba Raw writes on the Philosophy of Sri Madhavacharya. Mr. M. Beharilal Bhargava has something to say as to how the Native States of India may help our preparedness for the coming Industrial War. "A Journalist" opens a new feature, which, as the Editor says, will try "to focus the best professional opinion on all problems which face the Journalist in India." And in a fairly long article, Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri gives a sketch of the life and character of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the eldest daughter of Dr. Aghore Nath Chattopadhyaya.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION.

The Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri thus sums up the work of the Commission in Bengal and Burma. The January "Indian Review" gave his comments on the Commission's work in Madras.

The reports of the Commission's proceedings in Calcutta and Rangoon confirm one feature of the evidence which was prominent in Madras. European opinion, whether official or non-official, is decidedly antagonistic to Indian aspirations. Before the Aitchison Commission a few European witnesses, some of them of considerable

importance, avowed entire sympathy with, and approval of, the demand for simultaneous examinations and real and not merely theoretical equality of Indians with Europeans in the higher ranks of the public service. It is difficult to say that the recent unrest in Bengal and elsewhere is exclusively responsible for this hardening of the heart on the part of our Western brethren. Long before 1905 one could discern a well-defined and growing estrangement between the races, which old people would contrast regretfully with the state of things in a former time when Englishman and Indian understood each other better and mixed together more cordially. So much more difficult it is for human nature to be just than to be generous that what was once willingly yielded as an act of grace and condescension is now sternly withheld from those who assert equal rights and demand the complete fulfilment of royal pledges and proclamations. Strangely enough, it was reserved to unofficial Europeans to express disapprobation of the gracious promises of Empress Victoria and her illustrious successor. One saw a lurid portent in Madras when an old missionary of the gospel of peace and goodwill on earth said that pledges and promises must go if the predominance of the Britisher, which in his opinion was synonymous with the efficiency of the administration, was in question. No wonder that a merchant in Calcutta who could not contain his annoyance at the appointment of Indians to the Executive Council, urged the withdrawal of the Proclamation of 1858 and of the Act of 1833, and simply refused to look at these matters from the Indian's point of view, meaning apparently that the Indian had no business to have a point of view of his own in these matters.

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU.

Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri says of this gifted Bengalee lady that :—

The first aspect of Mrs. Sarojini's nature that deserves admiration is her passionate desire for beauty.

Another peculiar characteristic of Mrs. Sarojini's nature is her wonderful physical and nervous organisation which enables her to perceive a radiance of beauty and sweet hints of divinity where familiarity and our coarser texture of mind prevent us from seeing beauty or divinity. "Pain or pleasure transported her, and the whole of pain or pleasure might be held in a flower's cup or the imagined frown of the friend." This wonderful perceptive faculty when coupled with a gift of musical and imaginative utterance goes to make a great poet. But the most noteworthy element in her nature is that wonderful something that defies analysis, that magic of temperament that is characteristic of the East, that quality which we seek in vain elsewhere. The spirit of inwardness, the power of recognising divine immanence, the love of the spiritual aspects of beauty, the passion for peace, the longing for divine communion, the luminous self-poised rapture of contemplation and meditation—in fact all that the Hindu race as a distinctive race stands for in the realms of higher thought and emotion—find expression in the writings of this gifted poet.

Taken all in all Mrs Sarojini is the most gifted poet of our century in India. She has not merely "the vision and the desire" of a poet, but has the voice of a great singer and is a magician in the realm of words and emotions creating new worlds of thought and feeling. She is one of those poets whose thoughts enrich the blood of the world, and who lead mankind by the force of their emotional appeal to higher stages of aspiration and achievement. It is the expectation and prayer of all of us who are her countrymen that she will live long and give us works of beauty that will endure for ever and thrill us with new and elevating emotions.

THE NEW MONTHLY.

(Madras—December and January 1912-13)

This is a small magazine of 32 pages, devoted to "biography, literature, science and the fine arts." The number before me contains, among other things, (i) The Poetry of Mathew Arnold by C. E. Brown ; (ii) Tennyson and his friends by T. B. Krishnaswami ; (iii) Half-an-Hour with Shakespeare by S. Narayanaswami Iyengar ; (iv) Humarity by Wilton Hack ; and (v) Living in Solitude by S. H. Jhahvala.

THE PESSIMISM OF MATTHEW ARNOLD.

Mr. C. E. Brown writing on the Poetry of Mathew Arnold, presents him as a great pessimist :—

Life to Matthew Arnold, is a highly complex problem, encompassed with insolvable difficulties and perplexities. His mind is of sad nature, and all his poetry is tinged by this sadness. He paints life as having a very small amount of joy, mingled with a very great deal of sorrow. The rosy dreams of youth fade away—this life that is so much praised is "One long funeral of our dead hope." One by one our golden dreams fade away.

"Joy comes and goes, hope ebbs and flows,
Like the wave.
Change doth unknit the tranquil strength of men.
Love lends life a little grace,
A few sad smiles and then,
Both are laid in one cold place,
In the grave.

We are too apt to regard this happiness, so seldom obtained, as our Right, continues the Poet.

"Again : Our youthful blood
Claims rapture as its right ;
The world a roiling flood
Of newness and delight

Draws in the enamoured gazer to its shining breast : "

Why does man fight against his lot, he asks, why does he cry out against fate, if he does not obtain this imaginary right of happiness ? Why does Byron call on the world to witness "That never was there sorrow like to his"?

"And why is it that still
Man with his lot thus fights?—
Tis that he makes this WILL,
The measure of his RIGHTS,"

* * * * *
Couldst thou but once discern
Thou hast no RIGHT to bliss,
No title from the gods to welfare and repose ; "

THE VEDIC MAGAZINE.

LAHORE—FEBRUARY, 1913.

(Contents :—(i) The Position of Women in the Vedas—Bawa Gurdit Singh ; (ii) Bhagwat Gita—Prof. Tulsiram Misra ; (iii) Sanskrit—The Mother of Aryan Languages—Prof. Balkrishna ; (iv) Bhagawat Gita and the Present Situation—Brahmachari E. T. Brooks ; Criticisms and Editorial Reflections, Gurukula Samachar, etc. etc.)

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE VEDAS.

To indicate the position assigned to woman in the Vedas, the writer first quotes the following texts from the Yajur Veda :—

1. “Woman is ईमा the adorable one, to whom respect is due, she is verily the delight of the household, ever pleasing and sweet, the acceptable one and the object of our desire, soothing and calm like the moon, the light of the household the inanimate nature itself not to be slighted by any means, the variable goddess of our sacred hearth and home महि the one of versatile genius and learned in the Vedas, oh the unkillable one—meek and nourishing like the cow. These are the various names, O woman ; mayst thou speak to me of kind words and virtuous deeds so that I may attain excellent qualities of head and heart.”

2. “Oh woman ! Thou art verily great, the object of our worship. Come and be the queen of my household where on account of thee I may find sweet content ; let the various kinds of wealth be thine, seating thyself on the throne of this household calm and sooth my sufferings. Mayst thou grant us thousand-fold strength ! Oh the up-holder of various kinds of teachings and sciences. Oh, the one abounding in milk and other blessings, let material and spiritual prosperity be my share through thee.”

How beautiful are these mantras and in what high terms they speak of the glory of woman. She is in reality the goddess and presiding deity of hearth and home ; like the sacred fire and she is the reflex of the sacrificial fire herself—always to be respected and fed, and never to be extinguished and killed ; the cause of creation from whom all this world is born namely the अदिति herself : there is none so pure, none so noble, none so purifying and virtuous as the virtuous and pure lady of the household. She is the greatest teacher of mankind, like the Ved Bani itself, she is ever resounding and reiterating the glories of God Almighty,—the best and the loveliest in nature—the purest and the sublimest virtues that elevate and ennoble mankind have found their place in woman. From time immemorial and among all the nations of the world whether civilized or barbarous, she has been the object of man's regard and not unreasonably. In her nature is seen at its best, she is verily the reflex of nature. She is a model and a builder of the character of mankind. Like the cow and mother earth, she is the sustainer of mankind. It is she that gives existence, it is she whom the babe sucks and then grows. It is she whose sight and soothing words alleviate pain and suffering ; it is she that opens up the door of heaven for us, it is she alone in whom man's love is centred, nay she is love herself, that pure sentiment, that rare gift, the greatest of virtues which has been and will ever remain the only passport to heaven. Yes without woman the world had been devoid of this sentiment, without her this virtue would have lain dormant. It is she alone that develops it and she alone that perfects it. Hence, she is called वसु and काम्य the pleasant and desirable. Without her the household is dark and gloomy

hence she is addressed as *জ্যোতি* and *বেন্দ্র* i. e., she is the light and life of the household. She is always acceptable and never to be spurned and thrown off, hence she is called *হুয়ে* and *শ্রেয়* i. e., she is adorable and acceptable like the sacred fire which once lighted, can never be left extinguished and repudiated.

BENGALEE PERIODICALS.

BANGADARSHANA.

(*Magh*, 1319 B. S.)

(Contents :—(i) Life of Sree Chaitanya—Tarak Chandra Roy, (ii) Lord Hardinge's Policy and the Future of India—Bipin Chandra Pal ; (iii) Jayadeva and Vidyapati—Jatindralal Basu ; (iv) The Chinese Republic—Ram Lal Sarker ; (v) About the Vedas—Bipin Chandra Pal ; (vi) The British Police man-England-Returned ; (vii) Moha short story, -Subodh Chandra Mazumdar ; (viii) The Forms of the Emotions—Bipin Chandra Pal ; (ix) The Origin of Man ; Sasadhar Roy (x) The Social Polity of Upadhyaya Brahmo Bandhav -Bipin Ch. Pal (xi) The Historic Character of Mahabharat—Hari Charan Gangopadhyaya Sastree ; (xii) Karanka — a Review Bipin Chandra Pal.)

JAYADEVA AND VIDYAPATI.

Jayadeva—a Bengalee by birth, is the last of the Sanskrit poets. Vidyapati a Maithilee or or Beharee by birth who wrote in the language of Mitihila, is regarded as the farther of Bengali poets. There is a close affinity between the two. Vidyapati can hardly be claimed as a Bengali poet. Yet, it cannot be denied that he has profoundly influenced Bengalee poetry. The Vaishnava poets of Bengal have univesally accepted him as their Guru. That they all drew their inspirations from him is also true. His songs were very much liked and read by Sree Chaitanya and the whole school of Bengal Vaishnavism received no little help from Vidyapati's songs, in their devotional culture. But this Vidyapati was indebted to the Bengalee Jayadeva not only for his metre but equally also for a good deal of his deepest sentiments.

Jayadeva has not, however, been fairly judged by many of our presentday Bengalees. He is condemned as sensuous. But I do not admit that there is any undue emphasis on the sensuous aspect of love and its physical enjoyments in Jayadeva. And even if it were so, that would by no means prove that Jayadeva had no appreciation of true love. Leaving aside the esoteric interpretation of his poems, that the Vaishnava devotees have been accustomed to put on them, even as delineations of the human aspect of love, Jayadeva stands very high among the exponents of this divine sentiment. The songs of Jayadeva are not a string of "lust songs." The fit of passion that is spent out in fleshly satiation is undoubtedly a vicious thing. But the love that rising in the soul of a youth or maiden gradually possesses and by possessing, their very bodies, uplifts them above both flesh and sense,—is not a low and vile thing. From this true love, you cannot indeed banish the flesh and the sense altogether. If you do it, you must banish even your Sita and Savitree from of the realm of high poetry.

BHARATEE.

(*Magh* 1913 B. S.)

(Principal Contents :—(i) The Religion of China—Ashutosh Roy ; (ii) My Sojourn in Bombay—Satyendra Nath Tagore ; (iii) Metals in Ancient India—Panchanan Neogee ; (iv) deciphering Ancient Inscriptions—Brindaban Bhattacharya ; (v) Personal Hygeine—Dr. Choonilal Bose Rai Bahadur ; (vi) *Tarjama*—Beerbal).

TARJAMA.

For many a day I have not read such a sensible, racy, and incisive article in our current literature. The writer's contention is that in our present transition state while we are unable

to keep to our old ideals and institutions, to go in for mere imitation would be the height of folly. The modern is upon us, whether we like it or not, and our duty is not to copy but to translate it. Copy is a mere mechanical work. Translation is an organic process. And the result is that on the one hand we are decking out the ancient ideas and ideals of our country in modern European costumes. Thus completely changing their very faces, on the other hand we are forcing the ideas and theories of European Philosophy and European Science into the false garb of Sanskrit and presenting them as if they have always belonged to us.

MR. GOKHALE'S EDUCATION BILL.

In course of the same article the writer says :—

Either we are not able to translate European culture and civilisation into our own native thought and life or we are only mistranslating it ; and this is why in our social life there is either lack or waste of energy. We fancy that by learning a couple of pages of English we have become a new order of Brahmins, and therefore, utterly regardless of the extent of our own acquisitions, we are so eager to teach the masses of our country. We forget this that if we had been able to get a new life from European Science and Philosophy we could have easily put new life into our masses also. But because we have failed to nationalise our own culture, we are urging the Government to force education upon the people by the authority of law. This agitation of which the Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale is the mouth-piece, is nothing but an imitation of Europe. We are therefore, constantly citing British precedents in support of our prayer. As long as we have not fully assimilated this new learning, so long, what good can possibly be got by teaching the masses to read and write is ? So far we have not been able to write a single text-book suited to the requirements of our little children. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the only books which those who can and have leisure to read, read even now. And it goes without saying that the lofty lessons of these epics are better taught orally than otherwise. Had we any idea of how popular education has been promoted in our country and had we not an undue want of respect for these native methods, we would not have so recklessly sought to destroy the existing vehicles of popular instruction in the name of mass education.

BIJAYA.

(MAGH, 1319—B. S.)

(Principal Articles :—(i) Father and Son—Bipin Chandra Pal ; (ii) Gaya and Offering to the Manes—Fulkumari Gupta ; (iii) Manners and Customs of the Bhootiyas—Devendra Nath Mahanta ; (iv) Adrista-lipi—Serial Story—Charadi Charan Banerjee ; (v) Mahomed Moshin and Mahomedan Education in Bengal (vi) Social Construction—Panchcowrie Bandopadhyaya ; (vii) Sree Chaitanya in Sylhet,—Achyuta Charan Chaudhuri Tattvanidhee ; (ix) The Vedas and the Avesta—Kumud Bandhu Sen ; (x) The Boy Bijoya Krishna—Sita Nath Goswami ; (xi) Sukra-Nitee—Translated by Mokshada Charan Samadhyayee ; (xii) Comments and Criticisms—Bipin Chandra Pal.)

SOCIAL RELIGION.

As there is such a thing as personal religion, so there is also such a thing as Social religion ;—this is the central idea of Babu Panch Cowrie Banerjee's article on Social Construction in this number of Bijaya. That by which units are transformed into unity and the interests of the individual are reconciled with and transfused into the collective interests of the social whole, that is social religion. In the earliest Vedic age personal religion and social religion were identical among

Indo-Aryans. After the Buddhist epoch diverse religious schools and sects arose in India, thus breaking up the unity of personal religion among the Hindus, and creating a divorce between personal religion and social religion. But this did not bring about any social disruption. Because the Hindu Society while leaving individuals and communities to pursue their own personal or sectarian religious thoughts and discipline, did not disown any, but combined them all under a general system of culture, calculated to preserve the special national characteristic of the Hindu people. And as long as the nation was politically independent, so long the static and the dynamic forces of society worked together without any difficulty. But the loss of national freedom required that the conservative elements should be strengthened to preserve the special characteristics of the nation against being swamped and destroyed by the superior force of the conquerors.

THE MAHRATHI PERIODICALS.

(*Introductory Note*)

The late Mr. Vishnu Shastri Chiploonkar, than whom a more powerful, attractive and dignified writer Marathi has not yet had was the father of the Marathi periodical literature. His famous *Nibandhamala*, which has lived through time, opposition and censorship, and which cannot but immortalise its author, was a monthly magazine devoted to literature, poetry and criticism, and within the seven years that it existed it brought about a revolution in Marathi literature. Slaking to the bottom the lungs of those who had been already in the field, and who were content to drag on a miserable and slipshod existence, it lashed them into energy and action and set a standard for Marathi style below which it became disgraceful for any writer henceforth to go. The *Nibandhamala* had a very short life like that of its talented author—in fact the last issue of the *Nibandhamala* was published a month after the death of Vishnu Shastri—but others, rejuvenated and refreshed by its influence, have survived it, and out of these survivors, the most notable is the

VIVIDHA—DNYANA—VISTAR.

ever known from its birth for the sobriety and loftiness of its contributions and its high aims. One thing that it is proud of is that it never pays its contributors to which its success as a high-class journal is sometimes ascribed. Of course this is taking a too narrow view of the modern environments and needs but there is no doubt that these antiquated notions of the periodical add a peculiar charm to the magazine and make it the most respected of all the present Marathi periodicals.

MASIK MANORANJAN

Though it is a rank heresy to name the *Masik Manoranjan* in the same breath with that of *Vividha-Dnyana-Vistar*, the one being as solely devoted to light literature as the other is to serious subjects, still there is no denying the fact that the *Masik Manoranjan* has the widest circulation in the Maharashtra and is regarded as the premier society journal. It has its imitations, as a successful venture always will, but none of them come up to the same high standard of get-up and literary excellence that the *Masik Manoranjan* has adopted. It is undoubtedly the Book for ladies and every gentleman generally patronises it for the sake of his lady-love. The *Masik Manoranjan* is a past master in the useful art of trimming its sails to suit every passing breeze, and if at one time it was a loud champion of swadeshism and gave out translations of Bengali Novels seething with patriotism, it knows that in the present age of discretionary heroism nothing will pay but raining in torrents the literary outbursts of the Godfathers of the Deccan Education Society.

UDYAN

From a scant reference to the imitations of the *Masik Manoranjan*, it must not be supposed that all these efforts are mean. The *Udyan* is a very commendable production in itself, though falling in the same category, and, the latest addition to this imitative literature—the *Madhukar* also promises to take a high rank.

PRACHI PRABHA

Though the *Masik Manoranjan* and the host of other publications following its guidance pride themselves upon being Ladies Magazines, the Ladies, in these times of suffragette rebellion, cannot be expected to let the grass grow under their feet. They too have been active in their own way and the *Prachi Prabha*, conducted by an educated lady of the Portuguese Goa, bears ample testimony to their onward progress. It does not as yet claim many votaries, nor are its pages as illumining or interesting as those of the magazines of the *Manoranjan* cult, but time will, it is hoped, cure all these defects, and before many months are past, improvements in the general tone is bound to take place. Within but a short time, it has got a rival in the *Bhagini-Sumachar* which is already much approved, though it is doubtful how far the backward orthodoxy that it is expressly started to back up will gain by its advocacy.

CHITRAMAY JAGAT

The enterprising proprietor of the Poona Chitra-Shala is to be congratulated on the notable contributions he has made to the ranks of Marathi periodical literature. This runs half way between the *Masik Manoranjan* and the *Vividha Dnyan Vistar* and attempts to cater both for the heart and the mind. A bulky volume of full-page illustrations, artistically executed, the *Chitramay Jagat* refuses to pander to official whims or to lower itself to the level of the penny magazines. The January special number of this magazine was very lovely indeed and did full justice to the reputation it has acquired during the last three years of its existence.

LOKA SHIKSHANA

The renowned persons who had started during the Swadeshi wave the National Seminary, known as the Samarth Vidyalaya, suppressed some years ago by the mandate of the government of Lord Sydenham, then Sir George Clarke, have now turned their energies towards literature and are attempting to do by writing what they were prevented from doing by vocal teaching. Their new organ, the *Loka-Shikshana*, has already run into five issues and some of the articles were very readable. Unfortunately the editors have got into a very limping and uncouth style of writing which they will find it very hard to get rid of, but excepting this defect—by no means negligible—the magazine is in every way worthy of a place of honour on the literary man's table.

SHRUTI-BODHI

I will end this cursory review by noticing in a few lines the Vedic Magazine started in Bombay last year which has created quite a sensation in Maharashtra. Three graduates of the Bombay University, all of them worshippers at the altar of the Goddess of Law, are bringing out with their combined efforts the translation of the Vedas simultaneously in four languages, Marathi, Hindi, Gujrathi, and English. They have already got hearty response from the Marathi public and I am informed that their roll of subscribers already counts above *ten thousand*. This is indeed phenomenal, and if we add to this their announcement of prizes worth a handsome sum of thousand rupees, I cannot marvel at the universal wonderment with which the people of Maharashtra have been watching the progress of this new publication.

FINANCE AND BUSINESS.

CANDLE INDUSTRY.

For husband and wife—for husband, wife and children— for widows with two or three female Servants.

One can start this Industry and earn Rs. 30 to 40 per month on an investment of 2 to 3 hundred rupees and a little more.

When one wants to start a candle manufactory, he has to purchase a plant at a cost of over Rs. 1,500 to 2,000 to produce 2,000 to 3,000 candles a day (these are the cheapest Foreign machines. And Machinery with Complete arrangement will cost more than Rs. 5,000.)

This INSTITUTE has contrived a plant to produce almost the same number of Candles of the best Polish and Make to cope with very requirement, which will not cost more than Rs. 175 to 200. And therefore, one can start this bussiness within a sum of Rs. 300 to 400 or there about.

WHY LARGE CAPITAL WANTED ?

A petty manufacturer when takes his finished goods to market, Merchants (they are always keen sighted) know his tight pecuniary position, and offer prices which leave him no margin of profit, and the Manufacturer seeing that the goods are not readily disposed of feels embarrassed.

Not to sell at their rate means to store the goods. And in the absence of raw Material to stop the work of the factory and pay labourers unnecessarily without work. This means large capital. How in this state of affairs to make the two ends meet

SMALL CAPITAL.

To overcome this Difficulty, we have to arrange with a merchant, who will purchase finished articles for cash with advantage to the Manufacturer and pay cash, who can with this cash again purchase raw material and proceed with his work.

DRAW-BACKS IN CANDLES---REMOVED.

Candle making could be taught in a very short time practically to become an expert and to work up a concern. One can learn how to prepare different sorts of Candles, different sorts of Compositions, different sorts of wicks in order that the Cup will be formed and not overflow (gutter) or spurt : nor will it give less illumination and will last the required length of time, that it will not melt at a low degree and will not sprout out of the Candle-Stand and will give the finest glaze. All this could be learnt within a space of 30 days.

CALCULATION of profit in Candle business.

In this industry a margin of 1 pie of profit can safely be counted upon per Candle. But leaving theory aside and looking to unforeseen difficulties that are generally met with in a new venture, one can reckon upon only $\frac{1}{2}$ a pie profit over each that means 3,000 candles every day

$\frac{3000}{4}$ pies $1,500 \times \frac{1}{2} = 125$ annas = Rs. 7-13 As.

SOAP MAKING.

One can start this industry and earn Rs. 40 to 50 per month on an investment of about Rs. 300 to Rs. 400.

We need not write regarding the raw materials required in soap making, as they can be had anywhere throughout India.

Table showing consumption of soap in India.

| Quantity Cwt. | Value Rs. | Average Rate per Cwt. |
|------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1906-07 183, 998 | 32, 28, 156 | 17'5 |
| 1907-08 217, 409 | 41, 72, 147 | 19'2 |
| 1908-09 222, 804 | 40, 75, 962 | 18'3 |
| 1909-10 255, 111 | 46, 37, 231 | 18'1 |
| 1910-11 275, 243 | 53, 73, 470 | 19'5 |

The prices of 1907-08 points out that there was a great demand in that year, although the quantity imported was nearly 1½ times more than that of previous year, again the increase of price in the last year shows that there was still a greater demand which is considerably increasing in every successive year. It should be noted that the quantity manufactured in India has not been accounted for and that the future of this business seems to be promising.

Fat, vegetable oils (Saponifiable) are abundant, Soap can be made with a composition containing fat or *with oils alone* (dispensing with fat altogether.)

TOILET SOAP of all quantities even similar to Pears and noted makes of France and America, and also BAR SOAP can be prepared by our people at home.

EXPENSE over machinery required for Cutting, Stamping, Utensils for preparation, etc., etc., comes to Rs. 200 or thereabout.

These and other Industries may be learnt, I understand, at the Institute of Arts and Industry—Dadar, Bombay, at very moderate tuition fees.



Aswini Kumar Datta

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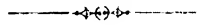
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श्रीश्रीगुरुवे नमः ।

THE HINDU REVIEW

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND LIFE.

I.

NATIONALISM AND POLITICS.



The Political Emphasis of Indian Nationalism.

Very few people even among those who claim to be very staunch Nationalists in this country, seem to have as yet grasped the true meaning of Nationalism or to have imbibed its inner spirit. To many of us, Nationalism is only a political cry. It had its origin in our political conflicts with the British Bureaucracy in the country, and has for its ultimate ideal some sort of political freedom. With the so called "Moderates," Nationalism aims at the attainment of Colonial Self-Government, whatever that may mean. With a section at least of those who are called "Extremists" by their enemies, the ultimate goal of Nationalism is absolute political independence, howsoever it may have to be realised. And in this, there is absolutely no difference between Indian and European Nationalism. For in Europe Nationalism has so far had an exclusively political meaning. We hear of it only among what are called dependent or subject peoples. It had been the cry of Young Italy, in the last century, when "Italia" was under the heel of the Austrian oppressor. It has also been the cry of the Irish patriots smarting under a sense of political subjection to Great Britain. It is the bitter cry of the Poles and the Finns crushed under the weight of the Russian Autocracy. And it would serve no useful purpose to shut our eyes to the fact that many of us in India have caught this cry from these European peoples. This is why even among us also Nationalism has so far been practically a political propaganda. And it shows how, all our bitterest antagonism against European ideas and institutions notwithstanding, we are, whether we affect heterodoxy and cosmopolitanism or orthodoxy and conservatism,—much too overwhelmingly

under the spell of European thought and culture, to be able to take an independent and truly Indian view of any of our present-day problems, whether social or economic or political. This incapacity is entirely responsible for the almost exclusive political emphasis of Indian Nationalism, as this emphasis, in its turn, has led to all the criminal excesses that have tarnished the fair fame of this new and soul-stirring patriotic movement among us.

**The History of Nationalism
in Europe.**

Mazzini has so far been the only prophet of Nationalism in Europe. As I pointed out in a previous number of this Review, his is the best definition of the term that we have so far had in European thought. Mazzini defines "Nationality" as "the Individuality of a People." And individuality is that which marks out different human units from one another. My individuality is that which impresses those who come in contact with me that I am unlike their other friends and acquaintances. I have the same physiological organs and the same psychological powers as other humans of my class, but still I am not absolutely like them. There are certain undeniable but inexplicable tricks of nature which impart a distinctness to my physical and mental life and activities, and thus separate me from others. This is a matter of very common experience. And as there are these subtle characteristics that differentiate one human from another, though they may both belong to the same race, speak the same language, profess the same religion, observe the same social code, may even claim a common parentage, and may have received the same training from their infancy onward; even so there are certain characteristics which are usually found to differentiate one nation or people from another. This differentiation between the collective life and character of different social units, constitutes the very soul and essence of the Nation-Idea. Mazzini seized this fact very correctly, and his definition of Nationality is so correct because it is based upon this fact of universal experience.

**The Elements of National
Differentiation in
Europe.**

But neither Mazzini nor any one else in Europe, so far as my limited knowledge goes, seems to have subjected this generalisation to any further analysis with a view to reach out to a still higher synthesis. Owing to the want of this higher synthesis, modern European sociologists have not as yet been able to discover the true postulates of their specific science. This explains, I think, the excessive biological and anthropological emphasis of current sociological speculations in the West.

In the study of historic evolution and social phenomena too much attention has been paid to what M. Taine calls environments and epochs and much too little to what may be called the original race-consciousness of different social groups. In seeking to explain the phenomena of racial differentiations, too much emphasis has been put on environments and associations, and too little on heredity. And the reason of it is also evident. For, racially, all Europe has practically been one. They all belong to the same original stock. Their race-consciousness is the same. They have the same physical or physiological, the same social and economic, and the same mental structure. Difference of historic evolution or national character in Europe has thus been very largely the result of environments and epochs and not of original race-consciousness. And the fact that almost for the last two thousand years Europe has been under the influence of one and the same credal religion, has helped very much to still further level down national differentiations among the different European peoples. Culturally, all Europe has for centuries past been practically one. The different nations of Europe have had for centuries past one common social economy, and one common economic structure. The course of social evolution has been practically the same in all the great European countries. Nationalism means, therefore, really very little of vital importance in Europe. Modern European thought hardly realises, therefore, the significance of the nationalist philosophy or recognises the need of any nationalist ideal or inspiration. It understands internationalism. It aspires after the highest cosmopolitan ideal. But it has not as yet clearly grasped the fact that as the universal cannot exist without the particular,—viewed apart from the particular, the universal is only an abstraction, like Hegel's Pure Being which is equal to Pure Nothing; even so cosmopolitanism, unless based upon nationalism, is a mere abstraction, a fancy; a mode of thinking, and not a reality. And the very feeble emphasis that modern European thought has so far laid upon nationalism, and the consequent absence of any true and lofty philosophy of it in modern European speculations, is entirely due to the fact that in Europe, the different nations are practically one people. They have all the same thought-structure and the same social structure. They are all moved, practically, by the same worldly or other-worldly aspirations.

In Europe, Nationalism can never get rid, therefore, of its political incubus. It cannot, without a much deeper analysis of the social life and experience, be raised to the dignity of a philosophy or the sanctity of a religion. The isolation of the life and

authority of the different European States, based upon their respective territorial demarcations, and the consequent conceit of separate political and economic interests, unreconciled, and under present conditions apparently unreconcilable with one another, and the conflicts and competitions arising out of this separatist sentiment,—these are about the only things that mark the real difference between one European nation and another. Patriotism in Europe is, therefore, simply a geographical virtue. It has only a supreme territorial reference. Its general aim and end is to procure the political independence of one's own country, and, with a view to enhance its political power or strengthen its economic and industrial position, to deprive the weaker nations of the world of their political independence, in the name of civilisation and humanity. This desire for political freedom for one's own people, and this longing for political ascendancy over other peoples, these have always been the most vital objects of national ambitions in Europe. It is these meaner rivalries that have, for centuries past, been the actual contents of the nation-idea among European peoples. It is very natural, therefore, that nationalism should be a term of the political life only, in Europe. It has consequently but little moral inspiration or spiritual strength in it.

**The Nation-Idea in
India.**

But our history and evolution have been somewhat different. We did not develop the nation-idea in the sense and in the way that Europe developed it. Our language has, in fact, no word corresponding to the English word nation. We are now using the word "*jāti*" जाति for nation. But "*jāti*" really means *genus*. We had, thus, the terms "*go jāti*" गोजाति and *manushya jāti* मनुष्यजाति which mean the genus cow and the genus man, but nothing like "*Engrez jāti*"—इंग्रेजजाति or "*Bhāratēya jāti*" or "*Hindu jāti*"—to indicate the English nation, the Indian nation, or the Hindu nation, in our old literature. And the reason of it is that our old social synthesis practically stopped with the race-idea. The individual, the family, the caste, the clan, and after the clan—universal humanity or the genus *homo*,—these are practically all the terms of our social philosophy. We never had, therefore, this nationalist ideal or aspiration before. Sociologically race comes after clan as the formula of a higher synthesis and a broader human fellowship; and nation comes after race; for many races frequently combine to form a nation. But ethnic systems, like those, for instance, of the Hindus and the Hebrews, are inherently opposed to these racial fusions. The Hindu and the Hebrew have, therefore, persisted, almost to our own time, as distinct ethnic units. In fact the Hebrew has preserved his ethnic integrity perhaps

even more successfully than the Hindu. There has not only been much greater miscegenation among the Hindus than among Hebrews; but through his Varnâsrama or caste-and-order scheme, the Hindu has developed a type of inter-ethnic or inter-racial union and association unknown to Hebrew history and culture. In one sense, therefore, we did develop a nation-idea and a national type of our own, even without the term nation. But it was not a political synthesis only.

In Europe, racial fusion took place, at first, mainly through the propagation of Christianity. Religious unity was the basis of inter-ethnic or inter-racial unification. The acceptance of a common creed, and submission to a common socio-religious discipline, organised in a uniform system of sacraments and ceremonies, absolutely binding upon all, irrespective of their race or colour or country or culture, helped to obliterate the old ethnic divisions in Europe. The old ethnic institutions of the Christian converts were either entirely destroyed or absolutely absorbed by the new creed and culture. Linguistic differences, geographical boundaries, and political isolation or independence,—these are all that remained now to indicate the difference between the different Christian peoples of Europe. These have continued even to our own time as the principal notes or marks of national differentiation there. On the other hand, the influence of the credal ideal in their religious life, which demanded an absolute uniformity of beliefs and practices in the followers of Christ, developed an ideal of homogeneity in their national life. Unity of geographical or territorial habitat, unity of language, unity of social life and economy, as much as unity of religious beliefs came, thus, to be regarded as absolute conditions of national unity in Europe. And as there was already unity of religious and social life among the various nations of Europe, difference of geographical habitat and state-authority and organisation, became naturally the most vital elements of the national life among them.

In India, among the Hindus, social evolution took a very different course. It developed a federal type almost from the very beginning. And the main reason why we have been able to preserve this type is that we never came under the dominating influence of any credal systems like Christianity, for instance. Buddhism too is credal, like Christianity and Islam. But Buddhism though born in India, did not entirely overthrow the old religion of the country, but was itself practically thrown out, as a foreign body.

Buddhism expanded but did not absorb Hinduism. It contributed new elements to Hinduism, but did not kill its original life as Christianity killed the life of Paganism in Europe. Christianity took in all the nobler elements of the old Pagan religions and having absorbed all their life and sap, threw them away like a sucked orange. Buddhism could not do so in India, but on the contrary was sucked dry by the revived philosophy and culture of the older religion of the people and thrown out as useless afterwards. The expulsion of Buddhism from India has, thus, been the salvation of the integrity of Indian culture.

**The Cultural Basis of
Indian Nationalism.**

National differentiations among us, therefore, have not been based upon territorial demarcations only, or upon political or economic competitions and conflicts, but upon differences of culture. Under the Moslems we had, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, one common Government, but that did not destroy the integrity of Hindu culture. We took many things from our Mahomedan neighbours, and gave them also something of our own, but this interchange of ideas and institutions, did not destroy our special character or our special culture. And that special character and culture is the very soul and essence of what we now understand as Nationalism. This is by no means a mere political idea or ideal. It is something that touches every department of our collective life and activity. It is organised in our domestic, our communal, our social and our socio-economic institutions. In fact politics forms, from some points of view, the least important factor of this nation-idea among us. The so-called free political institutions of Europe might, indeed, hinder, instead of helping, the growth of our real national life; while under conceivable conditions, mere political subjection might not be able to touch even the outermost fringe of that life.

**British Rule and Indian
Culture.**

Practically, England's rule in India has been very vitally affecting our national life and integrity. But that is because British rule means a good deal more than mere political sovereignty. This rule is organically bound up with a special system of economics, for instance. The British rulers are not satisfied with simply exercising political authority over us; they must, in pursuance of their own ideal of statecraft, develop our material resources also. The spirit of European capitalism has, thus, been wedded to the administrative policy of the British Government in India. And it is here that the real conflict between Indian Nationalism and British Administration arises. The capitalistic spirit of the British Government in India has

inspired from the very beginning its economic policy, and has developed a kind of State-Socialism among us which is almost fatal to our real national life. This fact cannot be ignored, and its importance must not be sought to be minimised. But this danger will not be removed by any expansion of our so-called political rights and privileges. Such expansion will, necessarily, mean greater co-operation and closer partnership with the present capitalistic and socialistic administration in the country. It will not change the capitalistic character of the Government or alter its policy of state-socialism. This being so, the expansion of so-called political franchise will spell only an increased menace to the true nationalist ideal among us.

**The Right Nationalist
Policy.**

So far as our present political life is concerned, the only right policy and attitude of the Indian Nationalist must, to my mind, be what is called *laissez faire*. This policy is forced upon us by the conflict of civilisations between the rulers and the ruled in this country. In view of this conflict, it is essential that, for the preservation of the integrity of our own thought and culture and for securing to our people sufficient freedom to grow in their own way, following the trends of their own special history and evolution, without being overwhelmed by any alien influences,—the activities of the Government should be restricted, as far as possible, to the discharge of their primary functions only. And in this the Government must have our whole-hearted support. The preservation of peace and order is the primary function of every State. The failure of any Government to efficiently discharge this function spells anarchy, and leads ultimately to the break-up of the social organisation. It means, practically, the rebarbarisation of humanity. There is absolutely no excuse, therefore, for any community to wantonly obstruct the discharge of this primary function by the Government under which they may have to live. No considerations regarding the character of their state-constitution,—whether it is autocratic or democratic,—or concerning the nationality of the person or persons in whom the state-authority may be vested for the time being,—whether they are foreigners or of the people,—no considerations of this kind can absolve them of their paramount obligation to help their Government in the efficient discharge of this primary function. To deny this obligation is not Nationalism, but Anarchism. There are occasions when particular measures of a Government may have to be resolutely opposed. There are circumstances which, in the opinion of some political philosophers, even justify open revolt, provided it has the practical

sanction of the *whole* nation. Political philosophy recognises all these in extreme cases. But no philosophy, except that of anarchism—which is the ultimate logic of every form of absolute individualism, such as dominated the social philosophy of Europe for the greater part of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries,—has any plea or justification for any people to deliberately obstruct the discharge of the primary functions of the State by the Government established among them. And as no Government can exist anywhere unless it is generally acceptable to the people whom it rules,—except where they are kept in absolute physical subjection by sheer force of superior numbers,—any attempt on the part of a small minority to paralyse the machinery of the Administration by a campaign of secret assassinations or organised lawlessness, is not merely an attack on the Government, but upon Society itself. It is the worst conceivable form of tyranny; because it really means an attempt on the part of a small and impatient minority to force the majority of their people into a position which they are neither willing nor prepared to face.

In times of abnormal excitement even noble men sometimes lend themselves to ignoble acts, which they sincerely regret or repent afterwards. It happened among us also. The young men who started this campaign of terrorism in 1907-1908, and who are doing penance for their acts now in the Andamans, were only misguided, but not devoid of either intelligence or conscience. Theirs was an act of madness. They never incited neurotic youths by secret circulars to sacrifice their lives, while they themselves were safe out of harm's way. They did not cherish the fatuous folly of securing "independence" for their country by a campaign of secret assassinations. I knew one or two of those young men personally and intimately. I know they were as tender as a woman, incapable of causing wanton pain to man or beast. * It was a passing frenzy that possessed their spirit. Those who are planning secret murders and organising so called political dacoities, may appeal in their name but are not made of their stuff. They have caught a few catch-phrases and have learnt to copy a few impassioned exhortations, that is all. This, and their bitter hatred of the British Government and the British people, are their only stock-in-trade. And I have no hesitation in saying that these men, whatever their number, who from the safety of their hiding are trying to keep up this anarchical campaign in the country, when all parties are so sincerely anxious to discover some rational and peaceful settlement of the vital issues of our present and future political life, are the worst enemies of Indian Nationalism.

European not
Indian.

Both their ideal and their inspiration are European, and not Indian. Political independence, they declare, is their ideal-end.

But this so-called political independence is a fundamentally foreign concept. It is, as I have often tried to point out, a negative something, an essentially anti-social idea. It is associated with the European doctrine of Rights, which, as Mazzini rightly declared, is a formula of resistance, and not a principle of reconciliation. Association, not isolation; co-operation, not competition; socialism; in the highest and truest sense of the term and not merely what it is understood by the followers of Marx,—this socialism, and not individualism; duty, and not right—these are the rudimentary concepts of our social and political philosophy. These are the fundamental ideas of Indian Nationalism. Our "individuality" as a people is based upon these distinctive notes or marks of our thought and evolution. These are the primary factors of our differentiation from other nations of the world. Humanity needs these larger social concepts, to be able to work up the next higher social synthesis. They are our moral title to live as a nation. Europe is groping after these. For us to seek isolation in the name of independence; to seek selfish competitions with other nations, under pretence of furthering our national interests; to set up individualism in place of collectivism as the true social goal; or give preference to a narrow and selfish, a competing and fighting nationalism, over the broader, altruistic, humanitarian ideal of co-operative internationalism and universal federation,—is really to strangle, with our own hands, that very Nationalism, to which so many of us are ever ready to swear deathless allegiance. If we are to preserve the distinctive character of our thought and culture, we must perpetually keep, AUTONOMY as distinguished from INDEPENDENCE, as our ideal political end.

Independence
Vs.
Autonomy.

In fact, Svaraj, the accepted political ideal of the Indian Nationalists, does not connote the same thing as what is called "independence" in English. The correct rendering of Svaraj is autonomy and not independence.

Autonomy is a positive, while independence is a negative, concept. Independence means isolation. Autonomy implies no necessary severance of outside connections or associations. Nationalism implies that, collectively, we, the composite Indian community, are a distinct, and individual social organism; and as such, we have a distinct end unto ourselves and a specific law of our own National Being, through which we must seek to reach and realise that end. And because autonomy

means the act and the power of living according to one's own law, it is a legitimate nationalist ideal. For nationality implies that we have a special character, a distinct individuality of our own ; a law of our being, by submitting to which alone we can perfect and realise our collective life. It is just for this reason that national autonomy is an absolute condition-precedent of the pursuit and realisation of the nationalist ideal. And we must deprecate, by every means in our power, this spirit of bitter antagonism to the British Government and the British people, which some people seem to mistake for an ardent devotion to the nationalist cause, for the very simple and sufficient reason that it has an inevitable tendency to lower our own ideals, confuse our thought, blur our vision of the Mother, in a word to simultaneously denationalise and dehumanise us. For anger is not merely secret murder, it is also incipient insanity. And hatred ultimately, like every other evil in God's world, defeats its own purpose. Cherished and inveterate hatred, by a strange psychological law, leads to the possession of the hater by the inner spirit of the very thing or person he hates. This is being proved before our very eyes. Their bitter hatred of Europe is visibly Europeanising the inner soul of many of our people. This passionate antagonism towards the British Government, inevitably leads to a constant contemplation of their evil-side. And no man can ever find his own good by fixing his mind constantly upon the evils that another may have in him. This insensate antipathy towards the British Government really leaves us little time to think out our own problems soberly or recognise our present duty correctly. The frenzied vision of the misguided Indian patriot must inevitably see only the brute in the British ; and this vision of the brute in the British, by an unfailing psychological law, calls out not the God, but only the brute in him also. This conflict is, thus, brutalising both parties equally. Centuries of moral and spiritual disciplines had considerably laid the brute in us. But this political frenzy by calling out the brute in our rulers is, in its rebound upon us, rebrutalising our people also. It is striking at the very root of our "individuality" as a *people*. And it is just for these reasons that I hold that this bitter and unreasonable antipathy towards the British people is suicidal to the very spirit of Indian Nationalism, and should never, therefore, be indulged in or encouraged by those who are truly devoted to the nationalist cause in this country.

All this may require some culture to understand and appreciate. But a little reflection will show how this bitterness is a very serious menace even to that political freedom, which seems to have obsessed the minds of a good many of our young men. It is a very real danger to

our political future. That future will no longer be settled by the issues of any conflict that may arise between India and England, but

Practical Considerations :

The World-Situation.

by the future developments of what may well be described as the present world-situation.

We may ignore that situation, but let us not fancy that it will ignore us. Three terrible combinations threaten to come into conflict with one another in the coming century. A world-wide confederacy of the white races is gradually being formed in Europe and America. Imperial Federation on the one side and the new diplomatic idea of what is called "Peace-and-Arbitration-Treaties" on the other, are clear signs of it. The practical extinction of Turkey as a European Power, whatever immediate conflicts or complications may arise out of it, will gradually bring about a situation which will be settled in no other way, except through a treaty of peace and arbitration among the various Powers vitally interested in keeping the *status quo ante* in the Bosphorus. To try to solve this more-than-a-century old problem of the Bosphorus in any other way would set all Europe ablaze, and even after any possible all-European War, the settlement of it will have come through some clear and friendly understanding between the European Powers in reaching which they will very likely settle most of their other outstanding differences also. And this will pave the way to the ultimate evolution of a Pan-European Confederacy. Then, there is the possibility of a Pan-Islamic combination. The fall of Turkey does not, to my mind, destroy but rather on the contrary most effectually enhance the possibilities of this combination. To think that the fall of Turkey and the imminent partition of Persia will break the backbone of Pan-Islamism is to take a very superficial view of the situation. The real strength of the Pan-Islamic sentiment, and its menace to world-peace, never lay in the political power of the Mahomedan States,—in their navy or their army. In these matters, Islam can never hope to approach the European nations. The chief strength of Pan-Islamism lies in the so-called fanaticism of the Moslem populations of the world. The fall of Turkey and the partition of Persia, should it come about, will not allay but increase this danger a hundred-fold. In fact these petty and disorganised Mahomedan States were, from some points of view, not helps but rather a hindrance to the spread of Pan-Islamism. They diverted peoples' thoughts from their own strength to that of the armies of these Moslem potentates. The dispersion of these armies, will intensify the sense of communal wrong on the one side and strengthen the determination of the *people* to avenge that wrong. Fanaticism is stronger than guns; and popular upheaval spread over wide latitudes

more invincible than trained army corps. Nothing short of a Pan-European combination will be able to successfully face a world-wide Pan Islamism, should it ever come into existence. Thirdly, there is the possibility of a Pan-Mongolian Confederacy also. And I want my Nationalist friends to calmly ponder over these political possibilities and then see, which way the future of Indian autonomy and the possibilities of Indian Nationalism actually lie. Of these three possible combinations, Pan-Europeanism will affect our future least of all, as long as the present British connection continues. Pan-Islamism and Pan-Mongolianism offer the greatest menace to India's future and to the realisation of the dream of the Indian Nationalist.

Pan-Europeanism.

These three possibilities are before us. Most people, I think, would accept the first as even a probability. European politics, all the apparent international jealousies and enmities notwithstanding, is distinctly moving towards some sort of a Pan-European combination. Socialism is openly advocating a universal federation of labour, which means a federation of the European *people*, as distinguished from their present rulers, —the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. One of the professed aims of this federation of the world's workers is to prevent war. The idea of an organised international strike among the working populations of belligerent countries, with a view to force the hands of those who make these wars, is already openly discussed in the prominent organs of the Socialist body in both Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. And it shows that the principle of arbitration will have to be adopted before long for the settlement of all international disputes among the nations of Europe. Treaties of arbitration and peace will, thus, be gradually formed with one another by the European powers; and this will be the fore-runner of a general European Confederacy not only with its authorised International Courts of Arbitration, but, by and by, also with the other organs and instruments of a wide and complex federal relationship. The present century will mark this new development in modern world-politics and world-civilisation.

Pan-Islamism and Pan-Mongolianism.

This Pan-European combination will be a very serious menace to the non-European world. It will be bound to come into serious conflict with both Pan-Islamism and Pan-Mongolianism. If Europe can settle her internal jealousies betimes, she will be able to dominate easily both the Islamic and the Mongolian world. Nothing will prevent in that case

the parcelling out of the Moslem lands on the one side, and of China on the other. But that is not very likely. It will take, at least, as long a time for the European chancellories to forget their past jealousies and present rivalries, as it will take for China, now that she has awakened from the sleep of ages, to put her own house in order and organise her leviathan strength to hold her own against all the world. The same thing is likely to happen in the Islamic world also; and the fall of Turkey in Europe will hasten this combination. It will not be an organised confederacy like that of China and Japan, but a far more dangerous, because more subtle, combination of the hearts of countless hords who hold nothing so dear, neither land nor life, as their religion. And the real strength of this Pan-Islamic outburst will be in Egypt and India, where it will be safe from the crushing weight of the Pan-European confederacy. England will not allow her European confederates to interfere with her own domestic affairs; such interference would break-up the Confederation at once. She will have to settle this Pan-Islamic problem so far as it may affect her own dominions, herself.

Our Real Danger. And it is just here that our safety from this possible Pan-European Combination lies.

Because of the British connection, India will have nothing to fear from any possible combination of the European Powers. The same is also true of Egypt, though perhaps in a lesser degree. Our real menace will come not from Europe but from Asia, not from Pan-Europeanism but from Pan-Islamism and Pan-Mongolianism. These dangers are, however, common, both to India and Egypt and Great Britain. To provide against it, Great Britain will have to find and work out a satisfactory and permanent settlement of the Indian and the Egyptian problem, and we, on our part, will have also to come to some rational compromise with her. British statesmanship must recognise the urgent and absolute need of fully satisfying the demands of Indian and Egyptian Nationalism, and India and Egypt shall have to frankly accept the British connection,—which is different from British subjection—as a necessary condition of their national life and freedom. To wantonly seek to break up this connection, while it will only hurt Great Britain, may positively kill every chance and possibility of either Indian or Egyptian Nationalism ever realising itself.

Our True Safety. Indian Nationalism, in any case, has, I think, really no fear of being permanently opposed or crippled by Great Britain. On the contrary, the British connection can alone offer it effective

protection against both the Pan-Islamic and the Pan-Mongolian menace. As long as we had to consider Great Britain alone or any other European Power, for the matter of that, while thinking of the future of Indian Nationalism, the problem was comparatively simple and easy. But now we have to think of China on the one hand, and of the new Pan-Islamic danger on the other. The sixty millions of Mahomedans in India, if inspired with Pan-Islamic aspirations, joined to the Islamic principalities and powers that stand both to our West and our North-West, may easily put an end to all our nationalist aspirations, almost at any moment, if the present British connection be severed. The four hundred millions of the Chinese Empire cannot only easily gain a footing in India, but once that footing is gained, they are the only people under the sun who can hold us down by sheer superior physical force. There is no other people who can do this. This awakening of China is, therefore, a very serious menace, in the present condition of our country, without an organised and trained army and a powerful navy of our own—to the maintenance of any isolated, though sovereign, independence of the Indian people. Even if we are able to gain it, we shall never be able to keep it, in the face of this Pan-Islamic and Pan-Mongolian menace. And when one considers these terrible possibilities of the world-situation as it is slowly evolving before our eyes, one is forced to recognise the absolute need of keeping up the British connection in the interest of Indian Nationalism itself, for the very simple and sufficient reason that there is absolutely much greater chance of this Nationalism fully realising itself with rather than without this connection.

**India and Britain :
Community of Interests.**

In fact as it is to the interest of Indian Nationalism to seek to perpetuate the British connection, so it is equally to the interest of the British Imperialism itself to help and foster the spirit of Nationalism both in India and in Egypt, and to co-ordinate these great forces with those of Great Britain and her dominions. For it should be clearly realised that the real strength of this new Pan-Islamic idea comes not half so much, if it comes at all, from its religious devotion as from the sense of the political servitude of Egyptian and Indian Mahomedans and of the political impotence of the so-called independent Moslem states. Indeed, the backbone of Pan-Islamism is not in Persia or Afghanistan, much less in Algeria or Abyssinia, but in India and Egypt. It is the strongest among Egyptian Nationalists and Indian Moslems. And if the legitimate aspirations of these two sections of the Mahomedan world, to take their due share in present-day

world-politics, can be reasonably satisfied within the British Empire, the Pan-Islamic menace may be reduced almost to a vanishing point. In her own interest, therefore, Great Britain will have, before long, to come to terms with Egyptian Nationalism on the one side, and cure the conceit of separate political interests and superior political claims of the Indian Mahomedans on the other, and lead the Indian Moslems to recognise that their future is absolutely bound up with that of the larger, but composite Indian Nation. This is the only remedy against the Pan-Islamic menace, so far as it affects Great Britain; and it affects Great Britain more seriously and intimately than any other European Power. Nationalism, both in India and Egypt, is the only antidote against Pan-Islamism, so far as the British Empire is concerned. Lord Curzon did not understand it. Lord Minto could not realise it. But the far-sighted statesmanship of Lord Hardinge has clearly seized, it seems to me, this fundamental fact. And his lordship's policy has been largely shaped by a recognition of it. Nationalism is also the only protection of Great Britain's interests in India against any possible menace from China. The moment British policy in India makes its peace with the ideals and aspirations of the Indian Nationalists, the Chinese menace too will be reduced to a vanishing point. With the people of India at her back Great Britain can defy the whole world; without their moral support she will be at the mercy of the weakest of her enemies. And to secure this moral support, British policy will have to make room for the fullest realisation of our nationalist ideal. Lord Hardinge understands it. The authorities at White Hall are also more or less conscious of it. The King's visit proves it. The repeal of the Partition of Bengal confirms it. This is the only reasonable meaning and interpretation of Lord Hardinge's memorable Despatch of August 1911. And in view of all this, it seems to me an act of suicidal folly on the part of any one who really cares for the future of Indian Nationalism, even as a mere political ideal, to keep up the old attitude of bitter and uncompromising opposition to the Government.

**Indian Autonomy and
British Imperialism.**

In fact any bitter and unreasonable antagonism to the British connection will, it seems to me, be the greatest menace, under existing conditions, to our political future. For, the gradual evolution of some sort selfish rule in India is far more likely with the continuance of the British connection than without it. In the first place, we must not forget the fact that the present British rule in India, however autocratic and irresponsible it may just now be, is really based, not

upon the superior physical strength of the rulers, but upon the sufferance of the ruled. The people of India have so far acquiesced in this rule, and it is therefore that it is with us. This fact is our greatest strength. It is our greatest strength because it makes the problem of national autonomy in British India an essentially psychological problem. We wish to be ruled by England; therefore England rules us so easily. This is the secret of the government of three hundred millions of people by about one hundred thousand Britishers, civil and military, officers and men, all told. How to maintain this quiet acquiescence of the people to their rule, has been the one ever-present thought in the minds of British statesmen. British statesmanship has, therefore, been always anxious at least to apparently reconcile British rule to the wishes and sentiments of the people. It was seen immediately after the Mutiny, in the spirit and wording of the Queen's Proclamation. It was seen during the Administration of Lord Ripon, who, coming after Lord Lytton who had somewhat estranged and irritated the educated middle classes, took every means in his power to rally them around his Government. We have seen it, more recently, in the "Reforms" of Lord Morley; and finally, in the repeal of the Bengal Partition. Irresponsible scribes may talk of the sword. Unimaginative administrators may prescribe repression. We are pretty familiar with all this folly. But responsible statesmen know that India was not won by the sword, is not ruled by the sword, and can never be kept by the sword. The idea is physically preposterous. The very talk of it only betrays the antics of the panic-struck bully. And it is upon the physical preposterousness of this idea, that our faith in the absolute certainty of an orderly, a peaceful, and evolutionary expansion of popular political freedom in India, is based. The imperious necessity which inspired the Queen's Proclamation in 1858; which, subsequently, led to the formulation of Lord Ripon's scheme of so-called Local-Self-Government; which brought about the reform and expansion of Indian Legislatures, by Lord Cross's India Councils Act; which pushed Sir K. G. Gupta into the Secretary of State's Council and Mr. S. P. Sinha into the Executive Council of the Viceroy; which prompted Lord Morley's "Reforms" and led to the Repeal of the Bengal Partition;—the imperious need which helped to bring about all these, will gradually bring about a real reconciliation between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. It will be bound to lead to a federation of the British Empire, in which India and Egypt shall be equal co-partners with Great Britain and Ireland and the British Dominions over-seas,—a Federation which will secure to all these federated states absolute freedom of self-rule

and self-evolution, without breaking up their federal relation of co-ordination and co-operation with the empire as a whole on the one side, and with its other parts on the other. This Imperial Federation is Britain's imperious necessity. It should be our considered ideal. Great Britain, to maintain her own position as a great world-empire, must do everything in her power to keep India to herself. And the only way to do it is to reconcile her own interests with those of the Indian people. India's desire for self-rule will have to be satisfied. And the only reconciliation between England and India is possible in a scheme of real Imperial Federation. For the freedom of the parts in the unity of the whole, is of the very essence of the Federal idea. Great Britain in her own larger self-interest will have to gradually work up this Federation. India, in her own interest, to secure her own national autonomy, shall have equally to work for this Federation. This way lies her only safety from any possible complications of either Pan Islamism or Pan-Mongolianism. This is what every Indian Nationalist must clearly realise. Nationalism in India has no other future before it. In its own interest, Indian Nationalism must seek to keep up the British connection. Ideally, Federalism is a higher thing than Nationalism. Practically, federations do not grow to order, but gradually evolve out of the existing relations of different peoples. Why seek federation with Britain, and not with China or Japan?—is, therefore, a foolish question. We cannot seek federation with China or Japan for the simple reason that there is, at present, no basis for it. There are no historical conditions or possibilities that force the new relation upon both India and China or India and Japan. In the next place, there can be no federation between an independent and sovereign state on the one side and a dependency of another state on the other. But the federal relation can naturally and easily be worked up between a Sovereign State and its Colonies and Dependencies. It fact, in our time this is the only way to preserve the integrity of extensive world-empires. And these are the reasons that compel us to seek federation with Great Britain instead of with China, Japan, or any other country. This is the easiest and the most reasonable thing for us to do, with a view to realise the highest Nationalist Ideal. And I strongly deprecate the spirit of bitter antagonism to the British connection which seems to have obsessed some of our people, because it threatens to seriously hinder this natural evolution. It is this bitterness which lends silent support to the propaganda of political violence in the country. This anarchical propaganda finds excuse for bureaucratic repressions. These repressions, in their turn, increase and deepen popular discontent, and make active

revolutionaries of those, especially among the youthful and the most impressionable section of the community, who had before been only indifferent spectators of this degrading conflict. This propaganda of crime and this policy of repression, which, the very secrecy of the criminal propaganda forces to be more or less indiscriminate in its application,—these two acting and reacting upon each other, are continually increasing this spirit of bitterness in the community. And no Indian Nationalist, who has any appreciation either of the true Nationalist Ideal or of the fearful possibilities of the present world-situation, can afford to allow this bitterness to grow in the country. For unless we are able to induce a more sober and reasonable attitude in our people, any outside enemy of England, either Mongol or Moslem, may take advantage of this growing unrest and simultaneously sever Britain's connection with India and kill India's hope of national autonomy. To combat the unreasonable excesses of the present unrest in India is, therefore, the common duty of the Indian Government and the Indian Nationalist.

**Lord Hardinge's
Difficulty.**

Unfortunately, however, there has so far been very little real co-operation between the Government and the leaders of the people in a matter of such vital moment to both.

There is as yet very little basis of it. The very first condition of this co-operation is a frank and unreserved acceptance by the Government of the Ideal of an Imperial Federation in which India shall be a free and equal partner with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Colonies. We know that the actual working out of this ideal will take considerable time. Both parties will have to be educated in the idea, and trained by practice for the due and efficient discharge of the ultimate federal functions. We do not demand an immediate formation of a Federal Constitution. It would be foolish to desire it. But we may well demand an assurance from the responsible Ministers of King George that they frankly accept this as the ultimate goal of the Imperial Policy of Great Britain. Lord Hardinge suggested it in his Despatch. But Lord Crewe repudiated it in Parliament. This was a very unwise thing to do. Of course, the fate of nations is not determined by royal pledges and promises, or by the despatches and pronouncements of particular statesmen or administrators. Public policies, though enunciated by politicians and administrators, are really formed by actual pressure of historic or economic situations. I set considerable value upon Lord Hardinge's Despatch because I see at the back of it a clear consciousness of the world-situation as it is slowly but unmistakably

evolving before us. The value of that Despatch lies in the fact that it takes silent note of the rejuvenescence of China, the birth of Pan-Islam, the needs of a closer and formal union between Great Britain and the British Colonies, and the quickening of a new life in India itself and the consequent presence among us of the "Unrest" which represents really the "growing-pains" of our teeming multitudes. The statesmanly policy shadowed in Lord Hardinge's Despatch has grown out of a sober consideration of all these various forces. His lordship honestly believes that his policy will be for the good of India. But if these forces disappear altogether from the present Indian and world-situation, his policy will also lose inevitably its reality. Lord Hardinge's Despatch may then go the way of the earlier documents of the British Government concerning the ideals or the methods of their Indian Administration; though it will not impugn his lordship's sincerity, or disprove his good will towards India. Public policies are not the result of personal feelings, but are controlled by inexorable historic needs. There is, however, very little chance of these needs disappearing from modern world-politics altogether. And because of the reasonable certainty of these various forces persisting for many years to come, that I think, a frank and unreserved acceptance of the Federal Ideal for India also, on the same lines in which it is being gradually accepted for the Overseas Dominions of Great Britain, will have a very healthy effect upon the Indian mind, and clear the ground for that mutual confidence and co-operation between the Government and the people without which the present situation can never be saved. It seems to me that Lord Hardinge is not unwilling to declare this ideal and thus rally the sober and saner Nationalist sentiments in the country around his Indian policy. But his difficulty is with his official superiors on the one side, and with his own countrymen in India on the other. Lord Morley is still the force behind the India Office in London; and he is a child of the middle nineteenth century. His lordship's social and political philosophy moves still in the grooves of the old and attenuated British Liberalism of Gladstone and Bright. His lordship has no acquaintance with our culture and character, except what he has made through books written by men who themselves understood us less. He has, therefore, no appreciation of the Indian Problem. Lord Crewe's last word is that the future of India is on the knees of the gods and we must leave it there, and rest content with doing the day's work during the day. It is not possible for such lazy and improvident statesmanship to offer any lasting solution of so complex and far-reaching a problem as that which faces the Govern-

ment of India to-day. With the possible exception of Lord Haldane, I doubt if there is any prominent Minister in England now, who understands or appreciates the significance of Lord Hardinge's Indian policy. There is much less understanding of it in India, among those upon whom every Viceroy has, of necessity, to depend for the due execution of his ideas. They do not seem to understand what Lord Hardinge's policy means both to their own country and to India. In fact such statesmanly grasp of complex political issues are not found in the permanent officials in any country. They spend their lives working out the details of the Administration which they serve; and have neither the time nor the training to recognise large principles or understand broad and far-reaching policies. In other countries, permanent officials are carefully kept in their places, and are not permitted to meddle with public policy or play at state-craft. The Indian Civil Service is, perhaps, the only body under the sun, which claims this right and enjoys this privilege to a very appreciable extent. There are, undoubtedly, men of very superior intellectual calibre among Indian civilians, who have got the making not only of the successful administrator but even of the capable statesman in them. But their number is, naturally, very small; while the traditions of the service to which they belong, and the loyalty to their class which, almost from the birth of this service, has been demanded of every Indian Civilian as a great public virtue, make it very difficult for even these few men to get out of the old grooves of thinking, and take any broad and original view of the growing and changing complexities of the situation in India. The social atmosphere in which they live is also unfavourable to the growth of high statesmanly qualities in them. And it is they to whom the Indian Viceroy, coming to rule a country of which he had little or no previous experience, has necessarily to look for help and guidance. The Viceroy comes for five years and goes away just when, perhaps, he begins to feel his ground a little; while these permanent officials remain to impart their knowledge and their prejudices both, to the new ruler. Even Viceroys are men, and have the common weakness of all conscientious men not to go against larger experience and expert counsel. Lord Hardinge's first difficulty is that neither the British Ministry nor the Indian Civil Service, as a body, have a clear grasp of the Indian situation.

On the other hand, his lordship has, I am afraid, so far received but little help from those who are accepted as leaders of Indian opinion, in this matter. The Indian National Congress, which has still the ear of the British bourgeoisie, as the spokesman of educated

India, has done so far practically nothing to clarify public opinion in these matters. Frankly speaking, the Congress has not been renowned for very clear thinking. With very rare exceptions, the pronouncements of the Congress have been marked more by perverid repetitions of the catch-phrases of English politicians than by any original analysis of

**The Congress Ideal :
Confusion of Thought.**

Indian life and thought or any direct knowledge of Indian conditions. The arguments of the Congress have been inspired by the political philosophy of European Democracy and have been based almost exclusively upon the Blue-Books of the Indian Government. The Congress, during the last twenty seven years of its life, has not collected, I am afraid; one scrap of original information, regarding either the economic condition of the people, or how their life and evolution are affected by the current methods of British Administration of the country. The Congress platform has only been resonant all these years either with official quotations or patriotic declamations. The inevitable result has, therefore, been only increased antagonism to the policy and measures of the Government, without any clear thinking of the actualities of our situation or any definite policy or programme of our own. It is, therefore, that there has, so far, been but little real appreciation of Lord Hardinge's Indian policy in Congress circles. The only thing that the Congress leaders seem to have recognised in this policy is its sympathy and leniency. They are thankful to Lord Hardinge for the repeal of the Partition, and the slight relaxation of the rigours of the Minto *regime*. In a vague way, some of them have recognised the value of the policy of "Provincial Autonomy" enunciated in his lordship's Despatch. But few Congress leaders have given so far, any convincing proof of their appreciation of the far-seeing statesmanship of that memorable public document. On the contrary, the very commendation of the Congress-leaders of Lord Hardinge's Despatch, as a proof of the acceptance of the ideal of Self-Government by the Government, as the "regulating principle of British Administration in India, has lent support to the opponents of his lordship's policy, both in India and England. The Anglo-Indian Press, especially, in Bengal, smarting under a sense of wrong which the removal of the Capital from Calcutta inflicted on them, condemned the Despatch as offering a false and dangerous ideal to the Indian politician. The British Press, and even responsible Ministers of State in England, found it easy to openly repudiate the interpretation that India put on Lord Hardinge's Despatch, because of the utter impossibility of the realisation of the declared ideal

of the Congress, without practically sacrificing every British interest in India. This so-called Colonial-ideal, which forms the very first article of the Congress-creed, is a false ideal for India. Either we understand its falsehood, and use it only as a cover for something more substantial and fundamental, which we have not the courage to proclaim; or we do not know and understand what the Colonial relation implies and actually is, and have set it up simply to save the face of the Congress, which could not, for obvious considerations, accept the more inspiring cry of Swaraj. In either case, this so-called Congress-ideal stands self-condemned. The Colonial relation is based upon racial unity. The self-governing Colonies are attached to Great Britain by pure sentimentalities in some cases, and by considerations of pure self-interest in others. So long Great Britain offered protection to the Colonies by her naval and military resources. So long the Colonies needed also very little actual protection from the Mother-Country. But still, the moral support was there, and that was all that the Colonies required in the past. But recent developments in world-politics have been creating new and real needs of self-protection for the British Colonies. Australia stands in mortal fear of Japan and China; while the growing naval strength of the Continental Powers has created nervousness in all the British Colonies, that are exposed to the sea, and have no navy of their own to protect their extensive sea boards, which in the event of a Continental War, will be at the mercy of Great Britain's enemies. And with this new consciousness of danger, there is also a corresponding anxiety in all the Colonies to build Dreadnaughts and contribute to the Naval strength of the Empire. These developments will demand, by and by, the building up of a formal Constitution for the British Empire, the different members of which hang together very loosely now, by mere sentimentalities. And if the present loose relation cannot possibly subsist for long between Great Britain and her Colonies, how can it be set up as a permanent ideal of her relation with a Dependency like that of India. We have nothing in common with Great Britain, neither race, nor religion, nor language, nor literature, nor tradition, nor history. The things that inspire British patriotism, and evoke the devotion of the British Colonials to the British Empire, have no appeal for us. The British Colonies are, to all intents and purposes, so many sovereign states, that have, in their own self-interest, hitherto imposed certain limitations, more or less formal, upon themselves in return for the real prestige and the protection which the British connection gives them. Neither this prestige nor this protection will be a condition of the political existence of a self-governing India; and consequently,

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND LIFE. 233

colonial self-government cannot mean the same thing in India, as it means in Australia, or Canada, or even in South Africa. Anglo-Indian publicists and British statesmen have every force of logic and statesmanship on their side, when they condemn this Congress-ideal of colonial self-government as unreal, and dangerous to their interest in India. To interpret Lord Hardinge's ideal as shadowed in his Despatch of August 1911, as the same as this Congress-ideal of self-government, is to convict his lordship either of rank folly or deliberate dishonesty. And Lord Crewe repudiated only this foolish interpretation of that Despatch. But neither Lord Crewe, nor any other intelligent politician, with any perception of the Indian situation on the one hand, and the slowly evolving world-situation on the other, can so loftily dispose of the interpretation that Indian Nationalists have put upon Lord Hardinge's Despatch. The ultimate political ideal for India can never be this so-called Colonial-Ideal. It should be, for the reasons indicated above, that of isolated, sovereign, independence. The continuance of the British connection is a necessity, both ideally and practically, for the fullest fulfillment of the ideal of Indian Nationalism. It is as great and imperious a necessity for our self-fulfillment under existing conditions, as national autonomy itself. And in a true and real federation of the different members of the Association, now known as the British Empire, there is the only possible ground of reconciliation between these two imperious needs of Indian Nationalism. A federal constitution, with well-defined rights and obligations of the federated states must first of all be formed, before any real and substantial measure of self-government can be secured by India "within the Empire." The British Empire is visibly evolving towards this federal type. The final passage of the Irish Home Rule Bill will be the first step of a new reconstruction of the United Kingdom, upon a federal basis. Home-Rule in Wales and Scotland, each with a local Parliament of its own and an Executive subject to the authority of that Parliament, will soon follow the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland. And this will lead to a reconstitution of the British Parliament upon a federal basis, preceded, of course, by the establishment of a local Parliament and a local Government for the English counties also. All these developments will come about within the life-time of a generation. And when the time comes for the reconstitution of the British Parliament upon a federal basis, to meet the needs of the new developments in the United Kingdom, the British Colonies also will put in their demand for their proper place in the Imperial Parliament. Even the blind may see all this. And then will come the real crisis in England's relations with India. Will India be

left out of this Federation? *Can* she be left out? Will it be possible, will it be safe, to leave her in her present "dependent" position, to be lorded over not only by the Britishers, but also by *parvenu* Colonials? There are many things which India may suffer, for "auld lang syne"—from Englishmen; it is inconceivable that she will suffer the same things from the Australian or the Boer. India *must* be given an equal place with the others, in the coming Federation of the British Empire. This *must* will admit of no excuse or apology. Lord Hardinge clearly foresees it. And his scheme of Provincial Autonomy is the first step towards the training of India for this coming federalism. His lordship knows that Provincial Autonomy can never be reconciled with Imperial Autocracy. The growth of Provincial Autonomy will inevitably develop National Autonomy; which will be bound to seek and find organised expression in a truly Federal Government for all-India. This is the inner meaning of the transfer of the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi. This is the significance of the constitution of a new Province subject to the direct control of the Imperial Government, like that of the District of Columbia in which Washington is situated, in the United States of America. His lordship is not a reckless rhetorician. All his life has been spent in the silent atmosphere of modern diplomacy. His lordship has been trained to weigh every word that he uses, before uttering it. He could not have, possibly, referred to Washington, and Sydney and Toronto, in his Despatch, while discussing the question of the transfer of the Capital from Calcutta, without a full sense of their significance. His lordship knows that he has to deal here with an educated community who know the value of these words. His lordship would not use words that would simply create a false enthusiasm in the public mind. His reference to Washington, Toronto and Sydney is deliberate and carefully-considered. His pronouncement concerning Provincial Autonomy is equally deliberate and carefully thought out. And all these indicate that his lordship wants to lay down a policy for the Government of India which will gradually evolve something like a United States of India in the country, and this, in turn, will form the basis of a real federation between India and Great Britain and Ireland and the British Colonies. This is how we read Lord Hardinge's Despatch. This is the only rational interpretation of the policy which it indicates. Its supreme value lies in the fact that it offers a true synthesis of the Indian political situation, and provides a basis of permanent reconciliation between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. Our people should clearly understand and frankly recognise it. British statesmen in England and British Administrators here should seize the inwardness

of this far-seeing statesmanship and loyally support it. Anglo-Indian publicists should ponder over it, and accept it in their own interest. If all parties are once agreed upon this policy, mutual co-operation for fighting the criminal excesses of the present unrest will not be difficult. This is the only basis of any such co-operation. There is none other.

II.

FIGHT AGAINST ANARCHISM.

Anarchism in Europe and India.

Ever since the discovery of the so-called bomb-conspiracy in Calcutta, in 1908, various means have been tried to stamp out this new form of criminal propaganda in this country, but practically with little or no success.

Judging these matters by the experience of Europe, there is even a tendency in many quarters to accept these crimes as necessary evil of modern civilisation ; which may be watchfully provided against, but will never be entirely cured. But I think as in many other things so in this also, it is not very wise to go by European experience. Human sensibilities being the same everywhere, there must, as a matter of course, be a fundamental unity in both the origin and the evolution of any special form of anti social malady that may appear in different countries. So far one must admit an affinity between the criminal propaganda of the European and the Indian revolutionary. But at the same time, we cannot ignore the very vital difference that exists between the social conditions and the national characters of Europe and India. The European anarchist is, mostly, a city-man or a city-woman. Even where they were born in distant villages, they joined the revolutionary gangs in city or suburban associations and thus practically became city-people afterwards. City-life is more favourable to the formation of secret associations than village-life. In the city no one cares to cultivate any intimate acquaintance with his neighbours ; least of all do people consciously keep watch over one another's movements or activities. In our villages, particularly, everybody lives an open life. Everybody knows everything about his neighbour's position and affairs, his thoughts and activities. In this respect, our rural life is different from whatever rural life there still is in England or America. And this freedom of intercourse is not destroyed

even by our rigid caste-system, except possibly in certain parts of Southern India. It is, in fact, deeply ingrained in our national character; and is not without its influence even upon our social life and relations in the cities. And this peculiarity of our social life and national character offers a much less favourable ground for the growth of secret revolutionary propaganda than what one finds in the West. And because it has so far been found impossible to stamp out criminal anarchism in Europe, it is no reason why it should not be stamped out here, in India.

**Anarchism
and
Idealism.**

The history of the birth and growth of criminal anarchism would be a highly interesting and profitable study. It would throw considerable light upon many an obscure problem of human psychology, especially upon criminal psychology. I have neither the equipment nor the time to present this history here. All that need be pointed out for my present purpose is that in its origin this anarchism is always associated with some lofty idealism, either patriotic or humanitarian or both. It is the protest of the oppressed against his oppressor, the revolt of the helpless serf against his all-powerful master. This is why this anarchism has sometimes enlisted some of the noblest of men and women in its service. Even Mazzini, at first, joined the Carbonari. But his moral nature as well as his intellectual instinct soon revolted against that secret sect. It happened in the case of many another man of unselfish spirit and spotless character. But it does not always draw only such people. The instinctive criminal, the moral wreck, the greedy voluptuary, the selfish intriguer, all find here a powerful instrument and association for their criminal designs. It has been very largely so in Europe, where the expansion of popular rights has practically removed all honest political or patriotic motive from the anarchist activities. People have already commenced to entertain similar suspicions even regarding some, at least, of these frequent "political dacoities" that are reported from various parts of the country here. Some of these may, possibly, be actually the work of political discontents; but that they are not responsible for all and every dacoity in the country, seems also to be certain.

**The Strength of The
Anarchist Organisations in
India.**

To lay the responsibility of all, or even a good number of the dacoities, said to be committed by armed and masked "Bhadrologues," at the door of the political malcontents in this country, would be to credit them with a numerical strength, and a wide-spread and disciplined secret organisation.

tion which no one who knows anything of our country, would accept as possible. It would be the merest affectation to deny that there is still very deep and simmering discontent in the country. And this discontent leads many people even to secretly enjoy the discomfiture of the police, at the hands of a set of clever men, who seem to fall down from the sky and having taken their loot, to vanish again into empty space. The masses nowhere take any long view of anything. Our masses also do not stop to think where these criminalities will finally land us all. For the time, they see the daring, the resourcefulness, the discipline, of these unknown gangs, and admire these; and their innate dislike of the ways and character of the police, lends an element of spicyness to this admiration. This is why nobody except those who may be directly affected or threatened by these outrages, cares to discover the whereabouts of the criminals or help the police in bringing them to law. The mere spirit of adventure, I think, draws a good many young men to temporary associations with these bands. If I remember aright, there are indications of these casual associations in the records of some of these dacoity cases also. These are matters of no moment, to the police or perhaps, the magistracy, but they are of supreme value to the student of psychology and politics. They are most valuable to the statesman who has to grapple with these complex and dangerous situations.

To fight this criminal propaganda successfully, we must take heed of all these facts.

Wanted : We must clearly understand that these criminals,—so far as they are really political mal-
Psychological Diagnosis. contents,—belong to a distinct class. They are men at least of some education, and possibly, some of them at least, with a good deal of noble impulse, however misguided it may be. As the successful and experienced physician examines not merely the diseased organs of his patient, but perhaps with still greater care, he tries to find out the source whence the suffering organism draws its vitality, and helps the patient to regain health and strength, by working upon his healthy organs; even so the criminologist, in his attempt to treat any criminal, must not only examine his morbidities alone, but must seek and discover the healthier parts of his inner moral nature and use these parts as a fulcrum to raise the man's whole character and cure him of his criminal propensities. Our criminal administrations fail so uniformly to reclaim the criminals, and so frequently increase the criminality of the community by their very attempt to cure it, simply because they do not work along this line. They take note of the acts of the criminal and the surface motives of his crime, but do not make any

accurate psychological examination and analysis of the real genesis of the crime or the previous history of the criminal. They have commenced to pay heed to these things in Europe but none, practically, so far here in India. But when society is threatened with apparently organised forms of lawlessness and violence like what we stand face to face with in India today, it becomes the positive duty of those responsible for the peace and good government of the country, to take note of all possible psychological considerations, and base whatever remedy they may propose for the social evil, upon them. Unfortunately however, Lord Minto and his advisers never approached this problem from a psychological standpoint. They only considered the brute in our youthful revolutionaries, but paid no heed either to the man or to the God that was in them, as they are in every other human being.

**Retributive and Remedial
Measures.**

It was not their fault, but, if anything, only their misfortune. Neither transcendental logic nor transcendental ethics has as yet secured any vital hold on European thoughts and ideas. The ordinary European, therefore, finds it impossible to believe that a thing may be both true *and* false at the same time, or that an action may be both good and bad simultaneously. This is, however, ingrained in our very thoughts and sentiments. This is why our sages never care to fight false opinions, but allow these to drop off, like autumn leaves, of themselves, in their own proper time; and our saints never hate or shun, or even care to inflict any external punishment either on men of evil temper or criminal habits or instincts. They see the good behind the evil, the shine behind the shadow; and knowing that the race is, ultimately, always and absolutely with the good, they are never impatient with the passing evils of life. And our sages and our saints fight, therefore, untruth with truth, evil with good, spite with love, niggardliness with generosity and anger with forbearance. They do not fight the brute with the brute, but they seek to conquer the brute in man with the God that is in him. And I think nothing short of this lofty philosophy and this divinely spiritual attitude will be able to conquer this new evil in our community. The Penal Code reveals really, the animal strength of the State; for it is applied through sheer physical force either potential or actual, embodied in the Police and the Army of the State. Without the Police and the Army, the Penal Code would be a dead letter. Government by penal laws is always of this kind. It is physical government, and not moral government in the highest sense of the term. The world has not as yet risen to that high level

of moral elevation when the laws of the State would cease to work upon physical intimidation, but would be almost automatically executed by superior moral inspiration. We must have the Penal Code with us for a long—long time yet: but the spirit of criminal administration must slowly change all the same; and most of all, its present retributive ideal must give place, immediately, to its higher, remedial end, if criminality is not to increase with that intellectual and material advancement of the race, which is the essence of modern civilisation.

**The Failure of
Repressive
Laws.**

In India, at any rate, the Government will only court absolute failure, if they seek to grapple with these new forms of lawlessness in the country by either the old Penal Code or new and enlarged criminal laws especially designed to meet them. Lord Minto forged new weapons almost at every legislative session, and while they found new causes of anxiety and trouble for the timid and the peaceful, and to some extent demoralised certain sections of the people, they did not lessen, but on the contrary, visibly increased the very trouble which was sought to be cured; and while introducing every new measure, Lord Minto's Government had to openly confess the failure of its predecessors to meet the requirements of the situation. A partial salvation of that situation came, not from a continuance of the policy of Lord Minto, but really from its practical reversal by Lord Hardinge. The complete remedy has yet to come. But for the miscreant who marred the state entry of the Viceroy into Delhi, the situation would have been far more hopeful today than what it evidently is. But this sudden recrudescence of political outrages notwithstanding, the situation is not altogether hopeless. It will never be absolutely hopeless in India, unless the Government go back to the methods of the last Administration. And I have too large a faith in the statesmanly perceptions of Lord Hardinge to believe, even in the face of the new Conspiracy Act, that there will be any recrudescence of the Minto-policy, as long as his lordship is at the head of the Indian Administration.

**A
Constructive Proposal.**

The real remedy of this situation will come from a calm and dispassionate study of the psychology of this criminal propaganda; and a courageous application of the conclusions, thus reached, through the enunciation of a new policy of confidence in and co-operation with the people. I think, a psychological analysis of the story of the present unrest will reveal the fact that the suppression of the Swadeshi Samities is very

largely responsible for this new form of political lawlessness. It will serve no useful purpose to discuss the wisdom or unwisdom of that measure. The troublous condition of the country in 1908-1909 forced the Government of Lord Minto to suppress these Samities. But we have come to much quieter times now. The repeal of the Bengal Partition has, to a very large extent, removed the exciting cause of the unrest now. There is a sincere desire on the part of all parties to let bygones be bygones, and return to the old normal state of things. There is no reason to keep up the old ban against these Samities now. But the Government cannot openly remove it, either. Nor would it be wise to allow the reorganisation of these Samities in the old way, outside all official control. The best course to do, therefore, would be to pass a permissive law, like the Indian Company's Act, for instance, under which people may openly and legitimately combine for the pursuit of general public good, by self-help, self organisation and self-taxation. They will determine their own objects, settle their own memorandum and articles of association, and frame their own laws and regulations ; but will have to work openly, under official supervision of their accounts and official inspection of their proceedings. And as a price of this privilege, they may be held responsible, collectively, for the good behaviour of their members, and also be called upon to help the Administration to protect the life and property of the people in their jurisdiction. Such a law, giving an opportunity to the people to revive and reorganise the old Samities under legal restrictions and with legal sanction, will do more than any Conspiracy Act, to fight revolutionary anarchism in the country, and save a situation that is becoming almost hopeless.

CHARACTER SKETCH.

BABU ASVINI KUMAR DATTA.

Babu Asvini Kumar Datta holds a somewhat unique position among his colleagues in the leadership of the present public life of his Province. They are almost all, without a single exception, leaders of the English-educated middle class only. Asvini Kumar is the only person, who has a large and devoted following among the masses. The leadership of the classes is won by large intellectual powers, superior gift of eloquence, and sometimes also by high professional or official standing, or even by large wealth, discriminately used to advance and control public activities. Asvini Kumar lays claim to none of these. A man of considerable intellectual power, he is not a recognised intellectual force among his people. Intellectual leadership comes either through the press or through the platform. Asvini Kumar has written an excellent book on **Bhakti-Yoga** which shows the deep religious bent of his soul and extensive religious reading, especially in our ancient Bhâgavata literature; but he has not a high and recognised position in Bengalee literature. He is a good and effective speaker, but his eloquence is not of that class which moves an audience by its sheer magnetic force and takes them off their feet, and compels them to accept any doctrine or pursue any ideal with all their mind and strength. Like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Asvini Kumar did take his law degree, and thus fully qualified himself for the legal profession, but never seriously practised law, and so did not win any professional distinction, though it was within easy reach of him. His father was a distinguished member of the Government service in East Bengal, and he too, if he cared for it, might have taken service under the Government, where his intellectual and moral qualifications could have easily won for him great distinction. But he preferred to live and die a private gentleman, upon the fair competence that his father left him. But he did not, for that reason, choose to lead an idle life. His paternal estate was not very large according to present-day estimates, but it was sufficiently large to keep him and his people, not only above want, but in comparative affluence also. Asvini Kumar has no children, and freed from all parental responsibility, he might well have lived in Calcutta on the income of his estate, and throw himself, like some other Bengal zemindars, into the virtues and vices of present-day absentee

land-lordism. But he preferred, instead, to live in the comparative obscurity and seclusion of his own town, with his own people, in close and intimate touch with his tenantry, devoting his time, his talents, and his money to the service of his people and his country. And this is why Asvini Kumar is the only man today in Bengal who may be truly said to be a popular leader, and not, in any sense of the term, a mere political agitator.

In our old society, before the break-up of our old village life, title to leadership was always based upon personal relationship between the leader and his following. It was also the title to leadership of the old feudal lords in Europe. It is the character of the true leadership of the military officer, among his soldiery. And this personal element makes this kind of leadership a live and sensitive thing. The modern political leader is of quite a different character. Organisations, when they are developed and perfected into a mighty machine, tend always to kill this personal element in human relations. Organised public life or political agitation needs, therefore, but little direct personal relationship between the leader and his following. The nature of the leadership of comparatively simpler and primitive communities was very different. Not high intellectual powers expressed through the national literature, nor "the divine gift of the gab,"—neither superior erudition nor large wealth,—none of these were essential qualifications for leadership in our old social life. But unblemished character, unshaken and unshakable honesty, broad sympathies, and devoted social service—homely and unostentatious,—these were the highest title to leadership among our primitive people. The relation between the leader and his following was not a platform-relation, whose only field was the Committee-Room or the Meeting Hall, but a living, sensitive, personal bond. The real leader of the ryot was not the man who only owned his fields and received the rents; but he who won his heart. More often than not, the zemindar of the village was also the leader of the villagers; but that was because he was, in the first place, a comparatively small land-owner, and secondly, because, he never lived away from his tenantry. The zemindar, who lived in his own estate, among his own tenants, was always a man of simple habits and primitive manners. He shared his wealth, in a thousand ways, with his ryots. He was always accessible to them, and his house was always open to them. They came to his feasts, and participated in his festivals. His fish-pond, and even his fruit-orchard, were, in a sense, the common property of his people; they freely came with their rod to catch fish in his pond, and their children had free access to the fruits in his garden. He always addressed the meanest and poorest of his tenants,

if they were older than himself,—irrespective of all considerations of their caste,—as brother or cousin, paternal or maternal uncle ; and they too, reciprocated the sentiment by accepting this relationship. He was an intimate guest in their marriages and *shraddhs*, and a kindly, friendly, visitor in their lowly homes, whenever death or misfortune cast its shadows over them. This was the old ideal of leadership in our country. The elders of every village were thus the natural leaders of their people. And Asvini Kumar is the only man among the well-known leaders of Bengal, who can justly lay some claim to this natural leadership in our generation. He has lived all his life among his own people, lived like them, in every way identified with their joys and their sorrows, and, one might say, with their merits and their demerits as well. He has gone up to them, talked with them in their native pattoi, sat with them in the shade of their mango-topes or the clean-swept yards of their thatched huts. His going among them has been like that of a personal and trusted friend. They have always opened their hearts to him, as they would never do to any other man, neither zemindar nor tashildar, neither priest nor padre ; and he too gave them freely of his love and sympathy. This is the secret of the unique influence that Asvini Kumar has over the masses in his district. They talk of uncrowned kings. So far as I know, Asvini Kumar is the only public man in India, who has a just title to this distinction.

This is why the Swadeshi Movement took such deep roots in Asvini Kumar's district, Barisal. In Barisal swadeshi became almost a religion among the masses, and people took to it, without question, and yet with such stern determination, simply because Asvini Kumar was its high-priest. This is why, again, even during the most exciting periods in 1907, 1908 and 1909, when people got out of hand in Calcutta and Dacca and other places, and committed themselves to a course of violence and lawlessness which never had the sanction of the leaders of the new movement in Bengal, Barisal was singularly free from these excesses. Neither Calcutta nor Dacca nor any other district had a real swadeshi leader, whose word was the law to the people, and without whose direct command no man would do anything. Neither Surendra Nath in Calcutta, nor Ananda Chandra Roy nor Ananda Chandra Chakravarti at Dacca, nor Anath Bandhu Guha in Mymensingh, nor any one in Comilla, had the fullest confidence of the people, both young and old, both educated and uneducated, as Asvini Kumar had in Barisal. This is the real cause of all the troubles that we had almost all over Bengal, except Barisal. And yet we all know it that nowhere in West Bengal or East Bengal has the swadeshi sentiment been stronger, or the swadeshi

determination sterner than it has always been in Asvini Kumar's district. The credit of it is due entirely to the personal character of this true and real leader of his people, and the salutary and restraining influence which he has always exercised over them.

Twice did Asvini Kumar save the situation, not merely in Barisal, but to some extent in the whole of Bengal, under the exciting and troublous administration of Lord Minto. The first was during Sir Bamfylde Fuller's visit to Barisal, in November 1905, when the Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam invited the leaders of the district to his yacht, abused them like school boys, and threatened to order their immediate arrest, unless they did his bidding and publicly withdrew a certain circular that had been sent out above their signature, proclaiming that it was not unlawful for any body to refuse to buy foreign goods if he wanted to do so. Popular leaders had never before been treated to such open insults by any official of Sir Bamfylde's standing. The thing was unknown in the history of British administration, at least, in Bengal. And we owed it to Asvini Kumar's marvellous self-restraint and statesmanly far-sight that in consequence of this act of the new Lieutenant-Governor, the town, and, indeed, the whole district, were not made over to fatal disorder, bordering almost upon an open revolt, that day. Sir Bamfylde Fuller, exasperated by the "boycott" that was declared against him in almost every Eastern District, completely forgot himself. He forgot his position as the King's representative, he forgot his responsibility for the peace and good government of the people committed to his charge; he forgot his duties as the official host of respectable leaders of the country, and he forgot the fact that evil developments might arise if these leaders openly resented such unseemly treatment and refused to submit to the angry threats of the Lieutenant-Governor. Sir Bamfylde forgot all this, but Asvini Kumar did not; and this is how the situation was saved that day. Asvini Kumar knew the illegality of the gubernatorial threat. He knew that Sir Bamfylde might order his arrest, but the order would not stand good in law. He knew that he had done nothing to support a lawful conviction against him. And he knew that to drive the Lieutenant-Governor to this act of extreme folly would have been to put him in the wrong before all the world. To a politician of the demagogue type, the temptation to do this would have been simply overwhelming. But Asvini Kumar is not a demagogue. Had Asvini Kumar cared more for his personal reputation than for the peace and happiness of his people, he would have refused to submit to Sir Bamfylde's threats. And the result would have been a

frightful riot in Barisal and in the whole Backerganj district, if not in other places also in Bengal, which would have been found impossible to quell without serious bloodshed. Asvini Kumar saw it all, and he unhesitatingly sacrificed his reputation for courage by agreeing to obey Sir Bamfylde's illegal order in the interest of the peace of his district. And this sacrifice, by no means an easy one for a popular leader, saved the situation in Barisal that day. And he saved the situation, not only in Barisal, but in Bengal, similarly, a few months later, when the Provincial Conference was broken up, and a peaceful procession of the delegates forcibly dispersed by the police, in April 1906. All this shows the character and calibre of the man.

In fact Asvini Kumar is not a political agitator of the type with which we are so familiar in Europe. He has not the making of the demagogue in him, but rather of the patriarch. A demagogue has the gift of the gab; Asvini Kumar, as I have said, is no orator. A demagogue is reckless of all consequences; Asvini Kumar, though he has not been mindful of his personal profit or comforts and has always been free with his purse to promote the public good, is not impervious to considerations of consequences. He thinks long before he acts; and though by nature he is a man of impulse, his impulses are always kept within bounds by his strong common sense and his innate fear of wrong and injustice.

Early in life Asvini Kumar came under the influence of the Brahmo Samaj and it was thought at the time that he would join the Brahmo Communion also. But while the rational and spiritual ideals of the Samaj impressed him strongly, Asvini Kumar lacked courage to openly join the social revolt of the movement, and so, at the bidding of his father, he quietly went and married in orthodox Hindu fashion, after the rules of his own caste. And so far as I know, Asvini Kumar has done nothing since then, which the progressive conscience of his community does not openly tolerate. The fact, really, is that Asvini Kumar has not in him the stuff of which rebels are made. His enemies say he is too invertebrate to boldly stand up against the existing order, however much he might feel its evil effect. His friends say he is too conscientious to adopt any anti-social course.

And the secret of it is to be found in his religious philosophy and the disciplines which he adopted for the regulation of his inner life. As a youngman, like most youngmen of his generation, as the result of his English education, Asvini Kumar also caught the contagion of the European Rationalism of the last century; and thus set up his individual conscience as the ultimate arbiter of both what

is true and what is good. This individualistic rationalism of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries ignored the fact that neither our individual reason nor our individual conscience, works by itself, but is practically dependent for its conclusions upon what may be called the social reason and the social conscience. Our intellectual beliefs and our moral intuitions are always derived, however unconsciously it may be, more or less from our racial and communal inheritances and our social institutes and institutions. We have the same mind, the same psychological and emotional constitution as other humans, yet we do not hold everything that they believe, as true or reasonable. This is why there are different systems of philosophies in different countries, and wide divergences of opinion among the most thoughtful and the learned even in the same country. The same is true of our moral institutions also. What is regarded as virtue in one community is condemned as vice in another. There is no uniformity of moral standards in this world, any more than there is of intellectual tests. And it shows that individual reason and individual conscience are not really free agents, but are always influenced by the society to which the individuals belong. Our natural environments also have a lot to do with our moral life. And all these considerations, gradually developing a new science both of thought and society, are forcing a reconsideration of the individualistic rationalism of the last two centuries, and proving the inadequacy of the earlier philosophy of our own Brahmo Samaj also. Asvini Kumar almost instinctively recognised this weakness of the Brahmo Samaj. He saw that the inevitable logic of the position which the Brahmo Samaj took up, from the time of Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, was philosophical anarchism. Practically, the Brahmo Samaj did not work out this logic. It has set up a creed of its own, by which the conclusions of individual reason and individual conscience are, practically, tested. But in setting up this creed, the Samaj has acted not logically but arbitrarily. This creed represents the consensus of *opinion* of the generality of members of the Samaj, regarding the casual dogmas of religion. The opinion of the majority of the members of the Samaj is the ultimate authority and the highest credential of the validity of the Brahmo dogmas. Ruskin says that ten fools can never make one wise man. But the cruel logic of individualistic rationalism when organised into a Church, with its dogmas, disciplines, rituals and sacraments, is—that ten fools *must*, because they are ten and not eight, be wiser than nine wise men. Asvini Kumar like many others, saw the inherent unreason of this position, and went in search of a more rational basis for authority in religion. He found it in the

Hindu doctrine of the *Guru*. And in his allegiance to his *guru*, and the profound spiritual inspiration that he received from him, we must seek for the real key to the complexites, and even the apparent contradictions of his character.

This Hindu doctrine of the *Guru* is, practically, unknown to the other world-cultures. The nearest approach to the inner philosophy of this doctrine is found in the Christian doctrine of the Christ, as preached by the Alexandrian Fathers, and as has been latterly developed, under the influence of modern rationalism, in some of the Christian philosophers of the Intuitionist School, notably in Mansell and McCosh. There is, according to this doctrine, a dual manifestation of Christ,—one in the consciousness of individual humans, the other in history. The Christ in consciousness and the Christ of history, are one and the same. The one is subjective, the other is objective, that is all the difference between them; and they are both one with the Father or the Absolute. They are both manifestations of the Father. This, briefly and in plain language, is the ancient Alexandrian and the modern Intuitionist doctrine of the Christ. The Hindu doctrine of the *Guru* is based upon the same logic of thought, and seeks to offer the same explanation, practically of the same problem of the spiritual life. But while the Christ in consciousness is an ever-increasing revelation,—whose manifestation is unbroken and continuous, knows neither completeness nor finality, the historical Christ was revealed, once for all, two thousand years ago, in Judea, and worked the final atonement of man with God, at Calvary. The Hindu doctrine coincides fully with the first half of this Christian doctrine. The Christ-in-Consciousness of Christian experiences is called “*chaitya-guru*” (चैत्य गुरु)—the Guru-in-Consciousness—by the Hindu. But the objective or the “*mahanta-guru*” (मोहान्त गुरु)—the Guru-in-practical life, or the Guru in the flesh of the Hindus, is not one revelation, but a succession of revelations. Even at the same moment of time he is not revealed in one individual, but in many individuals, to meet the varied requirements of different natures and cultures. The Hindu recognises the absolute need of objective stimuli for the growth and evolution of subjective intuitions. But these intuitions are not identical in all men; consequently, their objective stimuli also cannot be identical. What will stimulate one man's intuitions will not necessarily stimulate another's. So you want, really, as many historical Christs as there are men, and there must be, at least, one historical incarnation in every age and epoch, if not in every country and culture also, otherwise the value of the historic revelation is lost. The Hindu recognised this difficulty.

Therefore he believes in many incarnations, and many gurus; though at the back of all this multiplicity there is the same Unity of the Absolute. The relation between a man and his *Guru* is an intimate *personal* relation. The true *Guru* reveals that much of himself to his disciple, as is suited to the requirements of the inner life of the latter. To be an objective revelation of God, the *Guru* must be a man, and thus stand before the disciple in the flesh. This is absolutely necessary, especially for those, whose sense of identity between the soul and the body has not been cancelled and destroyed by long and laborious physical, psychophysical, mental, ethical and spiritual disciplines. In this, the Hindu doctrine of the *Guru* seems to be much fuller and more rational, that is more self-consistent, than the Christian doctrine of the Christ, both Catholic and Protestant. And it is here that Asvini Kumar at last found a solution of his religious difficulty and a basis for his spiritual life.

And the secret of Asvini Kumar's character and personality is to be found, I think, in his self-consecration to his *Guru*. This self-consecration is not yet full and complete; but the desire to consecrate himself absolutely to his *Guru* is responsible for all the struggles of his life, and also for the apparent weaknesses and indecisions of his character. By nature a man of sentiment, and therefore, necessarily, impulsive, his conscientious desire to follow in the steps of his *Guru*, interferes with the unrestrained play and fulfilment of his impulses, and leads to what appears to outsiders as vacillation and weakness. Asvini Kumar's own nature prompts him to adopt a certain course of action. But he asks, it seems, what would my *Guru* do in the circumstance? And the question leads to hesitancy, doubt, indecision, ultimately, even to a wrong course. And in spite of all his inherited Hindu instincts and his extensive studies of Hindu scriptures, Asvini Kumar appears here, more as a pious Christian than as a true Hindu disciple of the highest order. He forgets that we are not like our *Guru*; and cannot therefore naturally, which means legitimately in the highest sense of the term, follow the course that he would have followed under the same circumstances. The very desire is almost blasphemous. The attempt is sinful, because it is the attempt of the lower to over-ride his own proper law and adopt that of the higher. Judged in the light of Christian legalism, Asvini Kumar's is a very high type of character. He has a keenly sensitive conscience. He is always afraid of doing anything which is not absolutely right. And his objective standard of right is the life and character of his *Guru*, even as that of the Christian is the life and character of Christ. But it is not, however, the highest type of Hindu

piety or Hindu discipleship. The highest type of Hindu piety and the highest ideal of Hindu discipleship is to consecrate not only our will and our acts, but also our reason and our emotions and our conscience to the *Guru*. In one sense, this is the highest Christian ideal also. The devout Christian,—with whom Christ's atonement and sacrifice are not mere outward creeds and dogmas, but realities of his own inner spiritual experience,—having consecrated himself to his Master, takes no more thought, really, of either sin or virtue, but lives in the absolute assurance that all his sins, actual and possible, have been washed away in the blood of the Son of God. And there is really little or no difference between him and the true Hindu disciple, who views his living *Guru*, whom he has seen in the flesh, in the same light as the Christian views his Christ. This Hindu disciple's motto is:—

जानामि धर्मं न च मे प्रवृत्तिः
जानाम्यधर्मं न च मे निवृत्तिः
त्वया वृषिकेयः हृदि स्थितेन,
यथा नियुक्तोऽस्मि तथा कुरेमि ।

I know the Law, but have no inclination in me to follow it.

I know what is against the Law, but have no disinclination for it.

By thee, thou Director of the Senses, who art seated in my heart,
As I am appointed, so do I act.

Asvini Kumar has not yet reached this stage. His *Guru* had. And it is, therefore, that his very conscientious anxiety to walk in the steps of his *Guru*, instead of being a source of strength, so frequently becomes a source of weakness in him.

His *Guru* lived, absolutely, a life of nature. Now he was as meek as a lamb, and again, if the mood was on him, he became as terrible as a lion. Sometimes he would be tolerant of what to people would seem as the most outrageous of wrongs; at another time, he would not stand the least little injustice. Now he was as pliable as clay, and now as hard as adamant. Now crying, now laughing; now exulted, now depressed; now talking the profoundest philosophies, now advising the most irrational things as true and profitable; now an iconoclast of iconoclasts, and the next moment, when that impulse had spent itself, meekly accepting the current ritualism as good. But all these were natural to him. The Universal himself is a Person of infinite moods, and God himself is the wildest and most irreconcilable of contradictions. These do not hurt the true man of God either. Asvini Kumar's *Guru* was a man of God. He was a man of many moods,

like all his class ; and in all his moods he stood always absolutely identified, in thinking, feeling, and willing—in every department and aspect of his personal life—with the Universal. Such men cannot be measured by any ethical foot-rule. They have their own laws, their own ethics. They are above the Law, because identified with the Law. Who knows what particular course of action Asvini Kumar's Guru would have followed in Asvini Kumar's place, under any particular circumstance ? We examine these circumstances from the outside ; and consequently, we interpret frequently their right and wrong not in the light of the universal scheme in which they stand, but simply according to our own likes and dislikes. Our readings of the circumstances of our life and our duties and obligations to society, are always obscured by the shadow that our own conceit of sense and self casts on them. We do not see them as they really are, in themselves, or as they stand related to the universal scheme of things. But these saints and sages, living in a perpetual consciousness of the Universal, see the passing particularities of life, from the very heart of the Universal ; and seeing them all, as part of the universal order, they deal with every particularity according to its own inner law and purpose. To try to imitate them is not possible for us. We may, if blessed by them, absolutely throw ourselves upon them, and thus live and act, from moment to moment, without any preconceived scheme of our own, but just as they move us with their strength and their inspiration, which comes to us, not supernaturally, but naturally, through the impulses of our flesh, our intellect, our emotions and our will, on the one side, and the outer happenings of our lives, which stimulate these in us, on the other. We may do this. This is the proud privilege of the disciple. But we cannot aspire to follow in their steps, before we have attained their character. And the desire to do so, seems to me, to be largely responsible for all the indecisions and weaknesses that sometimes his most intimate admirers observe and even regret in Asvini Kumar.

In fact, Asvini Kumar is a very fine specimen of the amalgam which is being so numerously manufactured among us, through the combination of Christian and Hindu influences. We are all more or less of the class of this amalgam. Asvini Kumar's inner spirit is essentially Hindu. The meekness, the patience, the absence of restless ambitions, the desire for quiet homely service rather than for tumultuous activities, fidelity to existing social and socio religious order, even though its passing unreason or ills may be fully recognised ; acceptance of duty as a higher principle than right ; the spirit of submission rather than of resistance ; of forbearance rather than of revolt or recrimination,—these Hindu

characteristics are fairly prominent in Asvini Kumar's life. On the other hand, the keen ethical sense, the passionate longing for the furtherance of social well-being, devotion to public duty and patriotic service, characteristic of the educated European, are also equally prominent features of the life and character of this Bengalee leader. Asvini Kumar is not a system builder; nor can he lay claim to any original thinking. So he has not been impelled as yet to work out any rational synthesis between the Eastern and the Western elements of his composite character. He has not been able to present either the East to himself in the terms of the West, nor to present the West in the terms of the East. The result, therefore, is that sometimes the one element comes out in his thoughts and actions more prominently, and sometimes, the other. Sometimes, as an educationist, as a teacher of youth, as an apostle of temperance and purity, as a defender of popular rights against bureaucratic aggressions, Asvini Kumar seems, like so many of us, as fundamentally a hand-work of European influences. Sometimes again, especially in the select company of his spiritual friends, while singing the name of the Lord, or reading lessons from the Bhāgabata, or discoursing upon BHAKTI-YOGA or KARMA-YOGA,—he seems quite another man, who has more of the old Bhāgabata spirit in him than the modern Christian spirit. I have seen him in these select gatherings, and have observed him throwing himself into these ecstatic exercises with an abandonment which one would hardly expect in a man whose whole life and education have been moulded, practically, by Protestant Christian influences.

But it is to the Hindu side of his character that Asvini Kumar owes, I think, his unique position in the public life of his country. As an educationist, as a moral teacher, as a modern public man, devoting himself to the cause of his people and his country, Asvini Kumar could secure a following only among the English-educated classes. In this, he is like the others. And his following even among our English-educated classes, especially in Eastern Bengal, is not insignificant either. I have, indeed, an idea that if a register could be taken of the leaders and workers of the Swadeshi Movement, not only in Barisal, but in all the Eastern districts, from Jessore to Mymensing and Sylhet, it would be seen that the largest number by far of them owed their swadeshi inspiration, either directly or indirectly, to Asvini Kumar. Successive generations of University youngmen from the different districts of Eastern Bengal have flocked to Asvini Kumar's College at Barisal; and have passed under his training and influence the most pregnant and formative periods of their life. And no one who came in contact with him, could escape the influence of his life and conversation. Yet, his

position in the history of the present public life of Bengal is so high and absolutely so unique, not because of his literate but because of his illiterate following. And to these it was not the European side of his character that appeared most strongly, but rather his Hindu side.

As a Hindu, Asvini Kumar's type is more Vaishnavic than Shakta. His training is distinctly Vaishnavic. And there is an element of humanity in the Vaishnavic ideal, which is almost modern in both spirit and expression. To see God in man, is the eternal objective of Vaishnavic culture. No other school, I think, has so boldly and openly declared the Godhood of man as the Vaishnavic schools have done. The idealisation of the human flesh as flesh; of the human appetites as appetites; of the varied human relations, as between master and man, or friend and friend, or parent and son, or lover and love;—to proclaim these as vehicles and instruments of the very life and sport of the Lord,—this is a unique feature of the Vaishnavic ideal and culture. Not the negation nor suppression of nature and man, but their idealisation and spiritualisation, through the beatitudes of the soul, is the supreme end of Vaishnavic disciplines. And this Vaishnavic idealism has lent considerable strength and reality to Asvini Kumar's social service.

In the ordinary relations of life, Asvini Kumar observes all the conventions of the Hindu society. But at the call of duty, these conventions fall off from him, like dry autumn leaves. He has not preached against caste, like his early associates in the Brahmo Samaj, but has very materially helped the relaxation of caste-rules in the practical interest of humanity and social service. The students of his school and college have always been trained in the service of the poor and the sick. His volunteers have nursed cholera-patients in times of epidemic, without distinction of caste or creed. Even the women of the town have not been put outside the pale of the service of these devoted youths. And high-caste Brahmins have without the least scruple or hesitancy, cleansed with their own hands the soiled beddings of their low-caste patients, have removed their excreta, and have, when it was found necessary, even carried the dead bodies of the untouchable classes to the burning ghat and cremated these themselves. In times of famine and scarcity, Hindus and Mahomedans have been equally helped by Asvini Kumar and his devoted band. Years of selfless and devoted social service like this, had secured for Asvini Kumar a lasting place in the affections of his people. To them he was never a great and renowned leader, the friend of the Magistrate, and the confidante of the Commissioner,—but their own friend, a present help in

their need, an ever-willing guide in their troubles, and a never-failing source of consolation in their sorrows and disappointments. This was the real position of Asvini Kumar among his own neighbours, in his own town and district, long before the birth of the Swadeshi Movement. And it is because of the old influence which he had in the country, that he at once became so powerful a force behind this new movement.

Asvini Kumar's personality is his greatest contribution to the public life of his country and his time. We have had orators, journalists, zemindars, lawyers, medical practitioners, retired high officials, in the leadership of this life. They have done a lot for their country. Some have given us thought, some inspiration, some have paid out of their affluence towards the upkeep of our public propaganda and organisations, and some have added to the weight of our deliberations by their name or their wisdom. But none, except Asvini Kumar Datta, has given us the exact pattern after which the true leader must be made henceforth.

Asvini Kumar's personality is the greatest force in Barisal. And this has been so, because he has always been one of the people, one with them in thought and life. In the future, the real leadership of the public life everywhere will be based upon this close, this personal relation between the leader and his following. Not the man with the longest purse, nor the man with the most powerful tongue, nor he with the ripest wisdom, will be acclaimed its leader by modern democracy, but only he who, whatever his wealth, or education, or wisdom, will be one with his people and whose people will be one with him—will be the true leader of men. In Asvini Kumar we have a glimpse of this coming type. But after all, the type is not altogether new either. It is the old, old type, coming back to us, revived and modernised,—that is all.

AMONG BOOKS OLD AND NEW.

NIVEDITA AND VIVEKANANDA.

(Read :—Notes of Some Wanderings with Swami Vivekananda. By Sister Nivedita of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda. Authorised Edition, 1913. Edited by the Swami Sarodananda. Published by the Brahmachari Gonendra Nath : Udbodhan Office : Baghbazar, Calcutta.)

Sister Nivedita's—otherwise known as Miss Margaret Noble, was a most 'dynamic' personality. The adjective is her own in a sense, used of course, in another context. She spoke once, I remember, to a large and appreciative audience in the Calcutta Town Hall, on what she called "Dynamic Religion." It was a protest against the excessively speculative and quiescent emphasis of our national life and philosophy. As a disciple of Swami Vivekananda, she was not unaware of the supreme value of the speculative and quiescent life of the true man of God. But the current quietude and hair-splitting speculations of the pundits are of a different type ; these are not really satvic (सात्त्विक) but tamasic (तामसिक), represent not the calm of the highest union with the Universal, but the inertia of the spiritually dead. This quietude was no part of Nivedita's religion. It was no part of the religion of her Master either. Religion to her was not a passive pursuit of what merely is, but an untiring and ever-vigilant effort for the realisation of what ought to be. This perpetual striving after what ought to be, constitutes the dynamic element of every religion. And it was this what Nivedita meant when she spoke to us on "Dynamic Religion."

Born among Christian peoples, in a Christian family, Margaret Noble gradually ceased, like so many others of her class and country, to be a Christian. And it seems to me that her revolt against present-day Christianity was very largely due to the fact that it is not, in spite of all its restless efforts to make the world better than what it is, truly and rationally dynamic. In fact, the inner logic of all credal religions, that claim absolute authority for the teachings of a Master who lived many centuries or many milleniums ago, and finality for a particular scheme of religious and spiritual disciplines that suited a particular people at a particular stage of their mental and social evolution, must inevitably be more or less rigidly conservative and static, and not freely progressive and dynamic. The theology of the Christian Churches prevents the free play of the human intellect ; and its ethics,



owing to its excessive legalism, tends to cripple the human personality. The Jewish Jehova was more dynamic in some aspects, than the Christian Deity. Paganism was far more dynamic, than even Judaism. But Nivedita found this dynamic element of the human religion nowhere more fully realised and represented than in the Hindu cult of the Kalee.

In fact, I always felt that Nivedita was, at heart, a pagan of pagans. She was, literally, a child of Nature. Her love of Nature was as passionate and personal as that of the ancient Greeks. I never found another modern, man or woman, in India or Europe, though I have heard of some Hindu devotees of this type—whose whole being, body and mind and soul, seemed to be so completely attuned to the life of the outer elements. Her whole system appeared to me to have been uniformly responsive to the moods of the nature-forces about her.

Once I was sitting with Nivedita in her house in Bosepara Lane, sipping tea out of her quaint swadeshi cups. Suddenly the sky was overcast with black scowling clouds as oftentimes happens in our early summer evenings; and there was immediately a marked change in the mood of my hostess. Her face seemed at once to reflect this awfully dynamic mood of Nature. It beamed with a new light, at once awful and lovely. And she sat silent, apparently unconscious for the moment of my presence, looking intently through the window, at the gathering gloom about the earth and the heavens, and listening, like one in a trance, to the rising tumult of the growing storm. And just as there came, in a little while, the first flash of lightning followed by the crash of the first thunder, she cried out with bated breath—

Kalee.

It was then that I understood for the first time what it really was that had drawn this essentially pagan woman, born by some mischance among Christian peoples, to our country and our culture. Nivedita so enthusiastically accepted the cult of our Kalee because she found here the most perfect representation of what may be called Nature-Religion. Modern scientific education, as distinguished from strict scientific training, when joined to highly poetic temperaments, creates this Nature-Religion in our age. Nivedita's was a highly poetic temperament. She had received considerable scientific education. And these two combined to create her personal religion also.

Her scientific education had killed on the one hand, her faith in the Abstraction which ordinary Christianity calls its God, and had on the other strengthened her hold of the realities of the Natural order. But even the Nature of the scientist is, after all, an abstraction. Science

knows actually the causes and conditions of what are called natural phenomena; but neither lens nor lancet can reveal the totality of these multitudinous manifestations, which the man of science spells as Nature with a capital N. The scientist's Nature, even though it may somewhat satisfy the cravings of the intellect, can never meet the requirements of the æsthetic and the emotional life. These needs can be met only by an idealisation of Nature, both in its disjunctive and its collective aspect, which must be at once poetical and spiritual. Greek naturalism very largely achieved this at one time. Pagan religion and Pagan art are both so charming because of their close and living relations with Nature, not in the abstract but in the concrete, not as a generalisation of thought, but as something that could be touched and tasted, seen and loved, as a sensuous object, and which was yet not purely of the senses. Our enjoyment of form, for instance, is through the senses and yet not sensuous. So also of sound, in music. And this supersensuous element in these clearly sensuous experiences and enjoyments comes from the emotions with which we must paint every sensuous object before we can draw any pleasure out of them. The charm of paganism lay, thus, in this subtle blending of the poetical and the spiritual with the sensuous and the materialistic, in its religious and art life. Thus even the supernatural, in Paganism, was intensely natural. And Nivedita, before she came in contact with Vivekananda, must have, I think, built her inner soul-life upon these ancient inheritances of the modern Christian civilisation.

But paganism is dead, stone dead without any hope or possibility of a resurrection. There is no life in the ancient ruins and relics of Greece and Rome. They are no longer sources of living inspiration to living men. In our study and appreciation of these we have to fall back, per force, upon our own historic or poetic imagination, and thus fancifully shut ourselves off more or less from the stern actualities of our present life and environments, and transfer ourselves, as in a pleasant dream, to a long buried past. To study and understand these we must largely depend upon our own subjectivity, for they do not exist objectively for us. Appolo or Aphrodite, Jupiter and Juno, are all dead,—they and all their devoted worshippers who in their own life and conversation brought them out in concrete shapes before their contemporaries. We do not see before our eyes what these great gods and goddesses could actually have been to those who looked upon them not as interesting archæological relics or invaluable art treasures, but as actual beings all-knowing and omnipotent, who punished their foes and rewarded

their friends, and could receive, and indeed, though apparently without life or sentiency, who did even reciprocate, the love and devotion of their worshippers. We always and everywhere see and know and understand and appreciate and realise the life and love of God in and through the life and love of his devotees. This is the true meaning of the text, "he who has seen the Son has seen the Father." We thus know Christ not by or in the Gospels, but in and through his revelation in the life and conversation of the true Christian. The Christian who does not make his Christ manifest in his own thought and life has no title to the name. We know our own Krishna, not from the Mahabharata or the Sreemad Bhagabat, neither from the Geeta nor from the Harivansa, or any other Vaishnava Puranas, but from the living Vaishnava, who in his life and activities reproduces, as upon the face of a mirror, the life and love of his Master, or Friend, or Lover. It is the same everywhere. The devotees of every cult are the only true, living, soulful, and intelligible interpretation of that cult. A religion that exists only in papyrus or inscriptions, in stone and clay or bronze, in archaeological ruins or timeworn relics, is not a living but a dead religion. We can only seek to understand it by putting our own meanings upon its dogmas and rituals, and even study it, scientifically, in the light of the psychological generalisations of universal human experience in regard to matters pertaining to human religion, but can never see face to face what it must have meant or stood for, to those who personally practised that extinct religion at one time. The ancient Nature-Religion of Greece and Rome is extinct, absolutely killed by Christianity, and even the Renaissance has not been able to resurrect it. The modern pagan, consequently, can find absolutely no help from the literature or art of the ancient Pagan world, to reconstruct his own personal religion. Neither Nivedita nor any one else who, in our age, may have imbibed, partly through their scientific and partly through their artistic education, the old spirit of the Pagan religions, could possibly find any help from the records or relics of Paganism to fully and rationally interpret this spirit to their own reason and experience. Nivedita, in any case, found the thing that she had evidently been longing for, in the religion of the Hindus as it is being pursued and lived by countless numbers in India, and as it was first interpreted to her by Swami Vivekananda. And here she found, indeed, a good deal more than what could be found,—I do not say, in the Philosophy of Greece—but decidedly in either the Greek or the Roman religion. But of this I cannot speak in this sharp notice of this small book.

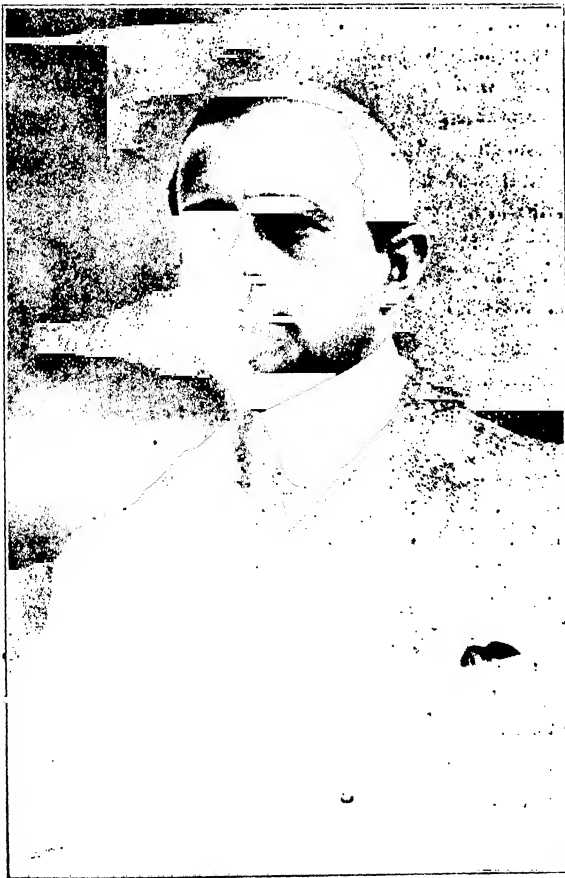
For the present I would only say that in this small but intensely

interesting volume we get a glimpse of the inner character of Nivedita's soul, more perhaps than in any other of her books. Her object in these pages was not really to portray herself, but rather to study and understand her Master. It is Vivekananda here and Vivekananda there, and Vivekananda all over these pages ; that were not written originally, I think, for the public eye. These are jottings of Nivedita's thoughts and impressions of what were clearly the most momentous days of her life. It was, I think, during her first visit to India, that she went about the Himalayas, at Nainital, and Almora, and Cashmere with Vivekananda and his party ; and these pages are her private record of that pilgrimage. And they show how gradually the spirit of her Master possessed her, and through his life and love she was able to see India and her peoples, her thought and her institutions, her religion and her rituals, in a light such as had never been vouchsafed before to any foreigner. Here the devoted disciple, lost in the love of the Master, in trying to preserve the sacred recollections of his words, incidentally paints also her own innermost soul, a painting which is the more faithful and fascinating because it is absolutely unconscious. It is a beautiful picture of Vivekananda *in* Nivedita, and Nivedita *in* Vivekananda ; the Master in the Disciple and the Disciple in the Master ;—the Two thus made One.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE ANTARCTIC.

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The news of the terrible fate of Captain Scott and his heroic companions has created an impression in the mind of the English public that it would be difficult to find another instance like it when England was moved so much over any public calamity. The reason is simple enough. Captain



Captain Scott

Scott was the first Englishman to reach the South Pole. Many Englishmen before him had tried to win the laurels of Polar Exploration, but they all failed—failed gloriously while success seemed easy of reach and at the last moment some one else snatched away the prize from their hands. I doubt if

the people would have made him and his companions their idols had Captain Scott returned to England alive. Simply because Amunsden, the intrepid Norwegian explorer reached the South Pole exactly a month ago—and that alone would have called down the popular enthusiasm to a great extent. But as it is, Scott and his companions sacrificed their lives willingly and gladly and that is why they have become national heroes ; and though their bodies lie amid frozen whiteness, their memory will remain ever green.

In all the struggles of man with the forces of nature nowhere can be found the same glamour and romance as are associated with the search for the Polar regions. The Polar explorer, by the very nature of things, runs a race with death. He attempts what others account impossible. For about four hundred years the adventurous spirit of Europe and America has braved the terrors of the Polar regions. Many have lost their lives—others more fortunate have been locked in its icy embrace for years sometimes enduring the tortures of cold and hunger until rescued by some relief party. Many of them sleep beneath the snow, having failed to find a way back to civilisation, while those who returned had little to say but the same old story of failure and hardships. As we read the accounts of the different Polar Expeditions we realise how throughout those long and weary years of efforts, the dauntless spirit of man refused to accept the defeats which Nature inflicted with such steady and painful persistence.

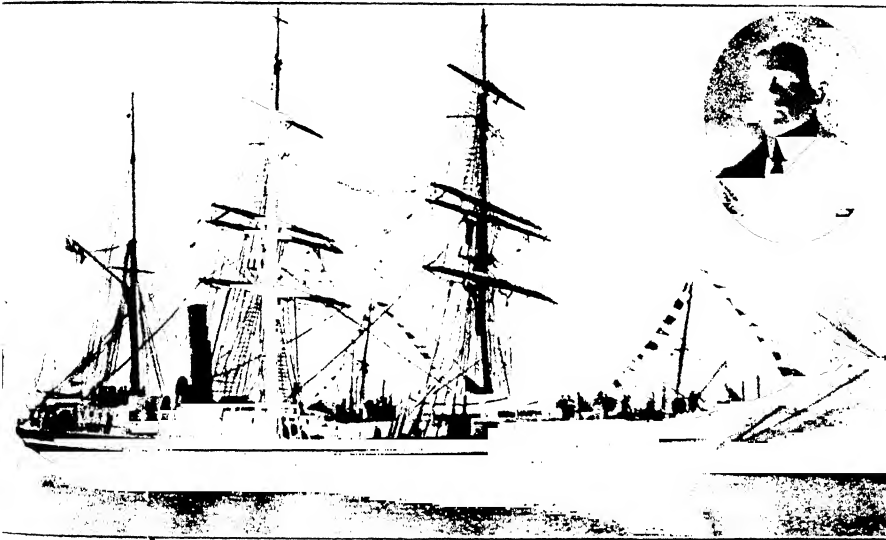
The vessels in which the explorers journey towards the Pole can take them only a certain part of the way, hundreds of miles away from the goal which they are so eager to reach. The brief summer season is utilised in making sledge journeys. In the long marches over the snow and ice the explorers have to endure much hardships and risk much. Provisions are cut down to the barest limit—for weight is always an important factor in sledge journeys. The less the weight the speedier is the progress of the sledge. The party on its return journey depends on recovering the depots which it lays out on its advance, and if the way is missed in fog or storm or if a blizzard detains the explorers they are lost. Even all conceivable precautions cannot minimise these risks.. And the dominating feature of Captain Scott's loss was this. It was the blizzard which prevented his party from reaching the abundant storage of food-supply, only eleven miles away from the place where they fell.

As in the case of Captain Scott, so even in the past, great deeds of heroism and wonderful perseverance have been performed on these marches. Over and over again men have continued to haul their sledges when they are scarcely able to scrawl and have carried their stricken comrades through the icy wastes. More than once has it happened that they risked their own lives to attend upon some sick companions for whom there was no hope, knowing well that every hour of delay meant sure death to themselves.

For centuries the magnetic spell of the Arctic regions had exerted great fascination over the sailors. The earliest traces of Arctic exploration may be

found in Greek history. The call of the icy wastes was in their ears too. To penetrate into the unknown, to discover a passage through the ice, to know the secret that was locked up in the bosom of the frozen seas, to triumph over Nature's barrier—these were the impelling forces that lured men to dare and die, and the failure of one was but an added incentive to the renewed attempts of his successors.

The record of adventure in the South Pole is neither so long nor so rich in incidents as in the case of North Pole. Whatever may be the reason, the mystery of the Antarctic never seized the public imagination nor stirred popular feeling as has the glamour of the North—until recently. Even among the brave men who have sailed the seas in quest of undiscovered land there has not been the same rivalry as has been found in the attempt to win the laurels of first reaching the South Pole. Towards the glittering magnet of Northern expanse of the earth's surface one generation of explorers after



The South Polar Expedition : Captain Scott and his Exploration Ship 'Terra Nova.' another fought their ways through lonely regions of snow and ice. The fascinating story of the expeditions to the North Pole is black with the shadows of death of the men who attempted it. Heroism, glorious and undaunted, even in death, and tragedy grim and terrible are evident throughout the long and weary struggle the records of which are more romantic and wonderful than anything that the brain of the fiction-writer has ever conceived.

But when we turn to the South Pole the story lacks in those elements which give colour and life to the voyages in the Arctic seas. And I think that Captain Scott's last expedition in this respect outshines all previous records of hardships and endurance which may be compared with some of the

incidents and tragedies of the North Pole. The history of South Polar Exploration may be summarised as follows :—

First expedition started from Peru. 1567.

Second expedition started from Amsterdam. 1603.

Third expedition started from France. 1675.

J. Cook's expedition most important. 1768.

Vostok crossed Antarctic region. 1820.

Weddell penetrated further south than Cook. 1823.

Biscoe, circumnavigated Antarctic region. 1830.

Bellamy's expedition lost. first tragedy. 1838.

Dumont's unsuccessful attempt to reach magnetic pole.

Wilke's attempts to reach magnetic Pole failed. 1838.

Ross discovered Victoria-land and reached within 160 miles of South Magnetic Pole. 1840.

Nares' expedition accomplished admirable scientific investigations in South Magnetic Pole. 1873.

Borchgrevink's expedition. 1898.

Gerlache's expedition. 1898.

Nordenskeold's expedition. 1902.

Drygalski's expedition penetrated furthest south and discovered Kaiser William-land. 1902.

Bruce reached furthest south. 1902.

Shackleton, 100 miles within South Pole. 1907.

Amunsden discovered South Pole. 1911.

Scott perished with five comrades 1911, after reaching the South Pole one month after Amunsdon. This was his second attempt, in 1901 he reached furthest south.

If one seeks to learn to what extent man's determination and efforts dominate even the most adverse environment, the simple narration of Captain Scott's expedition will not fail to furnish a striking example. We are not in possession of the full details of his doings yet, but the little telegraphic account that has already appeared in the English papers is sufficient to convince us of the truth of this assertion. From the very beginning of his expedition he had to fight against adverse circumstances. At the first stage of his journey he was delayed by the non-arrival of the ponies and this delay meant that he must face the rigours and risks of two polar winters. Then he had to brave the bad weather which caused further delay. The sudden and unexpected illness of Evans, who appeared to be the strongest of the party, was a terrible blow to their progress and finally the culminating catastrophe was the violent blizzard which lasted for four days continuously and which prevented them from reaching their depot. But he and his followers had patience, courage and fortitude and they fought strenuously against adversity : but Providence willed otherwise and they had to perish.

In all the descriptions of heroism and self-sacrifice that brighten the pages of the history of polar explorations none is finer and more humane than the tale of the death of Captain Oates. It seems there was a competition for heroism between Captain Oates and his comrades, Scott, Wilson and Bowers. But the final honour lies with Captain Oates. He was very badly frost bitten and when he found that provision was becoming scanty and the party was further delayed by his illness, and realised that his comrades, though every hour's delay would lessen their chances of life, would not leave him, he decided to act for himself. His was too great a soul to let his friends' love of him further imperil their own lives. It was Captain Oates' thirty second birthday on March 17th when he and his three companions lay in their tents. A terrible blizzard was blowing outside. Oates went out of the tent into the icy wilderness never to return. "I may be late in returning" he had said smilingly to his comrades. Little did they know what was in Oates's mind. Not for a moment did they think that he was going out into the blizzard so that out of the little food that was left for them they would have to feed one man less.

While reading the accounts of his life I could not help thinking that his was a true Hindu character. The wonderful display of self-sacrifice has astounded the West, but not us. The prevailing idea that governs the mind and actions of the Westerner is individualistic and such an act of laying down one's life, uncalled for, for the sake of others is, I say with due deference to all Westerners, rare in this side of the world. We may not have had the energy, so to say, of discovering the Poles, but we Hindus know how to die, and we can die for others without feeling that we are doing anything uncommon and such deaths never stir our mind to such depths as is seen here. We take such sacrifice as a matter of course. The only thing that is interesting and beautiful in this polar tragedy is the death of Captain Oates. So it is death that astounds the west and one who can die for others is a great man indeed. Here everybody is for himself. If the son is ill the father sends him to the hospital." I know of a case where a pretty little baby of a certain English gentleman was taken ill with measles and I happened to meet the baby's aunt and grant-mother at a party when I told them of it. They promised to come to see the child the next day, but they never came. I was living as a guest of the baby's parent and I nursed the child never thinking I was doing anything extraordinary. When the baby recovered the auntie and the grand-mother came and they unhesitatingly told me that they did not come for fear of the contagion, lest they should get the measles and their complexion should be spoiled! The people of this part can see no beauty in the self-less attendance of the Hindus upon their ill relations and neighbours no matter what the illness is. Some may die when nursing a patient who is suffering from an infectious and dangerous disease. Yet that never daunts others to do the same thing again, at the risk of their own lives.

Captain Scott and his companions have given their lives like many others before them. There are many who will say that these explorations into the ice-bound regions of the earth have done little for the world's progress. But it is not possible to realise its full worth now, though it has contributed a great deal to our knowledge of the Polar regions. But has it been worthwhile to sacrifice so many lives—is not the price paid too great?—some may ask. But then there is no achievement without sacrifice, no discovery without loss. Man is ever seeking after the unknown and there is no rest till the hidden things are made plain. In this eternal quest for knowledge and truth the is prepared to sacrifice life itself and surely the fortitude and heroism which characterise the search for the poles, are, as one writer has put it, "worth incomparably more than any results that may be achieved by them."

OUR LONDON LETTER.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN ENGLAND.

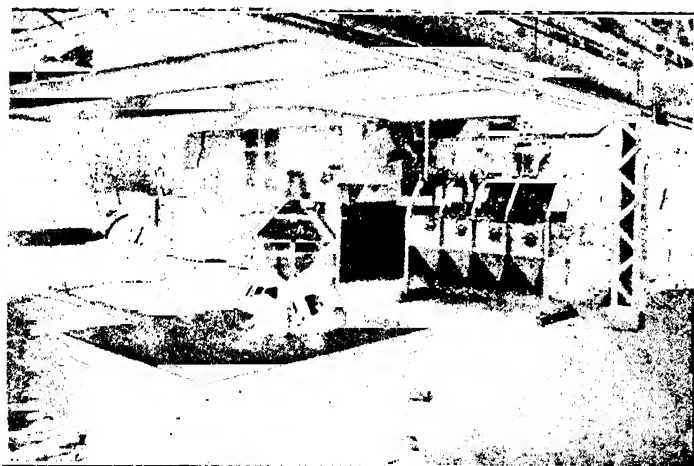
THE ROYAL SCHOOL OF MINES.

During the last few months it has been my privilege to visit some of the more important scientific and technological institutions of London, but I must admit no other college or school impressed me so much as the Royal School of Mines which I visited last week.

As I have already said the Imperial College of Science and Technology consists of three Institutions, *viz.*, the Royal College of Science, the Royal School of Mines, and the City and Guilds Engineering Institution.

The City and Guilds Engineering College is no doubt one of the best of its kind but what I saw there I had seen before, with this difference only that the laboratories and workshops were larger than any I had visited before and better equipped with upto-date scientific instruments and machineries. But the Royal School of Mines struck me as something novel. The big laboratories, the Geological Museum, the Metallurgy Department, the Bessemer Laboratories, the Miniature Mine and the huge machineries were all new to me and it took me quite a good couple of hours to gain a dim idea of its working. I am not aware how many of our young men know of this excellent school. While I was being conducted through the various departments of the college, the Secretary asked me how many such schools existed in India, and you can imagine how ashamed I felt to admit that we did not possess any. It was difficult for me to convince him that in spite of the existence of so many mines, our vast and unexplored regions, and our much-talked-of iron, manganese, and

resources, India had no Mining College and had to import engineers from foreign countries to work her mines. On enquiry I found that although the Royal School of Mines had students from all parts of the world, of different nationalities, there is not one from India at the present time. The Secretary could not understand why our young men did not take up such remunerative as well as useful occupation as Engineering in all its different branches, instead of crowding the already over-crowded legal and the medical professions. The father of a young man whom I know, did not think Engineering was high education, even though it takes one years of hard study to win the best decree in that subject. We all wish to be of the learned professions, and are blindly in many cases, led by our vanity, to go in for the law or medicine without consulting our capabilities. One may be a barrister or a doctor by passing examinations, but he may not at all have the forwardness and the wit of the lawyer or the calm judgment and the gentle tact of the doctor. One has to



Bessemer Laboratory ; Upper Concentrating Floor, showing
Jigs and Magnetic Separator.

be sometimes, to please one's parents, a doctor or a pleader when one should like to be an Engineer. But all these I could not tell the Secretary, and make us look fools in his eyes.

Later, in the course of conversation with a gentleman connected with the Educational Department of the India Office, I came to know that there was a great demand for good Mining Engineers in India, and the Government was always prepared and willing to appoint really competent Indians in lucrative posts. I hope the information contained in these lines will serve to lead our Indian at least to decide to be a good engineer, mining or otherwise; for

in that way he can be of more use to himself and his country than he can ever be by becoming a lawyer or a doctor in these hard days.

The Royal School of Mines is supposed to be one of the best schools of Mines and Metallurgy in Europe. It has on its staff some of the best-known Metallurgists and Geologists, as lecturers, and the course of instructions given here is the best that can be had anywhere. It has two separate departments *viz.*, Mining and Metallurgy, in both of which the general course of instructions covers a term of four years. Each department however follows the same courses of studies. The instructions in mining are not taken until the third and fourth year of the course. The college authorities make it quite clear that the practical instructions given in the college workshops, unless supplemented by experience in the working of a mine, is as good as useless. So they have made ample provision whereby, during the third year, all mining students can devote the greater portion of their time to mine-surveying in which practical experience is gained by them in a mine in Cornwall which is the property of the Imperial College. One of the conditions which students for Associateship have to fulfil, is that they shall pass at least six months on actual underground work in approved coal and ore mines. The total time



Metallurgical Department : Main Assay Laboratory, with
Enclosed Balance Room.

stipulated amounts to at least seven hundred and twenty hours in shifts of not less than six hours each. One and one-half of this course must be carried out before the student is allowed to attend the mining lectures. In the last year of this course, in addition to advanced mining lectures, a considerable amount of time is devoted to work in the Besmear laboratory which is one of the best Mining and Metallurgical Laboratories of the world.

As in the case of Mining, so also in that of Metallurgy, the student has to follow on admission a two years' practical and theoretical course in Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering and Geology. In the third year he is required to attend lectures on mining and methods of heating ores for the extraction of various metals, and practical work in assaying. The rest of the period is devoted to the study of iron and steel. And

the lectures and laboratory works are arranged with a view to giving the students such instructions as have practical application to modern metallurgical processes. In the last year of the course, the student of Metallurgy is allowed to specialise, and the College authorities have arranged to send those who desire to take up advanced courses in iron and steel to the Metallurgical Department of the Sheffield University. The last few months are spent in visiting, under the charge of a Professor, various Metallurgical works in different parts of the country.

Before being admitted to the Royal School of Mines, all students are expected to pass an Entrance Examination, held once a year, during the beginning of the winter terms. Matriculated students of the University of London, under some conditions, and graduates of the Indian Universities, are however exempted from this Entrance Examination. Considering the nature of instructions given by efficient teachers at the Royal School of Mines, the fees charged cannot be said to be too high. The fees for the ordinary course is about £45 per session (Oct. to June), so that for a four years' course, including the fees, books, instruments etc. the expenses will roughly come to £200 or Rs. 3,000 in all. And a student can live pretty comfortably for about £1 per week. On this basis the total expenses including everything will not exceed the sum of £500 or Rs. 7,500. True, this sum means a good bit for a poor country like India, but those who come here to study law or medicine do not spend a pound less, often much more than £500.



Bessemer Laboratory ; Lower Concentrating Floor, showing
Acme Table for Slimes,

As a rule on average a law or medical student spends quite £10 (Rs. 150) per month on board and lodging alone, while fees etc. come to about £170 to £200 for the whole course. There are many who would repudiate my statement as to living in London on £1 a week. A few years back I too thought it impossible, experience has taught me, and now I know that on £1 a week a student can live easily although he may not have well-appointed and luxuriously furnished rooms. So my estimate of Rs. 7,500 for a four years'

course in the Royal School of Mines is not an utter impossibility, rather it is possible for an ardent and studious young man to do still more cheaply by obtaining one of the following scholarships and so lessen the expenses of his fees :—

Six scholarships awarded annually to the First Year Students, value £25 each.

Two presented annually to Second Year Students, value £35 each.

Two awarded annually to Third Year students, value £50 each.

Students who satisfactorily complete a full course of mining or metallurgy and pass the Annual Examinations are awarded a Diploma of Associateship of the Royal School of Mines which is recognised all over the world. At present this also carries with it the Diploma of the Imperial College of Science and Technology.

THE KENSINGTON COLLEGE.

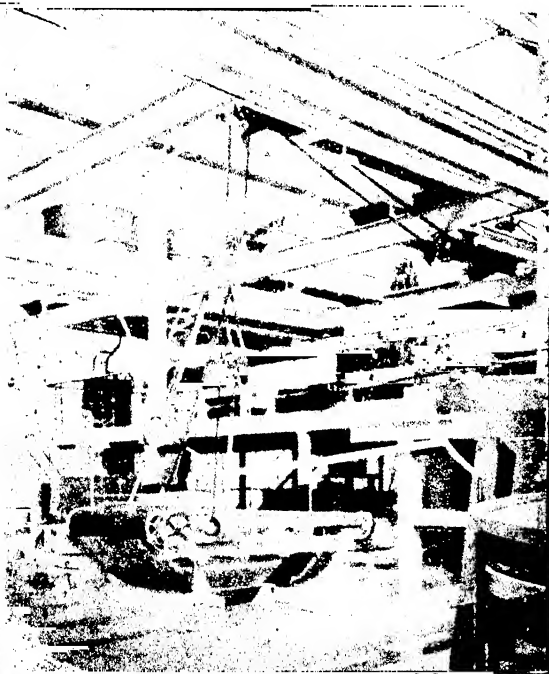
I shall tell you something now about the Kensington College.

We hear so much of the Parliament, and its members, and often of Parliamentary Private Secretaries, that I believe it will be interesting to your readers to know that most of them are drawn from the Kensington College. Not only they, but I was told that good many of our mercantile 'Burra Sahibs' and 'Chhota Sahibs' also have had their previous commercial training at this College. The education given here is purely of a secretarial character in all its branches.

I was surprised that when there were so many Colleges and institutions where one might get a thorough Scientific or Technical Education, the number of students at this Commercial Training College should exceed theirs, calculated proportionately to the comparatively higher fees charged at the Kensington College. I thought it was only we Indians who would think of nothing else but clerkship as the end for which we must strive through the trying period of our University Education; but indeed I found great consolation in the fact that we are not the only people who are eager to be clerks. Young men here go, as I see, more for Secretarial Courses than for high education. This may safely be attributed to the fact that Secretarial training brings one nearer to earning a living, which is the chief thing in this world, than high education, as we generally understand it, would, "not to speak of the expenses one has to think of when contemplating obtaining high scientific knowledge, which does not often help any one to enjoy the sweets of life that a decent place in any office or anywhere else would provide, and the worries that the latter state of things would save one from." Plainly, I should think there is truth in these remarks made by some one with whom I had a talk on the matter. We cry for high education in the Arts and Sciences, but we forget that these things, admirable and necessary undoubtedly, however, only suit a limited few. High general education, such as we mean by *our* B.A. and M.A. Courses, makes the young man practically fit for nothing. When he has left the University, he is as helpless as a child, and has to be found a job, and even then he knows nothing about it, and is at sea.

amongst heaps of files and papers containing matters that are unintelligible to him; and he vainly tries to find a way out of the trouble, sometimes standing all day before endless pigeonholes. He cannot think, much less act, for himself. At the Kensington College, a student gets a practical training in all the various subjects that one may need to learn to get a foothold in life soon after his education is finished. He is taught to take life as he finds it, and is always ready for anything, and therefore he hardly fails to succeed in steering his course along the right way when he has embarked on his life's journey. That is why, I think, young men of this country flock more to the Kensington College and Colleges of its kind, than to any other that I know of. There are certainly other Training Colleges, having greater number of students than the Kensington, but that is due to the fact that the latter is an aristocratic Institution, and charges higher fees. There is a son of an Indian Prince at present in the Kensington College, and I am glad to say, he is considered by the professors to be one of the most promising and brilliant students of the College.

The College not only undertakes the efficient training of its students, but it positively undertakes to provide for each one of them, when qualified, a dignified and remunerative appointment. Strange as this may seem, and contrary to all that one may have thought probable, it is nevertheless an established



Bessemer Laboratory ; Frue Vanners and Cyanide Plant

fact that since the foundation of the College in 1887 every pupil has been provided with a satisfactory position, when fit to undertake its duties. Documentary evidence of this can be seen at the College itself by any *bona-fide* inquirer, and copies of such documents can also be had on application to the Secretary.

The New Premises at 34, Gloucester Gardens, Kensington, were recently opened by Her Grace Katharine, Duchess of Westminster, accompanied by her daughter, the Lady Helen Grosvenor, with a large and distinguished assembly to witness the ceremony and to bid god-speed to the new venture. It is a wholly detached building eminently suited to its purpose, and very pleasantly situated, every window looking out on trees and gardens.

Although there is no age limit, perhaps the best age for students to enter the College is immediately they leave the ordinary schools, and here it may be mentioned that only students of satisfactory character, good education and respectable connections are admitted and that references are required from every applicant for membership. There are two departments, for boys and young men. The students join what is known as the secretarial course which in its lower divisions consists of such subjects as short-hand, typewriting, book-keeping, modern languages, office management, and Secretarial Correspondence. As soon as the strictly academical part of the work is over, the student enters the model offices, which are fitted up with all the requisites of a Secretarial Bureau—shannon files, vertical files, card indices, pigeonholes, desks—mimographing machines, typewriters, duplicators, and all the thousand and one thing necessary to carry on secretarial duties in the most expeditious and efficient manner. Here could be found students who can speak modern languages almost as fluently as their mother tongue, who can write their hundred and fifty words a minute in short hand, and type note accurately; they are taught also to perform journalistic duties, writing newspaper paragraphs or attending various functions and sending reports of their proceedings accounts into the newspapers. They are taught also to go on missions, as representatives of their chief, to bring negotiations to a successful issue, and finally they are taught to write an essay or a lecture, to get out statistics and to make searching literary investigations. The following is a summary of the subjects in which instructions are given at the Kensington College:—

Classical and Modern languages, Law of Contract, Law of Evidence and Procedure, Commercial law, Commercial and Secretarial Correspondence and Technique, Short-hand, Typewriting, Book-keeping, Political Economy, Mathematics, Commercial Geography, Commercial History, Machinery of Business, Accountancy. The ordinary fee for a full Course (2 years), with guaranteed appointment, salary varying from £150 rising to £500 per annum, is £60. There is a special boarding house for those who desire to live in the College, and including fees and board-residence it costs about two hundred guineas or a little over Rs. 3,000 in all to complete the course.

23, Sandwich Street, LONDON, W. O.

NR 1852-1853

ARTICLES FROM THE REVIEWS.

THE NEW POWER OF THE POLICE.

(G. K. CHESTERTON IN *Nash's Magazine*, FEBRUARY 1913.)

A man very seldom shaves with a dirty razor and washes the razor afterwards. We but seldom see a gentleman take a muddy brush to brush his clothes; and having transferred half the mud to his trousers, carefully remove the remainder from the clothes-brush. It is only from time to time that we are privileged to watch a fellow citizen wash himself completely in dirty water before indignantly calling out for clean. This, however, is a very exact description of a great part of the social legislation which is now called Social Reform. The instrument of government is to be used to clean everything, from the things like prostitution that really are dirty, to the things like marriage that are not dirty at all. But it never seems to cross anybody's mind to clean the instrument of government itself. This is all the more curious because the untrustworthiness of an executive government even for the fulfilment of its own ideals or the keeping of its own promises, is the one thing which the human race ought to have learnt by this time, if it has learnt nothing else. It is the one thing about which history has really repeated itself. England might or might not have been wiser if it had believed entirely in the Divine Right of Charles I. But nobody in England was so foolish—not Charles I., nor any of his supporters—as to suppose that his scheme must work out right merely because he chose to call it divine. As a matter of fact, there was more to be said for Charles's attempt to establish a strict central government than generally has been said for it; but at least we supposed that we all knew by this time what is to be said against it. Every song about freedom, every proclamation of revolt, every Liberal leading article, every Opposition speech, every historical novel about Wat Tyler or Wallace, about Kosciusko or Garibaldi, every oratorical allusion to Bannockburn or Runnymede, to the Ides of March or the Fourth of July—any and all of these things we have heard a hundred times,—refer back to this platitude that governments can be unjust, while claiming a just authority; and that there is such a thing as a king or a policeman whose bite is much worse than his bark. Nobody with or without Liberal views, denies that a thing might be called the Holy Alliance and be very unholy; that a man might be called the most Christian King and be a disgrace to Christianity; or that the Sublime Porte has sometimes acted in anything but a sublime manner. And yet, when we come to our precious modern Social Reform, we seem to submit instantly, and swallow the thing as reform merely because it calls itself so. And in order to effect such dubious changes we are strengthening and sharpening that very machine of police violence and arbitrary power by which all the tyrannies of the past have been maintained. Thus, to take the most

obvious passing case, the White Slave Bill enormously increases police despotism at the very moment when we are inquiring rather painfully about police integrity. We have been deafened with tales against despotism since our infancy; but if we catch sight of somebody standing in the street whose face we dislike, we instantly cry out "Arrest that man! O fetch me a frightful fierce despot with a great big sabre to arrest that man!" And we let the sabre do its work without even stopping to cleanse it from the blood of More and Sydney, Essex and Alice Lisle.

The contrast is the more queer, because America has really been investigating its policemen, while England has been merely magnifying and extending them. The very same newspaper that announced the conviction of American policemen as thieves and liars, announced the enthronement of English policemen as judges. The mental state of the English has led them into many muddles; but the *worst* muddle they have reached yet has been the attempt to trust and distrust the policeman at the same time. To give a person new powers on Monday; and then to begin to inquire whether he has abused his old powers on Tuesday, does not seem to me a good example of the working English compromise.

Now any such suggestion of possible abuses in the police system needs to be very clearly and rationally restricted and defined: for fear of hysteria on both sides. It is not in the least necessary that I should say that the policeman is inhuman. It is quite sufficient if I say that he is human:—For the optimism about him in the educated classes practically maintains that he is divine. This is because educated people nowadays prefer to have unknown gods; and they worship the constable because they never come in contact with him—except as an object in the landscape. On this subject the cultured class happens to be the ignorant class. But for the purposes of this protest, nothing more is needed than the concession that policemen were not created before Eden as a separate order of seraphs; that policemen are descended from Adam and Eve—or from the Missing Link, if that makes their innocence more indisputable. If we say that some grocers cheat and that all grocers ought to be subject to laws against cheating—we are not immediately villified for questioning the honour and chivalry of grocery. If we say that some butchers are bullies and that no butchers ought to be bullies, we are not hooted at for throwing mud on the sacred uniform of the blue apron. But when the wealthier classes (in England, and I think in England only) hear any one suggest that the police want watching, like the whole human race, they have a sort of fit.

Now the three main facts about the police, besides the evident fact that they are necessary, are substantially these: first, that they are men of the poorer classes in a proletarian country, and if they were not policemen, would probably be porters or bricklayers or plasterers; second, that they are such men organised on a military model, and according to a peculiar and partly

inevitable ethic, which gives more importance to obedience and solidarity, less importance to liberty and truth, than the everyday ethics of humanity; and third that, while their ultimate moral justification is an effort of the community to cope with all its crimes, the overwhelming preponderance of the practical work they have to do consists in the protection of property, and therefore, largely, of propertied people. All these three things are obvious about them; they cannot help them, they cannot be blamed for them. But anybody who can calmly say that they do not together make up the possibility or probability of a certain number of hired bullies and perjurers, is speaking with a lie in his soul.

The first point—that concerning the social stratum—presents a most extraordinary phenomenon. It is the very people who are always proving that ignorant men cannot be trusted, who are always praising the enormous powers in the hands of these ignorant men. It is exactly those rich suburbans who most distrust the poor, who absolutely and entirely trust the poor to distrust them. They do not seem to see that every argument against democracy is an argument against police despotism: and that it is ridiculous to take a man with no aspirates, and say he is fit to be an autocrat, but not fit to be a voter. Now I am not an anti-democrat; and I see no reason why simple and ordinary men should not be trusted to apply the law, if there were a clear and easily comprehensible law for them to apply (which there certainly is not just now); but such an admission involves also the trusting of such men with their own fields, their own families, and their own political judgment. In this case, however, there is an extra complication. The police in England are poor men, but not peasants. They are not used to thinking in terms of independence (and small blame to them) as small farmers or even small tradesmen can sometimes be. They are not, as Aristotle said, born slaves—slavishness may come hereafter. But it might not irrationally be said that they are born wage-earners. They think of themselves instinctively as being under others; and have both the good and the bad effects of such a psychology. If they did not obey the serjeant and the magistrate, they would be obeying the foreman and the hooter. It is their proletarianism, therefore, and not their poverty, that tempts them a little more towards snobbishness than our race as a whole is tempted. But the poverty alone ought to be enough to put the consistent Tory or oligarchist in an attitude of suspicion towards this powerful cast. Some of the older philosophical Tories use to say that they might trust the labourer when and if he had been educated. The intelligence of the suburban Tory seems to be quite satisfied when he is washed.

The second necessary characteristic of a constabulary—its needful but abnormal discipline and cohesion—is a somewhat more difficult matter. Now I have always felt that if we are to keep the rule a rule, we must keep the exception an exception. If our brother John has lost his wit, that is all the

more reason why our brothers Thomas and William should keep theirs. It will never do if we begin to discuss which of us is more mad than the other. If a man is blind, it is better that his dog should lead him along the street; but if he is not blind it is certainly better that he should lead his dog, if he can. The worst that could happen would be a universal tug-of-war between dogs and men about which was leading the other. If a man has a wooden leg, let it not force us all to have wooden heads; let us not allow the wooden leg to grow like a tree and turn all our limbs and actions inanimate. If we have to make an exception, let us make it and define it; but the most hideous chaos, and the likeliest to hell let loose, is the spectacle of all the exceptions turning into the rule. Now just as there are exceptions of special weakness and limitation, like blindness or a wooden leg, so there are exceptions of special strength or unlimited power. We *must* allow some people more power than other people, or civilisation would have no bones in it. But the effort of everybody ought to be to make this power a responsible power and not an irresponsible power. What a judge does he ought to do as a judge and by what Judgment he Judges he shall be Judged. What a policeman says he should say as a policeman; and it is our duty to warn him that anything he says may be used in evidence against him. In other words, since the defence of society must be an organised defence, it is essential that such an army should be under strict and severe laws, more severe than those applying to the civil population it controls.

A soldier can be flogged or shot if he pillages the people he has conquered. A policeman ought to be punished as fiercely as by flogging or shooting if he is found telling lies against the people over whom he is in a permanent position of occupation and conquest. Now we all know that this is not the case. We all know that while the police are entrusted with heavy powers, they are seldom or never subjected to heavy punishments for the abuse of those powers. They have all the soft side of militarism; but (so far as legal inquisition is concerned) none of the hard side. Before and after Wellington called the English army the scum of the earth, the Colonel and the Court-martial have tended too much to regard the common soldier as a ruffian. But it is equally certain that the magistrate and the court of justice have tended too much to regard the common policeman as an oracle. His evidence, in the vast number of cases, is never sifted at all. He is never examined—let alone cross-examined. He is the only man in court who is allowed to contradict himself. I will not encumber the argument with particular cases that are known to everybody: a shorter way of proving the point is to take the defence actually offered in public by one of the justices of this country. A magistrate, who had heard some of this commonsense in some sort of echo from the common people, went out of his way to rebuke the rising tide of the suspicion against police evidence. He said it was very wrong to suspect police evidence: because magistrates were often reduced to relying entirely on police evidence, and that courts of justice often could not get a conviction.

evidence. I think we may leave it there. It is one of the most glorious remarks ever made in this world. Translated into English it runs thus: It does not matter whether this witness has lied; because if he had not lied, I never could have hanged the wrong man.

But it is quite clear that the intermittent occurrence of such perjuries does not arise from any special sin in policemen, but from that variety of original sin which is most natural to all groups that are separated, systematised, and more or less hated. The same should be expected of a secret society, a persecuted sect, a foreign colony, an invading army. But of them it *is* expected. We recognise their discipline, and even their duty, as abnormal; and we make special provision against it. We have made no such provision against police abuse; and the result is soon told. We are asked to give policemen purely anarchic powers to stop prostitution. And all the time everybody knows they could arrest half Piccadilly Circus if they were using honestly the powers they already possess.

The last plain fact about the police, that they must in most cases necessarily defend the rich against the poor, brings us back to that enormous blunder called Social Reform: the blunder of looking at your enemy without looking at your gun. In every social problem to-day there is one true question that bites: *Who pays?* Men do not want to flog the poor *slaves* of the White Slavers; but the Slavers themselves. We do not want to pillory the panic stricken politicians; but the poisonous: millionaires whom they obey. We do not want to expel the poor barmaid who lives (or rather dies) by serving bad gin, but the horrid commercial chemist who somehow gets good champagne out of the bad gin she serves. Now it is perfectly impossible that increased powers for the police should lead to this arrest of the rich criminal. Only in sensational novels are lords and millionaires constantly arrested for theft and murder. Even in novels they are never arrested for adulteration or conspiracy. A policeman has his beat, as we all have our beat. It is asking too much of human nature to suppose he can look at Mayfair as at Mile End. But it is in Mayfair, and not in mile End, that he will find the *authors* of such social atrocities. The man who pays for things sees that they pay. He has good quiet house in some good quiet neighbourhood. To give new powers to the poor man in blue who only walks past the house to see there is no other poor man in the area, is the very worst way of attacking the real social problem: which is the problem of the Man who pays.

THE HAND OF THE WORLD.

BY HELEN KELLER

"The symbol, sign, and instrument
Of each soul's purpose, passion, strife,
Of fires in which are poured and spent
Their all of love, their all of life.
"O feeble, mighty human hand!
O fragile, dauntless human heart!
The universe holds nothing planned
With such sublime, transcendent art!"

HELEN FISKE JACKSON.

As I write this, I am sitting in a pleasant house, in a sunny, wide-windowed study filled with plants and flowers. Here I sit warmly clad, secure against want, sure that what my welfare requires the world will give. Through these generous surroundings I feel the touch of a hand, invisible but potent, all-sustaining—the hand that wove my garments, the hand that stretched the roof over my head, the hand which printed the pages that I read.

What is that hand which shelters me? In vain the winds buffet my house and hurl the biting cold against my windows; that hand still keeps me warm. What is it, that I may lean upon it at every step I take in the dark, and it fails me not? I give wondering praise to the beneficent hand that ministers to my joy and comfort, that toils for the daily bread of all. I would gratefully acknowledge my debt to its capability and kindness. I pray that some hearts may heed my words about the hand of the world, that they may believe in the coming of that commonwealth in which the gyves shall be struck from the wrist of Labour, and the pulse of Production shall be strong with joy.

All our earthly well-being hangs upon the living hand of the world. Society is founded upon it. Its life-beats throb in our institutions. Every industry, every process, is wrought by a hand, or by a superhand—a machine whose mighty arm and cunning fingers the human hand invents and wields. The hand embodies its skill, project and multiplies itself in wondrous tools, and with them it spins and weaves ploughs and reaps, converts clay into walls, and roofs our habitations with trees of the forest. It compels Titans of steels to heave incredible burdens, and commands the service of nimble lackeys which neither groan nor become exhausted. Communication between mind and mind, between writer and reader, is made possible by marvellous extensions of the might of the hand, by elaborate reduplications of the many-motioned fingers. I have tramped one of those great printing presses in which a river of paper flows over the types, is cut, folded, and piled with swift precision. Between my thoughts and the words which you read on this

page a thousand hand have intervened ; a hundred shafts of steel have rocked to and fro, in industrious rhythm.

The hand of the world ! Think how it sends forth the waters where it will to form canals between the seas, and binds the same seas with thought incorporate in arms of stone ! What is the telegraph cable but the quick hand



Says this truly optimistic blind philosopher : The very fact that we are still here, carrying on the contest against the hosts of annihilation, proves that on the whole the battle has gone for humanity.

The world's great heart has proved
equal to the prodigious under-
taking which God set it."

of the world extended between the nations, now menacing, now clasped in brotherhood ? What are our ships and railways but the feet of man made

swift and strong by his hand ? The hand captures the winds, the sun, and the lightnings, and despatches them upon errands of commerce. Before its irresistible blows mountains are beaten small as dust. Huge derricks—prehensile power magnified in digits of steel—rear factories and palaces, lay stone upon stone in our stately monuments, and raise cathedral spires.

On the hand of the world are visible the records of biology, of history, of all human existence since the day of the "first thumb that caught the trick of thought." Every hand wears a birth-seal. By the lines of the thumb each of us can be identified from infancy to age. So by the marks on the hand of the world its unmistakable personality is revealed. Through suffering and prosperity, through periods of retrograde and progress, the hand keeps its identity. Even now, when the ceaselessly of the world-shuttles is so clamorous and confused, when the labour of the individual is lost in the complexities of production, the old human hand, the symbol of the race, may still be discerned, blurred by the speed of its movements, but master and guide of all that whirring loom.

Study the hand, and you shall find in it the true picture of man, the story of human growth, the measure of the world's greatness and weakness. Its courage, its steadfastness, its pertinacity, make all the welfare of the human race. Upon the trustworthiness of strong, toil-hardened hands rests the life of each and all. Every day thousands of people enter the railway train and trust their lives to the hand that grasps the throttle of the locomotive. Such responsibility kindles the thought that the destiny and the daily life of mankind depend upon countless obscure hands that are never lifted up in any dramatic gesture to remind the world of their existence. In "Sartor Resartus" Carlyle expresses our obligation to the uncelebrated hands of the worker :

"Venerable to me is the hard Hand ; crooked and coarse ; wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue indefeasibly royal as of the Sceptre of this Planet. . . . Hardly entreated Brother ! For us was thy way, so bent, for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed ; thou wert our Conscript on whom the lot fell, and fighting our battles wert so marred. For in thee too lay a God-created Form, but it was not to be unfolded. Encrusted must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of Labour ; and thy body, like thy soul, was not to know Freedom."

But wherefore these deformities and defacements ? Wherefore this bondage that cramps the soul ? A million tool-hands are at our service, tireless and efficient, having neither hurt nor nerve. Why do they not lift the burden from those bowed shoulder ? Can it be that man is captive to his own machine manacled to his own handiwork, like the convict chained to the prison-wall that he himself has built ? Instruments multiply, they incorporate more and more of the intelligence of men ; they not only perform coarse drudgery, but also imitate accurately many of the hand's most difficult

dexterities. Still the God-created Form is bowed. Innumerable souls are still denied their freedom. Still the fighter of our battles is maimed and defrauded.

Once I rejoiced when I heard of a new invention for the comfort of man. Taught by religion and a gentle home life, nourished with good books, I could not but believe that all men had access to the benefits of inventive genius. When I heard that locomotives had doubled in size and speed, I thought: "The food of the wheat-fields will come cheaper to the poor of the cities now," and I was glad. But flour costs more to-day than when I read of those great new engines. Why do not improved methods of milling and transportation improve the dinner of the poor? I supposed that in our civilisation all advances benefited every man. I imagined that every worthy endeavour brought a sure reward. I had felt in my life the touch only of hands that uphold the weak, hands that are all eye and ear, charged with helpful intelligence. I believed that people made their own conditions, and that if the conditions were not always of the best they were at least tolerable, just as my infirmity was tolerable.

As the years went by, and I read more widely, I learned that the miseries and failures of the poor are not always due to their own faults; that multitudes of men, for some strange reason, fail to share in the much-talked-of progress of the world. I shall never forget the pain and amazement which I felt when I came to examine the statistics of blindness, its causes and its connection with other calamities that befell thousands of my fellowmen. I learned how workmen are stricken by the machine hands that they are operating. It became clear to me that the labour-saving machine does not save the labourer. It saves expense, makes profits for the owner of the machine. The worker has no share in the increased production due to improved methods; and, what is worse, as the eagle was killed by the arrow winged with his own feather, so the hand of the world is wounded by its own skill. The multipotent machine displaces the very hand that created it. The productivity of the machine seems to be valued above the human hand; for the machine is often left without proper safeguards, and so hurts the very life it was intended to serve.

Step by step my investigation of blindness led me into the industrial world. And what a world it is! How different from the world of my beliefs! I must face unflinchingly a world of facts—a world of misery and degradation, of blindness, crookedness, and sin, a world struggling against the elements, against the unknown, against itself. How reconcile this world of my imagining? My darkness had been filled with the light of intelligence, and, behold, the outer day-lit world was stumbling and groping in social blindness! At first I was most unhappy; but deeper study restored my confidence. By learning the sufferings and burdens of men, I became aware as never before of the life-power that has survived the forces of darkness, the power which, though never completely victorious, is continuously conquering. The very

fact that we are still here, carrying on the contest against the hosts of annihilation, proves that on the whole the battle has gone for humanity. The world's great heart has proved equal to the prodigious undertaking which God set it. Rebuffed, but always preseerving; self-reproached, but ever regaining faith; undaunted, tenacious, the heart of man labours towards immeasurably distant goals. Discouraged not by difficulties without or the anguish of ages within, the heart listens to a secret voice that whispers: "Be not dismayed; in the future lies the Promised Land."

When I think of all the wonders that the hand of man has wrought, I rejoice, and am lifted up. It seems the image and agent of the Hand that upholds us all. We are its creatures, its triumphs, remade by it in the ages since the birth of the race. Nothing on earth is so thrilling, so terrifying, as the power of our own hands to keep us or mar us. All that man does is the hand alive, the hand manifest, creating and destroying, itself the instrument of order and demolition. It moves a stone, and the universe undergoes a readjustment. It breaks a clod, and new beauty bursts forth in fruits and flowers, and the sea of fertility flows over the desert.

With our hands we raise each other to the heights of knowledge and achievement, and with the same hands we plunge each other into the pit. I have stood beside a gun which they told me could in a few minutes destroy a town and all the people in it. When I learned how much the gun cost, I thought: "Enough labour is wasted on that gun to build a town full of clean streets and wholesome dwellings! Misguided hands that destroy their own handiwork and deface the image of God! Wonderful hands that wound and bind up, that make sore and can heal, suffering all injuries, yet triumphant in measureless enterprise! What on earth is like unto the hands in their possibilities of good and evil? So much creative power has God deputed to us that we can fashion human beings round about with strong sinews and whole limbs, or we can shrivel them up, grind living hearts and living hands in the mills of penury. This power gives me confidence. But because it is often misdirected, my confidence is mingled discontent.

"Why is it," I asked, and turned to the literature of our day for an answer—"why is it that so many workers live in unspeakable misery?" With their hands they have builded great cities, and they cannot be sure of a roof over their heads. With their hands they have opened mines and dragged forth with the strength of their bodies the buried sunshine of dead forests, and they are cold. They have gone down into the bowels of the earth for diamonds and gold, and they haggle for a loaf of bread. With thier hands they erect temple and palace, and their habitation is a crowded room in a tenement. They plough and sow and fill our hands with flowers while their own hands are full of husks.

In our mills, factories, and mines, human hands are herded together to dig, to spin, and to feed the machines that they have made, and the product of the machine is not theirs. Day after day naked hands, without safeguard,

without respite, must guide the machines under dangerous and unclean conditions. Day after day they must keep firm hold of the little that they grasp of life until they are hardened, brutalised. Still the portent of idle hands grows apace, and the hand-to-hand grapple waxes more fierce. O pitiful blindness! O folly that men should allow such contradictions—contradictions that violate not only the higher justice, but the plainest common sense. How do the hands that have achieved the ocean steamer become so impotent that they cannot save themselves from drowning? How do our hands that have stretched railways and telegraphs round the world become so shortened that they cannot redeem themselves?’

Why is it that willing hands are denied the prerogative of Labour, that the hand of man is against man? At the bidding of a single hand thousands rush to produce, or hang idle. Amazing that hands which produce nothing should be exalted and jewelled with authority! In yonder town the textile mills are idle, and the people want boots. Fifty miles away, in another town, the boot factories are silent, and the people want clothes. Between these two arrested forces of production is that record of profits and losses called the *Market*. The buyers of clothes and boots in the market are the workers themselves; but they cannot buy what their hands have made. Is it not unjust that the hands of the world are not subject to the will of the workers, but are driven by the blind force of Necessity to obey the will of the few? And who are these few? They are themselves the slaves of the Market and the victims of Necessity.

Driven by the very maladjustments that wound it, and enable by its proved capacity for readjustment and harmony, society must move onward to a state in which every hand shall work and reap the fruits of its own endeavour, no less, no more. This is the third world which I have discovered. From a world of dreams I was plunged into a world of fact, and thence I have emerged into a society which is still a dream, but rooted in the actual. The commonwealth of the future is growing surely out of the state in which we now live. There will be strife, but no aimless, self-defeating strife. There will be competition, but no soul-destroying, handcrippling competition. There will be only honest emulation in co-operative effort. There will be example to instruct, companionship to cheer, and to lighten burdens. Each hand will do its part in the provision of food, clothing, shelter, and the other great needs of man, so that if poverty comes all will bear it alike, and if prosperity shines all will rejoice in its warmth. There have been such periods in the history of man. Human nature has proved itself capable of equal co-operation. But the early communist societies of which history tells us were primitive in their methods of production—half civilised, as we say who dare call our present modes of life civilisation. The coming age will be complex, and will relinquish nothing useful in the methods which it has learned in long struggles through tyrannies and fierce rivalries of possession. To the hand of the world belongs the best, the noblest, the most stupendous

task—the subjection of all the forces of nature to the mind of man, the subjection of physical strength to the might of the spirit. We are still far from this loftiest of triumphs of the hand. Its forces are still to be disciplined and organised. The limbs of the world must first be restored. In order that no limb may suffer, and that none may keep the others in bondage, the will of the many must become self conscious and intelligently united. Then the hand—the living power of man, the hewer of the world—will be laid with undisputed sway upon the machine with which it has so long been confounded. There will be abundance for all, and no hands will cry out any more against the arm of the mighty. The hand of the world will then have achieved what it now obscurely symbolises—the uplifting and regeneration of the race, all that is highest, all that is creative, in man.

LOGRATHIMS AND STAGE-SUCCESS.

(THE STORY OF AN IRISH-STAR ACTRESS.)

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(RICHARD FLETCHER IN *Nash's Magazine*.)

SUDDENLY they all started talking about Miss Cathleen Nesbitt. At intellectual orgies on wet Sunday, in clubs in Dover Street—in fact, wherever the London Theatre happened to be mentioned, the name of this young actress was mentioned. Had she not played the *Princess Perdita* in Mr. Granville Barker's bizarre production of "A Winter's Tale, and the servant in Mr. Galsworthy's recent lugubrious demonstration that "men were deceivers ever"? And now she is *Mary Ellen* with Mr. Hawtrey in "General John Regan." So most fortunately Miss Nesbitt has been able to display her varied talents in a short space of time, and she is in a fair way to enter that class of young and prominent players of which Miss Marie Lohr is good example. Miss Nesbitt has been on the stage for two years only, and this is swift climb up the hill of fame, as she herself admits. In fact, Miss Nesbitt admits a great many things, and after a conversation with her, one is apt to attribute her success to her originality, candour, and theatrical *nth* power (which some continue to call personality.) We had troublous times at the interview. Scene-shifters and the stress of dressing-room limitations caused us to seek refuge in a tiny cup-board furnished with a mystical electric switchboard, a table, and two chairs. "I suppose that on the subjects of the National Theatre and the Censorship," began Miss Nesbitt, "I ought to have nice crystallised ideas. But I haven't. Those are the safe topics one should really discuss, and then no one cares how the interview looks in print. But I have a very practical brain, and I don't think I can group those things very firmly. The greatest of my accomplishments is Mathematics and I know all about logarathims." It seemed odd, and I said flatly that between a love of logarathims and a stage success there could be no connecting link.

"Oh, but there is," contradicted Miss Nesbitt. "And when one's mind has been disciplined by those very things at which you sneer, one is able to see clearly many of the big truths of life. You see, I don't believe that women were meant to be the creative factors of life. I think that is a mistake. Women were made to reflect. That's the thing they do best, and I think it is only right to leave to man the province of creating for woman. In the past, women have been trying to rival men really, and now they are fighting to take a secondary place. That is behind this so-called women's movement. She no longer wants her pedestal. She is tired of it. She does not want to be considered a goddess or a supernatural creature. She is more than eager to mingle with the crowd, but always as man's second best. But man will not have his illusions shattered.

ed. He likes to think of the miracle of child-birth as a proof of women's divinity, whereas it is only a caprice on the part of nature. Women knows all this, and as she works always in contradictory and involved fashions, she shouts her independence, meaning thereby that she is dependent and obligated eternally to man." Then Miss Nesbitt told me her mother was a fervent suffragist, and had spent two months in prison. She said this rather proudly, with more gratification than that with which she alluded to her own brilliant career. "I am from the north of Ireland," she continued, "and perhaps you don't know that we are as different from the South-Irelander as the Scotch



are from the English. People, who don't know Ireland very well, make none of these discriminations, and, frankly, I know little of my southern cousins. The girl of North Ireland is reserved, timid, and in a quiet way very far-seeing and practical. She has none of the high spirits of the English girl, and in a way she is more free from traditional training than the Scotch lass. The North-Irelander is always aloof and difficult to know, although in a superficial way she resembles the Scotch woman. I believe a heroine of this type would be very acceptable

on the British stage, because few seem to have studied this branch of the Celtic race. We have had the impulsive, care-free girl of the south of Ireland and we have had many, many Scotch girls, but the north of Ireland is an undiscovered gold-mine for the dramatist. I think that now the playwrights must fall back on the provinces, and that London life has been done to death." Then I adopted the accepted formula in interviewing a young actress and demanded: "What role do you most want to play?" Miss Nesbitt hesitated. I suggested *Juliet*. "Oh, no," she replied, and smiled as if to gain time to think. "*Mrs. Jemo* in Mr. Bernard Shaw's 'Overruled.' That was the play which had such a short run at the Duke of York's Theatre, but I should like a try at that woman who did nothing but talk throughout the scene, and acted only with her mind. That is the way she shall act in the future. That is the way plays will be written when we have real dramas and not strange concoctions remotely suggestive of actual life. You see the realistic drama is in its infancy. In life to-day, how do we approach crises? There was a time when the stage writer offered soliloquies; but that absurdity has passed. Now we reflect. Now we say things to lure admissions from our combatant. Our passions are tempered by a humorous outlook which more and more invades our daily life. We pretend not to take things seriously. So very seldom do we have the 'big' scenes given us to play. Now, when husband and wife separate, they calmly speak of the future of their children and whether they may not keep up a certain friendship. No, they do not gasp and whip out stilted appeals to the Creator. When a man has forged and then confesses, he does not wring his hands and discuss the wages of sin. He repeats what his solicitor has said, what restitution he can make; or he is silent. And as we snatch from the drama its artificialities and lop off its trimmings, we find our requirements enhanced. We must have great urisus plays. We must deal with vital questions. We must rise supremely above the commonplace. Otherwise people will go to the comic plays. And so I think the play of the future will be a 'talky' play. I mean a play that treats truthfully of a universal condition, and is written with such arresting art that no one can take his attention from the stage."

HUMOURS OF PARLIAMENTARY LIFE.

WIT, REPARTEE AND STORY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BY JOSEPH HEIGHTON, IN NASH'S MAGAZINE—FEBRUARY, 1913.

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It takes very little to tickle the risibilities of our M. P.'s during a debate. A nervous member sitting on his hat, a partly-forgotten speech, a blunder in Parliamentary deportment, or an innovation in the way of dress is sufficient to set members gurgling with merriment.

As an example of caustic Parliamentary humour, the supplementary question put by the irrepressible Tim Healy to Mr. Brodrick (now Viscount Middleton), when the latter was acting as War Secretary during the South African War, would be hard to beat.

The Bouers were winning battle after battle, and there was much criticism regarding the capabilities of officers and leaders. Ultimately some member put the question to Mr. Brodrick as to how many horses he had dispatched to South Africa. He gave an answer, whereupon Mr. Tim Healy got up and put a supplementary question, "Would the right honourable gentleman kindly inform the House how many asses he has sent to South Africa?"

Mention of asses reminds one of the Irish M. P. who once interrupted the oratory of an enemy of his country by ejaculating, "Alas!" "The honourable member," came the lightning retort, "flatters me too much in claiming me as kinsman."

And then there was the occasion when a scion of a noble house, defending his order, asked, "Is it not right that, in order to hand down to posterity the virtues of those who have been eminent for their services to the country, their descendants should enjoy the honours conferred on them as a reward for such services?"

"By the same rule," chimed in the late Mr. Labouchere, "if a man is hanged for his misdeeds, all his posterity should be hanged too."

More often than not it is Irish wit that scores in the House of Commons, and many a time during an exciting debate both Conservatives and Liberals have been non-plussed by the ready repartee of M. P.'s from the Emerald Isle. There was one memorable occasion, however, and it's recalled by George W. Smalley in "Anglo-American Memories," when Irish Members were for the moment stricken dumb by the retort of a member who could not afterwards be identified.

Mr. Chamberlain, while speaking on the Home Rule question, said something regarding the late Duke of Devonshire, whereupon a Nationalist member asked, "How long is it since the Duke of Devonshire has been in Ireland?" and from across the floor came the answer, like a flash of lightning, "Not since his brother was murdered in Phoenix Park."

Mr. Smalley considers this retort worthy to rank with Colonel Sanderson's answer to a demand for his reasons against Home Rule. "There are," answered the gallant colonel promptly, "in this House sixty-nine good and sufficient reasons against Home Rule, and there they sit."

The House of Commons, however, is never so amused as when a member is betrayed, in his enthusiasm, into a mixed metaphor. Mr. Balfour, some time ago, spoke of "an empty theatre of unsympathetic auditors," while Lord Curzon remarked that "though not out of the wood, we have a good ship." Sir William Hart Dyke has told how Mr. Lowther, "Had caught a big fish in his net, and went to the top of the tree for it," while a financial

Minister assured the Commons that "the steps of the Government should go hand in hand with the interests of the manufacturer." And it was in the Lords that the Government was warned that "the constitutional rights of people were being trampled upon the mailed hand of authority."

According to the testimony of Mr. Jeremiah MacVeagh, who has sat as Nationalist member for South Down since 1912, and whose witticisms have frequently during the past ten years made the House ring with laughter, Mr. Winston Churchill is one of the greatest masters of repartee in the Commons. It is not so long ago, when the First Lord of the Admiralty was speaking, that someone interrupted with the cry of "Rot!"

At once came the retort, "I have no doubt the honourable gentleman is speaking what is in his mind."

It is to Mr. Winston Churchill, by the way, that we owe the wittiest summing-up of a Parliamentary candidate: "He is asked to stand, he wants to sit, and he is expected to lie." Mr. Churchill is also credited with the conundrum: "What is the difference between a candidate and an M. P.?" To which he supplied the answer, "One stands for a place and the other sits for."

There are two members of the Cabinet whose speeches, usually full of wit, humour, and brilliant epigrams, are always a delight to both parties. Reference is made to Mr. Birrell and Lord Haldane. What, for instance, could be happier than the former's reply to the Bishop, who condoled with him on the defeat of his Educational Bill? The President of the Board of Education, as Mr. Birrell then was, replied with a twinkle in his eye:—

"Yes, my lord, the Bill is dead, but I believe in the resurrection of the dead."

One of his best epigrams was that which he applied once to Upper Chamber. "The House of Lord," he said, "represent nobody but themselves, and they enjoy the full confidence of their constituents"; while of the Press he has said, "I agree that the Press is a mirror of the age. It reflects what people were supposed to want, far more than what they really want."

Mr. Birrell's description of the House of Lords might be followed by Sir John Benn's allusion to the Commons, which he has described as being "like one of the ancient clocks in the Guildhall Museum—a splendid piece of old work, which excites the admiration of everyone, but useless for modern time-keeping. It wants a new main-spring and the latest improvements to make it go."

A story which is a great favourite at St. Stephen's concerns a painfully embarrassing situation in which Mr. Sydney Buxton once found himself. It appears that Mr. Buxton, one day got to a railway station five minutes before the train arrived, and sat down on a bank to wait.

When he got into a compartment he found his coat and waist-coat full of ants, so he took them off and shook them. Shortly afterwards he felt the ants inside his trousers, so he took them off and was shaking them out of the window when a passing train took the trousers out of his hand.

This was very awkward. He was going to a Cabinet Council, and he had on a frock-coat but no trousers. At the next stopping-place he called to a porter, "I have had the misfortune to throw my trousers out of the window."

"That won't do," said the porter, and he shouted to the guard, "Here's a bloke in the first-class without any bags on!"

The guard came up, and, seeing how things were, telegraphed to King's Cross: "There is a Cabinet Minister in the train who has thrown his trousers out of the window. Get another pair for him."

When Sydney Buxton got to London he was provided with a pair of green trousers such as porters wear, and in them he went to the Cabinet Meeting.

Election stories, of course, are legion, and perhaps one of the best, concerning the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is that which appears in Dr. Farquharson's *Reminiscences*. Mr. Lloyd George was speaking at a Liberal Meeting not a hundred miles from Redhill, Surrey of the unfulfilled prophecies and promises of a certain statesman, and quite accidentally he stretched his arm right over the head of Sir Jeremiah Colman, one of the local pillars of Liberalism, who was sitting close to him on the platform. "We have had enough of those political Jeremiahs," he cried out. The audience rose to the joke, and laughed and clapped vociferously. And perhaps for the first time in his life the little Welshman stood completely non-plussed, for it was not until the meeting was over that he found out where the humour had come in.

The stump orator, of the Tariff Reform Party as Sir George Doughty, the member of the Grimsby, relates how on the occasion of an Open-Air Meeting in Hull, the table on which he was standing commenced to rock. Sir George, flinging out his arms for the nearest support, clutched a lamp-post, and remarked they were useful to hang on to sometimes.

"Yes, and you're not the only man who's found that out!" shouted a wag in the crowd.

And apparently there are others who are suspicious of the doing of Mr. P.'s in town, judging by a story which Mr. J. A. Pease tells of the days when he was Liberal Whip. During an all-night sitting of the House of Commons a certain member was, as he thought, absent. The gentleman was really present at every division, but he was snatching sleep at intervals in one of the recesses of the House. Mr. Pease, however, not having noticed him in the division lobby, sent a telegram to his house at 7 o'clock in the morning, saying, "Come down at once and relieve the guard and those at work allnight." The member turned up at his own house at 8 o'clock in the morning, and expected to find a warm welcome from his wife and family and a good deal of sympathy for having been in the House allnight. But his wife's greeting was, "Where have you been?" He replied "I have been at the House at an all-night sitting." "Now it's no use your telling me lies," said the good lady, and she produced from under the pillow Mr. Pease's telegram.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

March, 1913.

Contents: 1. Lord Haldane and the Prospects of Educational Reform. Lord (Sheffield). (2) Tariff Reform: Ten years after (L. G. Chiozza Money, M.P.). 3. Woman Suffrage (F.D. Acland, P.M.) 4. The Canadian Naval Issue, (J. Allen Bakes, M.P.). 5. Some Modern Anglican Theology, (The Rev. W. B. Selbie, P.D.). 6. The Romano Bulgarian Controversy—Bulgarian Controversy—Bulgarian). 7. The Chaos of Local Government, (Sir Lawrence Gomme). 8. India's "untouchables," (Saint Nihal Singh). 9. The Colours of Birds' Eggs (Frances Pitt). 10. The Australian Muse, (Gertrude Ford). 11. Black, Brown and White in South Africa (William Stretford). 12. Foreign Affairs (Dr. E. J. Dellon). 13. Literary Supplement:—Self-Sacrifice and Tragedy. Reviews of Books.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Dr. E. J. Dellon in his "Foreign Affairs" in the March Number of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW says that:—After a year of continual warfare it is perhaps natural that public confidence in the stability of the peace in Europe should be somewhat slender. But the situation is not so sombre as it is painted. In sober truth, one of the most striking and hopeful features of the European situation, is the growing unwillingness of the Great States, which are armed and presumably eager for the fray to do everything tending to lead to war. Austro-Russian relations, which have been uniformly regarded as the centre of source and greatest dangers to peace, have undergone a note-worthy improvement.

As for Turkey herself, the meanest conception of her future powers of self-defence prevails throughout Europe. There is now no doubt in the mind of any competent politician that in the Near East, Bulgaria is striving to qualify herself to make over the *rob* of Russia and Turkey combined in a great Tsardom of which Constantinople is one day to be the Capital. From brief survey it is manifest that Bulgaria's financial needs, when peace is concluded will be much more pressing than those of her allies, and that the relief which a war indemnity would bring is more of a necessity to her than to them. But its effect upon Turkey opens up another aspect of the matter. Whatever befalls the Turkish Government during the war, it will be the duty of the Powers to see that the guardian of Constantinople and the Straits, and the administrator of the provinces of Asia Minor is not handicapped from the outset by financial obligations which it cannot meet.

To the peace of Europe, any diplomatic action tending to secure at present, self-Government for Armenia, Syria, or any other part of Asiatic Turkey would be ruinous. It would unroll the entire sequence of Oriental problems for which the powers have not yet prepared workable solutions. Issues which at one time were deserved insoluble, have found solutions in the transfer of responsibilities and territories from the Great Powers to the little Balkan States. But that was in Europe. In the Asiatic half of the Ottoman realm there are no independent kingdoms to discharge this function. It is not Syria or Armenia, Mesopotamia or the Yemen that needs this or that reform. A single change for the whole community is indispensable. The present Ottoman Constitution must be abolished. The Constitution which is called for by the new conditions has to be drafted. This work might advantageously be entrusted to a Constituent Assembly which would grant self-governing powers in due degree to all the elements of the population, instead of leaving dangerous political agitation to accomplish it.

It Mahmoud Shekhet Pasha and his colleagues take this hint and convoke a Constituent Assembly for the purpose of devising a workable Constitution, they will have done something to help these unfortunate people out of dire distress.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

March, 1913.

Contents: 1. Skirting the Balkan Peninsula (Robert Hitchens). 2. T. Tembarom (Prances Hodgson Burnett). 3. Charms (William Rise Benit). 4. Deep Water Song (John Reed). 5. The Assassin (Horace Hazeltine). 6. Where am I while I sleep (Grace Denio Litchfield). 7. Americans and the European Point of View—(Macrice Francis Egan). 8. Toscanini at Baton—Mex Smith). 9. The Century's After the War Series.—10. The Arbitration of the "Alabama Claims" (William Conant Church). 11. The Mystery of MacGinniss (Charles D. Stewart). 12. Man and his Dog. (Hugh Johnson). 13. Not Vet (Katharine L. Bates). 14. Grover Cleveland and his Cabinet at Work (Hilary A. Herbert). 15. The Kind of Man Woodrow Wilson is? (W. G. McAduco). 16. Impressions of New York (Pierre Loti). 17. The Most Knowingest Child, (Lady Purman). 18. The Double Chowning (Amelia J. Burr). 19. The Trade of China, (James Devenport Whelpley). 20. Topics of the Time. 21. Open Letters. 22. In Lighter Vein.

THE TRADE OF CHINA, (JAMES D. WHELPLEY.)

Mr. James Devenport Whelpley in the March Number of THE CENTURY MAGAZINE says in his article "The Trade of China" that:—The Chinese people on the "Kuli" (the anglicized form of which is "coolie") as they call themselves are incredibly strong, never flagging in industry, faithful to a

trust, modest in desires and peaceful by nature; the strength not only of physique but of character is there. They are strong in their virtues, which are great and strong in their vices which are tremendous.

To the occidental Eye, China is an ugly country and to occidental mind the Chinese are an ugly people in the great as well as, in the small things of life. With all this ugliness there is an immutability as a nation and a strength of character as a people which challenge wonder, admiration and as a lively speculation as to the future. The integrity of the race is unmistakable, the strength of individual character is a real and tangible quality.

The evolution of the immediate future and the final destiny of this nation will be determined by the Chinese themselves according to the motive power of their own character and within the bounds of the physical needs and possibilities of their own land.

Something has happened in China recently. Abroad it is called a republican revolution but the Chinese themselves know it better. A handful of idealists hope against their own Judgment for an elective representative form of Government to succeed at once; but it will not.

In Peking, there sits an old man, closely housed for fear of violent death, already narrowly averted many times; patient, wise, with a keen humour, a thorough knowledge of his people. Yuan Shih-Kai stands head and shoulders above the men now gathered about him. He laughs quietly at the idea of a really representative republic in China and seeks merely to guide his people from day to day into a path which will bring credit to China in the eyes of the world and peace to the Chinese themselves.

It is from the South that the republican ideas have come. Far to the north in Manchuria, the people are simply waiting for the outcome. It is difficult, nay impossible to summarize in a few words a country so vast and so varied or a situation so complex and so tremendous. In a land of prejudices, beliefs and conventions would rule without change. The rich would grow richer, the poor poorer. The vested rights and interests of the over-looker would become as sacred institution, and the rulers of the land would be those who could wrest power one from another as the turn of the wheel gave them opportunity. This is what happened to China and this is what would happen to any self-sufficient nation living upon a self-contained area, and multiplying upon itself behind a wall. The Chinese are still hypnotized by the Vision of the Wall, so much so that it even now possesses a strength and significance far beyond that of the thousands of miles of crumbling masonry, penetrated as it is by hundreds of gaps.

But to say that these conditions will remain for ever, would be untrue. An ancient civilization has played its role, and the time is come when modern minds with modern methods will give new life to a land moribund from centuries of feeding upon itself. No danger to the West lies in this regeneration.

THE FORT-NIGHTLY REVIEW.

March, 1913.

Contents: I. Archdale Wilson the Captor of Delhi (Sir W. Lee Warner (G.C.S.I.)) II. The Balkan League: History of its Formation (An). III. Unionist and Session (Auditor Tantom). IV. The Military Conspiracy. (Islander). V. To Captain R. F. Scott C. V. O., R. N. (Alexander Von Herder). VI. National Insurance and Labour Unrest. (I. M. Kennedy). VII. Disregard (Muriel Woods.) VIII. Encelardus (Alfred Noyes). IX. The Great Illusion (Walter Sichel). X. Truth about love-setting. (H. A. Barker). XI. Obscurantism in Modern Science (Edward Clodd). XII. India's Imperialistic Inclination and Ideal (Saint Nihal Singh). XIII. Isabella II's First Intrigues (Francis Gribble). XIV. Washington and the White House (Sydney Brooks). XV. Rabindra Nath Tagore (Ezra Pound). XVI. If I Were a Millionaire (Carmen Sylva). XVII. Horse-breeding for Farmers. (Sir Walter Gibby, Bart). XVIII. Frederic Mistral. (Count De Swisens). XIX. Is Austria Really the Disturber (Count Listzow). XX. The Joy of Youth (Eden Philpotts). XXI. Correspondence. The Destruction of the Maine.

INDIA'S IMPERIALISTIC INCLINATIONS AND IDEALS

Mr. Saint Nihal Sing in the Fortnightly Review speaks about India's Imperialistic Inclinations and Ideals:—The report of a bomb thrown at the Viceroy, deadened the echoes of the rumour recently circulated that a movement was afoot in the Dependency to build several superdread-noughts and armed cruisers to police the Mediterranean and the Red Seas. As it was, the news carried considerable conviction with it; but apart from the considerations that the Indian conditions are not inimical to the carrying out of such a project, the newspaper comments on the matter were published on the principle of "counting the chickens before they are hatched." The fact namely that all enlightened Indians consider the growth of destructive influences such as terrorism to be a menace to national progress and therefore they are eager to stamp them out is not as well recognised in England as it ought to be.

The most practical manner in which to arrive at a definite conclusion in regard to the real Indian sentiment towards the Empire will be to rapidly to sketch the history of political activity in modern India.

Strictly speaking the political agitation in India, began about a generation ago, when the Indian National Congress was founded largely through the instrumentality of an Englishman Allan Octavious Hume C. B. who recently passed away. In its initial stages this body suffered a schism, the educated Mahomedans, led by the late Syed Ahmed Khan refusing to lend it their support. At its early sittings the discussions on Governmental policies were carried on in a responsible manner, and the demands formulated though oftentimes quite insistent were respectfully worded."

Following the Partition of Bengal, however, a change came over the men composing this "unofficial parliament" mainly over some of the Bengali delegates whose susceptibilities had been hurt by this measure.

As a sequel to this the Congress was slit in twain, one section being pledged to work for the continuance of British association, the other aiming at altogether liberating India from the foreign yoke. Of course, it manifestly would be unjust to convey the impression that they urged that the country at once should be wrenched out of the hands of the Dominant Power—they merely desired India to be free in course of time.

It would be equally wrong to imply that all those who avowed their desire to see their country emancipated from British domination gave themselves up to propagating secret societies, making bombs and laying in stores of revolvers and ammunition or inciting others to do so. Yet all authorities agree that unquestionably the ideal of free Hindustan gave birth to the Indian Nihilist, who believed that the quickest way to get rid of the foreigners was to terrorise them by pitching bombs and firing shots at members of the Administration.

The combined effect of conciliatory and repressive measures tended to cool the inflamed Indian passions. At the close of the first decade of the present century the political pendulum almost had righted itself.

On seceding from the Congress the Mahomedans decided to eschew all agitation and devote themselves to the diffusion of knowledge amongst their co-religionists, until Lord Morley's proposals for concessions to Indians. They now organised the "All-India Moslem League" and demanded in one voice that in granting political concession to India the minority interests of the Islamists should be safe-guarded. The authorities yielded to this agitation and conceded special electoral privileges to the Indian disciples of Mahomed. Though the members of this body are swayed by a strong pan-Islamic sentiment, as a matter of fact, the first object of the "All-India Moslem League" is to promote among Indian Mussalmans feelings of loyalty toward the British Government.....

Another minority whose importance deservedly is measured by its martial services to Great Britain are the Sikhs. It seems superfluous to add that the Sikh attitude towards British rule continues to be that of friendship, as it has been ever since the days of the Mutiny. Intellectual sympathy—the strongest of ties—has been established between the educated Indians and the ruling nation; yet in this connection it is only fair to admit that even now some Indians continue to remain unreconciled to the Administration. India is not a British Colony, but a Dependency:—a veritable pariah amongst Over-seas Dominions; India is debarred from the counsels of the Empire. Its immigrants are excluded from the Colonies. No Indian can aspire to a commission in the army. No Christian Indians, with the exception of one small sect, are permitted to enroll themselves as volunteers.

Besides to all Indians who have been at all associated with members of the ruling race, it appears that most Britons are unable to banish from their brains the thought that the native of the Dependency are not Anglo-Saxons—not even whites.

It requires no stretch of the imagination to realise that such a position is not one which any patriotic Indian would wish his country to fill.

So far as India is concerned, it is showing every indication that it desires to rivet the bonds that unite it with the Empire. Now it remains for Great Britain and the Colonies to decide whether on account of colour prejudices Hindustan is to be considered an out cast.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

February, 1913.

Contents:

1. Episodes of the Month 2. The Unionist Party and Preference (The Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain M. P.) 3. Our coming Danger-Period (Navies) 4. A Nation in Arms (Sir William Richmond K. C. B.) 5. The Early Years of Madame Royale (Austin Dolson) 6. Another Aspect of the Servant Problem (Mrs. Home McCall). 7. American Affairs (Maurice Low.) 8. Winchester and the Dry Fly (The Hon. Francis Lindley) 9. Australia and Imperial Naval Defence (F. M. Cutlask) 10. Portugal under the Republic (Aubrey F. C. Bell) 11. The Raven (Miss Frances Pitt) 12. A Radical "Panama" (L. J. Maxse) 13. Great Britain, Canada, India.

AUSTRALIA AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

Mr. F. M. Tutlask in the above article in the February Number of the National Review discusses the dual aspect of the Naval defence of the Empire:—the Imperial aspect and the local aspect. Writing upon Australian defence at sea, he says that the Admiralty at home admit the necessity of the increase of the British Naval power and hence the demand for local fleets. The Australian authorities have a most delicate position in prospect. We stand at the opening of a new epoch in the world's development in which the Pacific is to play a leading part. The colonisation and conquest of the Pacific regions by Europe has been almost entirely without bloodshed. The requisition and friendly division of trade was easy where opportunities were so vast and so responsive.

Then suddenly, within one decade, there came startling and illuminating change. Over this tranquil, unfathomed, unransacked sea, war clouds burst from each side in rapid succession. The American Fleet shattered the whole Pacific power of Spain in a day; the Japanese annihilated the Russian Navy in the Yellow Seas. The results were the rise of two home Pacific naval powers to indisputable numerical predominance over the nations here repre-

sented. A proper realisation of these results help people to understand Australia's position and her rapid consciousness of insecurity. She stands certainly on the western side of the Pacific, but her position is really central, for the Indian Ocean cannot be neglected in the general survey. Australia from her very position, is meant by Nature to have the maritime command of the Southern Hemisphere. She is the real Key to the Pacific in spite of the Panama Canal. She could produce all the food supplies the Pacific peoples want. She is the half-way house between India, Africa and the two Americas. The Pacific Powers know it.

The Australian Fleet is (on paper) now in being, and very shortly the first instalment of the actual ships will be patrolling the Pacific. To the extent that there is an Australian Naval Board directing the Australian Fleet there will be dual control.

Centralisation in other things than naval direction is every day breaking down. The self-responsible spirit which has been always so liberally cultivated in the Overseas Dominions demands some need of control of the local fleets and armies they are so enthusiastically raising, to be used for Empire's need. One may admit that sound old argument, proved over and over again by Nelson and his admirals against the fleets of France and Spain, that allied fleets are weak fleets; yet the conference at the White Hall in 1911 drew up a Memorandum of which two vital clauses read to the effect that it is desirable in the interest of efficiency and co-operation for the ships of the Dominions to take part in fleet exercise or for any other joint training considered necessary. In time of war . . . the ships will form an integral part of the British fleet.

As it stands the memorandum, admitted by does not say anywhere that Dominion Fleet shall automatically become units of the Home Navy. But it is a matter of trust. No clause in any agreement possibly contrivable, could secure Australia's co-operation with England at need. England's Empire, if it is to stand, demands broader base, nowhere in the Empire is this realised with truer insight and greater enthusiasm than in Australia.

PORTUGAL UNDER THE REPUBLIC

The Government of Portugal says, Mr. Aubrey F. G. Bell in his above article changed its name but not its nature. Whether, it is called an absolute, or constitutional Monarchy, a Dictatorship or Republic it remains a closely centralised organisation of certain personal groups intriguing and legislating in the Capital to the neglect or ruin of the provinces and of the Colonies.

The Parliament in the Capital is so constituted that none of the four Parties, the Evolutionists, Unionists, Democrats and Independents is strong enough to form a Ministry. Coalition Ministries are the order of the day. With respect to their finance they have two lines of defence in argument

They say (1) that the state of Portuguese finances has improved since the advent of the Republic, (2) that the fact that it has not improved, but rather steadily grows worse as natural in a revolutionary period.

A country with a debt of nearly 800,000 contor and a revenue of under 80,000 contor and in which most of the sources of revenues are mortgaged cannot easily contract a new loan. Portugal will not even now realise the greater expediency of selling some of her (African) colonies out-right. The resolution not to part with an inch of territory may be less glorious than it sounds.

One of the worst features of this petty imitation reign of terror has been the silence or the open approval of the Press.

It is a little difficult to sympathise with the Republicans who complain of suffering in their turn from that indifference of which they took advantage in order to overthrow the Monarchy.

The prisons had been filled with alleged conspirators denounced for the most part by private persons. There was in fact a delicate manufacture of conspirators on the part of the Carbonarios who may be called private persons in that they escape all responsibility, but who receiving money from the authorities are anxious to justify their salaries and the same time to parade their zeal for the Republic by discovering conspiracies where no conspiracies exist.

Many sincere Republicans must now realise that it was a mistake not to work at reform from within the Monarchy, and that it would have been easier to engraft the advantage of a Republic on the Monarchy than it will be to engraft the advantage of the Monarchy on the Republic.

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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

(*March, 1913.*)

I. National Safety. (1) Invasion and National safety (Major-General H. B. Jeffreys C. B.) (2) The Real Obstacle to Military Reform (Marquess of Allesbury) (3) A Note on the Financial Situation (I. W. Cross) II. The Imperial Idea (Dr. F. B. Vrooman) III. Quo Vadis Femina (Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun). IV. Antarctic Exploration (Alfred H. Harrison F. R. C. S.) V. The Final Solution of the Eastern Question (Sir Henry H. Johnston G. C. M. G. K. C. B). VI. Roumanian Policy and the Peace of Europe (J. Ellis Barker). VII. The Morals of French Plays (The Abbe Ernest Dimnet). VIII. Home Rule and the House of Lords (Stephen Gwynn M. P.) IX. The Art of Alma-Tedema (The Hon. John Collier) X. The War Correspondent in Sunshine and Eclipse (Wm. Maxwell). XI. In the Chatalja Lines during the November Battle (George Pilcher). XII. The Principle of the Minimum Wage (A. C. Pigon). XIII. The Trend of Politics in Spain (Bernhard Whishaw). XIV. Dearth in the Transkei (Miss Mason). XV. The Art of Conversation (Evelyn March Phillipps). XVI. The Indian Civil Service (Sir Henry T. Prinsep K.C.I.E.)

Quo Vadis Femena.

Mrs. Ethel Colquhoun in the March number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* in her article—*Quo Vadis Femena?* goes on to criticise the present suffragist movement in England by saying that:—Among the many arresting phenomena of the times we live in, there, is none, probably of more vital importance than the growth and tendency of modern feminism. Feminism is taken to mean the advancement of woman and woman's work as such. It implies a special stress on sex.

To the feminist, a woman's achievements acquire peculiar value for the simple reason that they are a woman's. It is, moreover, the claim of woman to compete with man in an open field, which constitutes the main feminist movement. It may as well be made clear that suffragism is regarded only as a by-product, symptom—effect rather than cause.

It is the pose of the feminist to assume that in her strivings to re-adjust her position woman has been handicapped by the opposition of man, and by artificial restraints placed on her by his will. But the true key to the situation lies not in the attitude of man towards woman, which is more or less an invariable quantity, modified slightly by economic conditions *but in the attitude of woman towards each other.*

The word "lady-like", now obsolete save in a different stratum of society, was the standard towards which unfortunate femininity had to strain. The re-action of society from the excesses which followed the French Revolution and the license and the extravagance of the First Empire was especially noticeable in Great Britain during the early nineteenth century in a somewhat bourgeois Court, with the advent of a young unmarried Queen, who had been subjected (as we now know) to a severe course of dehumanising in her childhood, came a fresh exaggeration of all those virtues of modesty, sensibility and self-control which appeared to the matrons of the day needed to preserve the dignified tone of a society already shaken to its foundation by the European Revolution which came to a head in 1848.

The key-note of the feminist movement is the assertion not only of woman's equality with man but her independence of him—her right and ability to individualistic development. The pluck and courage with which women are facing the situation, is a great advance on the "old maid" theory, and would command even greater admiration if they had not set up false idols and been carried away to the extreme of sex-antagonism.

Before coming to the crux of feminism—the attempt to equalise sex conditions—it is worth while to look at some of the surface manifestations.

There can be no doubt that to-day woman is the social arbiter. Similarly the domination of society by women has led to the retirement of man from the field. In the industrial sphere the problems are of a different character, and centre mainly round the economic question.

It is undoubtedly the perception of the social and industrial impregnability of man, so far hardly affected by woman's invasion of spheres where he once was king, which has nerved feminists to probe deeper. This last and most insistent demand is for an equality in sex relations which will go beyond the mere rectification of legal disparities. The demand of sex equality cannot be met by a mere re-adjustment of the marriage customs. It appears doubtful whether it can be met by anything short of a re-creation of man. The first and most obvious difficulty is the difference of economic status in parenthood. The mother, dependent on her husband's earnings while bearing and rearing children, finds it difficult to assert her economic equality.

The initial error of feminism, it appears, is the attempt to measure man and woman by the same standards and to prescribe for them the same rules of conduct, the same ideals and a similarity of occupations. Round the fundamental fact of common parenthood and the dependence of breeding mother, woman has built up the tissue of customs and connexions called "home" which expanded in ever widening circle, becomes society. Woman cannot range freely alongside man in the open. The little hands of children pull her down. Even the sterner feminists concede her necessity for a nest—a State-provided nest—a poor substitute for shelter which through long ages she has been training her man to build her. In the feminist movement there is little chance for the mother woman being heard. In every department it is the child-free woman who is vocal, who fills the public eye with her activity. If the suffrage were granted to woman, it is this type whose voice would prevail. Already she sets the fashion for the young and the pace for others.

The Principle of Minimum Wage.

Professor A. C. Pigeon in his article "the Principle of the Minimum Wage" tries to establish that the "Policy" is not a single policy, but it includes three different policies seeking at three different aims; and as such, if worked out, their results would not be equally beneficial.

The first of the three is illustrated in a New Zealand law which provides that no workman, over twenty, shall be employed in a factory at a weekly wage of less than 17s. Here the end sought is to prevent the payment anywhere, if a rate of wages too low to provide the recipient with means of subsistence. The second policy is illustrated in the demand sometimes put forward for a law that should compel all the employers in a trade to pay their men not less than the rate customarily paid by "reputable firms." Here the root claim has nothing to do with the securing of earnings adequate to subsistence; its sole concern is with equality. The third policy is illustrated in the recent Coal Miner (Minimum Wage) Act. Its purpose is to prevent the efficiency wage paid to the same man from varying for accidental reasons between different times.

It is convenient to have short names descriptive of the three policies :— the subsistence minimum, the inter-personal equality minimum and the inter-temporal equality minimum. The foundation upon which the plea for a subsistence minimum rests is the doctrine that, among every community of men there is a certain minimum standard of general well-being below which the life of no member, however incompetent economically, ought to be allowed to fall. One element on which general well being depends is income. It is argued that a state enforced minimum wage stands on exactly the same footing as a state-enforced minimum of sanitation or of leisure. But the economic unit of living and of spending in the family rather than the individual, and the income representative of any defined minimum standard must be different for differently constituted families. It is obvious that no Government can establish a minimum wage designed to vary in this manner.

As regarding the Inter-personal Equality Minimum the conclusion is that, where the methods of engaging work people are of the casual unsystematic type, enforced equalisation is likely to prove socially injurious; but that where these methods are of what may be called the concentration type, it is certain to prove socially beneficial. Two further considerations may be added. First, since the predominant rate will naturally change from period to period such minima as are enforced ought to change. Secondly, since it is the real rate, and not the money rate, of wages, that is significant, the minima expressed in money ought to be different, in different parts of the country in accordance with the differences in the prices of the commodities chiefly consumed by the working classes.

The foundation upon which the plea for an inter-temporal equality minimum rests is the doctrine that economic welfare is in general fostered by anything that renders individual incomes more stable.

Carefully guarded the inter-temporal equality minimum, like the inter-personal equality minimum, may be expected in suitable circumstances, to make a real, if small, contribution towards social welfare.

MIND-CURES FROM A SCIENTIFIC POINT OF VIEW.

(QUARTERLY REVIEW, JANUARY 1913.)

Sir Thomas Clouston begins his article 'Mind-cures from a Scientific Point of View' by saying that :—In no two subjects has it in the past been more difficult to apply strict inductive reasoning and its conclusions than in religion and medicine'

Primitive people and savages have few sparks of reason and truth in their religious or medical ideas.

Religious rites were all essential parts of treatment of diseases with them. Faith in the doctor now takes the place of the old rites.

The environments favourable to restoration of health are to a large extent common to both the old and the new methods of cure.

It must be here premised that human nature possesses, as an innate quality, and has always exhibited, but in a lessening degree as civilisation advances, a powerful fascination for the mysterious. This feature has not been confined to the unorthodox and irregular systems of medicine but has haunted and hindered the progress of the healing art in its most regular departments.

It is absolutely necessary, before we approach the different methods of mind-cure, that we should form a scientific conception of the action of the human brain in relation to mind. The brain is the controlling organ not only of the mind but of the whole body. The human is, in fact, by far the most wonderful piece of organic living mechanism in Nature. It contains some three thousand million cells; each one actively producing energising controlling stimulating or co-ordinating the physical, the mechanical, the bio-chemical and the mental energies of man. One of the most striking of the qualities of a brain cell is that by which every impression made on it either from the outside world through the senses or from the working of another part of the brain is registered.

Mental disease always implies disorder of both body and mind as a consequence of the brain being disturbed. To understand how the brain, on receiving a mental stimulus, acts in curing bodily disease it is necessary to look at some ordinary physiological effects, which the highest level of the brain under mental stimulus can produce on the body:—A young woman hears or sees or thinks of something that rouses the emotional feeling of modesty; at once the capillary blood vessels in her cheeks dilate and she blushes. The effects of brain mental stimuli on the action of the stomach, bowels and digestion are also well known. The apparatus for the production of these and hundreds of other bodily effects, good and evil, exists in the brain.

To pass from the physiological to the pathological side, the history of medicine is full of accounts of men and women who have fallen into diseases and abnormal states through mental shocks, worries and mental causes generally.

A strong belief and a keen emotion necessarily alter the conditions of the brain-cells and their blood supply. No "irregular" mode of curing disease with the distinctive brain-mental element in it has attracted more attention.

Mesmer was a doctor of medicine who flourished in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Mesmer's theory of curing diseases was that he was able by means of "magnetic fluid" emanating from himself to produce in others changes in their mental and bodily condition. Mesmer had evidently a great deal of the charlatan about him.

Braid of Manchester, a medical man, investigated the same phenomena in an honest scientific spirit. His main conclusion was that there is a certain

condition of the human brain which can be produced by definite means and that it results in definite mental and bodily phenomena which he called "hypnotic." Since that time "hypnotism" may be said to have more or less taken its place in regular medicine. For the understanding of the hypnotic condition we must take into account that important characteristic, of the conscious mental condition, *viz.*, amenability to suggestion either from one's own thoughts or feelings or from outside persons or things.

The form of 'mind-cure' which has attracted most public attention among the Europeans of recent years has been that known as "Christian Science." This has features of its own, somewhat different from those of its predecessors. Like many of them, it rests on a religious basis, but it appeals to the religious instincts of mankind on a new theory and on a new interpretation of the scriptures. Mrs. Eddy was the discoverer and High Priestess of the system.

Most of the modes of mind-cure and the forms in which they occur may be analysed thus ;—

1. The savage phase in which the "medicine man" by means of a striking costume, of dogmatic statement and of certain rites impresses with the belief that a man suffering from disease can be cured by doing some absurd act, which by no possibility can produce any effect but a mental one.
2. An elaborate religious ritual performed in a temple by priest doctors. They produce their effect by persuading the patients that they are to be thus cured.
3. The use of charms, amulets, sacred emblems as in early Christian times.
4. Purely religious mental effects in addition to some simple physical process as anointing with oil, drinking special waters, etc.
5. Healings through belief in a certain definite theory of disease, such as that matters does not exist, and therefore that neither disease nor physical and mental laws of health exist, as told by the Christian Scientist.
6. Hypnotism.
7. The combined work of regular medical practitioners and the Christian doctor.
8. The mental effects of suggestion, of expectancy of dogmatic assertion, of a rational explanation tending to strengthen the reasoning faculty and will power of hopefulness and cheerfulness.
9. Faith in ordinary skilled and educated physician.

BANGADARSHAN.

(CHAITRA ; 1319. B. S.).

(Contents.—(1) The Presidential Address at the Chittagong Literary Conference ; (ii) Life of Sri Gouranga continued—Tarak Chandra Roy ; (iii) Ramabati ;—

Akshayh Kumar Maitreya; (iv) English Detectives, continued.—Bipin Chandra Pal; (v) Jayadev and Vidyapati continued—Jitendralal Basu; (vi) A Word about the Vedas, continued,—Bipin Chandra Pal.

THE CHITTAGONG LITERATURE CONFERENCE.

In the *Chaitra* number of the *Bangadarshan* the place of honour is given to the Presidential address recently delivered at the Chittagong Literary Conference. In his address Babu Akshay Chandra Sarkar gracefully referred to the late poet Nabin Chandra that Chittagong gave to Bengal and also made mention of the names of a number of Mussalman poets who had enriched Bengali Vaishnava poetry. He acknowledged in this connection the services that Moulvi Abdul Karim of Chittagong has rendered to the cause of Bengali literature by bringing to light the literary productions of some Hindu and Mahomedan poets of Chittagong.

The presidential address mainly dealt with literature, Bengali language and sanitation in rural Bengal. The creation of beauty or *rasa*, Mr. Sarkar said, is literature. The cultivation of literature gives us power to appreciate beauty and enjoy *rasa*. One can enjoy *rasa* either by creating it or by learning to appreciate it.

The president gave a graphic description of the present miserable and insanitary condition of rural Bengal and made a fervent appeal to all assembled not to desert their villages for the towns like Dacca or Calcutta making rural Bengal a jungle, a den of wild beasts and breeding ground of malaria. The network of roads and railways and the silting up of not a few of our rivers were interfering with the free egress of water. What wonder was there that the whole of Bengal should be in a most insanitary condition. A sound body was a necessity for a sound mind and the Bengali needed the former that he might come to possess the latter.

BIJAYA.

(PHALGUN, 1319, B. S.).

(Contents:—(i) Sri Ramkrishna Paramahansa—Sris Chandra Matilal; (ii) The *Bhagavat-gita*—Bipin Chandra Pal; (iii) Buddha and Myself, a poem—Jaladhar Chatterjee; (iv) Vina, a serial story—Kaliprasanna Das Gupta; (v) *Lajjita*, a poem—Kumudranjan Mullick; (vi) Of Home and Abroad—Bipinbehari Gupta; (vii) A Servant's Instrumentality in the Salvation of China, concluded,—Manaranjan Guha Takurta; (viii) The Sepoy Mutiny at Dacca—Jatindramohun Roy; (ix) To Meet the Sea—Bhupendranarayan Choudhuri; (x) Sarajkarma—Panchouri Banerjee (xi) Of My Coolie.—Manaranjan Guha Takurta; (xii) *Mrityu*, an adaptation of English poem.—Renukbala Dasi; (xiii) *Adristalipi*, a romance—Chandihar Banerjee; (xiv) Bangabhasa, a song—Devendranath Mahinta; (xv) The Goddess Sarasvati—Phulkumari Gupta; (xvi) The Kabi or Poet, a poem—Manendranath Roy; (xvii) Views and Comments—Representative Government—Bipin Chandra Pal.

"OF MY COOLIE".

Babu Manoranjan Guha Takurta thus narrates his experience of a coolie.

Sometimes in the first year of the Swadeshi agitation I went to Howrah to take train, followed by a coolie carrying my luggage. When I reached the station platform there was not much time to lose. So I got my luggage down from the coolie and asked him what hire he wanted. He replied "as you please Sir. Suppose I give you a pice said I. "Agreed" came the reply. Then in jest said I again "Suppose I pay nothing" "Well and good" was the answer I received. To test him thoroughly I bade him go. Quietly did he move away without looking back towards me.

I was not prepared for it. When I saw that he meant what he said, I had to leave my things and run for him. I called him out as I saw him going. He turned back and came after me. He went away without a murmur and came back also without uttering a word of complaint. This fact hinted at something really great in him. And I asked.

What made you, a coolie, go without your hire ?

COOLIE—What else can I do, Sir, if you would not pay ?

I—Why ? You could insist on having your due from me.

COOLIE—That is not our way, Sir,

I—What do you mean by saying that that was not your way.

COOLIE—I will render him service who will require it of me, but will not demand any thing from him. Whatever he pays of his own accord I will accept, nor will I be displeased with him if he does not pay at all.

When I remembered that he practised what he preached, I had a very high opinion of him. I gladly missed train so that might I have an opportunity of having a talk with the man.

"May I know what you are" inquired I.

COOLIE—I am a *Kabir panthi*.

I—How long have you been here in Calcutta ?

COOLIE—These ten years.

I—What disciplines have you accepted ?

COOLIE—I recollect without ceasing the "Satya nam" as given me by the Guru I do not take fish or meat, do not kill a living thing and do not tell a lie. Whatever service one wants of me I do and whatever one pays I accept with a glad heart. At sundown a few friends meet and sing the name of the Lord.

How many are you in all here in Calcutta ? I enquired. The coolie replied, "A good lot".

How I wished that I could place this coolie before our educated classes, proud of their learning and civilisation! What great and good souls lie hidden in the lap of the Mother! They are not *Sannyasis*, yet in their religion has borne fruits.

We had a lovely talk. He did not leave me while I was at the station. I paid him his due and prostrated myself before him. So did he in return. We parted with a heavy heart to get into the next train that was now about to leave. I would never forget the saintly coolie I met on that occasion. He was a Hindustani.

MARATHI PERIODICALS.

—: 0 :—

I. VIVIDHA-DNYANA-VISTAR.

(*March, 1913.*)

[Principal contents—(1) The Late Mr. Telang; (2) R. B. Vaidya on Kale's Essay on the Purans; (3) The Right Direction of Female Education; (4) Female and the Literary Conference; and (5) The Sanskrit Poets Bana and Mayur.]

THE LATE MR. TELANG.

It is more than two decades that Mr. Telang has passed away from amongst us and still he has not been forgotten. His name is closely associated with that of Mr. Ranade. That they were birds of the same feather is an admitted fact and in some respects the plumage of Mr. Telang was brighter than that of Mr. Ranade. But Telang is nowhere loved, he is mostly respected, while the name of Ranade is still a mighty spell, with at least one class of political and social thinkers. The article in question is from the pen of the veteran Marathi writer, Mr. Vishnu Moreshvar Mahajani, and, as an estimate of a great man by another big person, it has more than a mere passing interest. Mr. Mahajani has displayed in this article a remarkable amount of dispassionate thought and critical faculty and his diagnosis of the untimely collapse of Telang's career is both correct and convincing. He ascribes Telang's early death to three causes—(1) His precocious intellectual development; (2) His inordinate ambition of being a specialist in everything instead of specialising in a particular branch of study and (3) His perpetual war with his conscience. Mr. Telang a staunch *social reformer* got his daughter married at *eight*, and, being one of the progenitors of the Indian National Congress, he had the courage to condemn the jury system from his seat on the High Court Bench!!! Mr. Mahajani argues that such a notorious dereliction from beloved principles brings on unnecessary tension and early death! Well, they know best who die early; for ourselves, Telang is still a sweet name to us in spite of his lapses.

FEMALE EDUCATION AND THE LITERARY CONFERENCE.

Mrs. Girija Bai Kelki is a talented lady writer and though only a short time before the public, she has already made a name. In the present article she suggests that the Marathi Literary Conference should take upon itself the organisation of a Marathi periodical *really* useful to women.

II. CHITRAMAY JAGAT.

(February, 1913).

[Principal Contents—(1) Karma Yoga; (2) Two By-stories from the Epics; (3) Anniversary of the late Mr. Ranade; (4) The Governor Designate of Bombay; (5) Balkan War; (6) The Delhi Tragedy; (7) Serial Story &c. &c.]

KARMA YOGA.

Mr. Mahadeo Hari Madak, that remarkable writer who has brought into philosophy the interest of a novel, is the author of this vigorous article. Herein the writer has tried to prove by numerous references and quotations that although the Bhagavadgeeta is generally supposed to preach Action, Devotion and Knowledge in an equal way. Lord Krishna principally intended to inculcate the doctrine of Action more than anything else. Action, as Mr. Madak interpretes the Lord; must however be (1) well-directed, (2) self-less, (3) unimpassioned, (4) disinterested and (5) divinely dedicated.

TWO BY-STORIES FROM THE EPICS.

This is a very ingenious article from the pen of Mr. Dattatary Gopal Limaye, a sub-editor on the staff of the *Keshari*. The contention of the writer seems to be that the demon *Dhundhoo* referred in the *Mahabharat* (Vana Parva 200-203) is no other than a poetical personification of a volcano which had devastated the vast regions of Gujrat and Rajputana at the time of King Brihadashva of Ayodhya. Similarly the writer suggests that the Town *Madhumant* mentioned in the *Ramayana* must have been buried down underground by the same process that brought down the destruction of Pompeii.

III. LOKASHIKSHANA.

(Falgun, 1831.)

[Principal Contents—(1) Salesmanship; (2) Games and Morals; (3) Count Tolstoy, and (4) Holy Places on the Himalayas.]

SALESMANSHIP.

Dr. S. V. Ketker of Amraoti who has some brochures on east to his credit, and whose contribution to the *Modern World* have proved so interesting, has, by his American experience, got sufficient claims to speak with authority on *Salesmanship*. In this article Mr. Ketker gives some instructive details of the American craft and has some useful hints for those who are in the line.

IV. MASIK MANORANJAN.

(February, 1913.)

[Principal contents—(1) The Literary Conference; (2) Marriage Expedition; (3) Pandit Kamavator Sharma; (4) Rise of the British Empire? (5) Alarm Signal

(6) Ananda Mohan Bose ; (7) Costume of Women ; (8) Late Marriage ; (9) Lectures of Swami Subhashitanand ; (10) Wit and Humour &c. &c.

COSTUME OF WOMEN.

The author of this article is a promising young lady, the daughter of Mr. N. C. Kelker, the patriarch of the Bombay Nationalists. The tragic occasion on which this article was published will ever remain in the memory of the public to most of whom Mr. Kelker is an idol. He had been summoned as a witness before the Public Service Commission, but when he left Poona in answer to the call, he had little idea that in Bombay he would have to face not only the cross-examination of an exacting body of Commissioners, but a far more terrible ordeal. His daughter, the author of the article above referred to, he had left at home—in Poona,—and his son-in-law, the husband of this lady, who was staying in Bombay, had greeted him on his arrival there as usual. But as the facts would have it, he suddenly got ill, and on the very day that Mr. Kelker was examined before the commission his son-in-law, a green youth of 25, succumbed to death, the same day probably that his wife's first article, the *Costume of Women*, saw the light of the day!

FINANCE AND COMMERCE.

PIONEER SUGAR COMPANY, LIMITED.

(By MR. K. C. BANERJEE—SUGAR-EXPERT).

In drawing the attention of the reader to an advertisement of "Pioneer Sugar Co. Ltd." appearing in this issue, I want to say that the manufacture of sugar ought to be a thriving Industry in this country. Sugar like salt is of universal consumption and may almost indeed be called a necessary of life with the people.

India which used to manufacture its own sugar and exported for the most of the world's supply is now not only the world's market as regards

sugar but it is one of the most important dumping grounds of the world and will become increasingly so since Japan has commenced to supply her own demand and the quantity of Java Sugar which now is absorbed by Japan is being diverted towards India.

The area under sugar cane cultivation in British India is 10,427,177 acres as Mr. Noel Paton says in his book. (Sugar in India) that if the total demand for commercial sugar were to be met by means of Composite Factories working in cane during one hundred days of the year and on Gur during two hundred days, in all causes all the rate of 20 tons' daily out put:—171 factories would be required to cope with it.



Mr. K. C. Banerjee.

There are hardly 20 such factories in India to meet this demand.

The chief reason for the decay of Indian Sugar Industry is the wasteful methods of manufacture on the one hand and the primitive methods of our cultivators on the other.

We quote below Mr. Prinsen Geerling's words, which he said as an expert witness in "The International Sugar Congress, to support our above statements:—

"In the present time only large sugar factories have a chance of competing in a world's market. Small factories scantily equipped are no longer a possibility and if still existent cannot prosper and have to make place for big concerns able to work factories grinding 700 to 800 tons of cane a day as a minimum.

"Only such factories can work economically and make money by doing work on a large scale thus dividing the necessary expenses over a great amount of product and minimising the self cost per ton. At the same time such big factories can pay for good skilled labour and attendance etc.

The Directors of this factory have in view to locate the factory near Dehri on Sone, where there is a big area under sugar cane cultivation. There is also a very big Gur market. The factory will deal with 500—400 tons of cane per day for 100 days in the year and 1,000 Mds of Gur per day for 200 days in the year.

Below is given a statement showing the expected profits out of the business.

ESTIMATE FOR WORKING THM FACTORY.

| | | | | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|-----|-----|------|-------------|--------|----|
| During Cane Season. | | | | | | |
| 300 tons of cane per day | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Cost of 300 tons of cane | ... | ... | 3000 | 0 | 0 | |
| Labour per. day | ... | ... | 300 | 0 | 0 | |
| Coal etc. | ... | ... | 50 | 0 | 0 | |
| Oil etc. | ... | ... | 25 | 0 | 0 | |
| Lime and other defecant | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | |
| Means of carriage | ... | ... | 200 | 0 | 0 | |
| Interest on dead stock | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | |
| Other Incidentals | ... | ... | 50 | 0 | 0 | |
| | | | | Rs. 3535 | 0 | 0 |
| The expense to run up for 130 days | ... | | | Rs. 353550 | | |
| | | | | " | 106050 | |
| | | | | Rs. 459,550 | | |
| Out put, | | | | | | |
| 800 Mds, of sugar per day & Rs. 8/- per md. | | | | | | |
| for 100 days | ... | ... | | Rs. 640,000 | | |
| Estimated profit during cane season | ... | | | Rs. 180,450 | | |

The whole of the Molasses that remains is fit for remanufacture. This when remanufactured with Gur, will give an yield of sugar worth nearly ... Rs. 22,000/
 So the estimated profit comes to nearly ... Rs. 200,000/

ESTIMATE FOR WORKING THE FACTORY WITH GUR.

| | | | | | Rs. | as. | p. |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|-----|----|
| 800 Mds. of Gur @ Rs. 4 ¹ / ₂ —per md. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3200 | 0 | 0 |
| Labour per day | ... | ... | ... | ... | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| Coal etc. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Oil etc. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Lime and other defecant | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Interest | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Incidentals | ... | ... | ... | ... | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | Rs. 3530 | 0 | 0 |
| For 230 days | ... | ... | ... | ... | Rs. 70600 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | „ 105900 | 9 | 0 |
| | | | | | Rs. 811,900 | 0 | 0 |
| Daily output | | | | | Rs. | as. | p. |
| 400 Mds of sugar @ Rs. 8 — per md. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3200 | 0 | 0 |
| 400 Mds of Molasses @ Rs. 3 —per md. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1200 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | Rs. 4400 | 0 | 0 |
| For 200 days in the year. | | | | | Rs. 880,000 | — | — |
| Estimated profit | ... | ... | ... | ... | Rs. 86,100 | — | — |
| Total estimated profit during the year between Rs.250,000 -to Rs. 275,000 - | | | | | | | |

THE UNITED BANK OF COMMERCE LIMITED.

*)—————(*

My attention has been called to a new business enterprise, the United Bank of Commerce, Ltd. which has its head office in Clive Street, Calcutta. I find that the Chairman of the Board of Directors of this Bank is our distinguished countryman Mr. B. De, late of the Indian Civil Service, whose connection with it is a guarantee of its honesty and respectability. The Managing Agents are Messrs. Shroff and Co., whose chief representative, Mr. N. L. Shroff to be a well-known figure in Bombay who recently accompanied the Hindu University Deputation, headed by the Maharajah of Durbhanga, to Bombay. The main object of the Bank is to help Indian industrial and commercial enterprises, both small and large, especially by the employment of purely Indian agencies, and thus to keep in the country that big slice of our business or trade-returns which is now appropriated by foreign middlemen. In this sense it is a very useful swadeshi venture. I see from the Prospectus that:—

The Company proposes to start their operations in the following lines of business, many of which are directly or indirectly connected with cotton.

1. To open seeds and cotton Jathas along with Banking prices where arrangements will be made to buy and sell these articles on Commission.

2. To open branches in England, on the Continent and in Japan for facilitating exports there. This will ensure to merchants greater attention to their business and more profits as the commission chargeable by the Company will be less than what is at present paid to other firms. Again the opening of branches will afford the merchants an advantage of comparing the three markets viz., Europe, Japan and India for rates and enable them to sell their goods for the best value. It is true that many German firms make large profits by having their branches in Great Britain. There is no reason why Indian merchants should not also follow the same course.

3. The Company will also open branches in different commercial and

industrial centres of India, Europe, and Japan where its agents can buy cotton, seeds or any other goods required for its constituents. It will also finance local merchants in those districts and will also advance loans to agriculturists to further their cultivation.

4. The company will also buy or take on lease ginning factories and cotton presses so that its constituents may have the facility of having their cotton ginned and pressed at moderate rates.

5. As the Company will have branches in the leading commercial centres as above stated, it will be able to look to the requirements of those countries and to export goods from here either under the



Mr. N. L. Shroff.

orders of foreign merchants or of local merchants as the case may be.

6. The Company will, as aforementioned, look not only to export and inland trade but also to import trade. It will at the earliest opportunity open an indent office and get out goods from England and other countries for merchants in this country. This business is also a profitable one and the Company will be specially in a position to succeed as it will have men on the spot in various countries who will buy direct from manufacturers.

7. The Company will also buy and sell, on behalf of merchants, American cotton in America.

8. It will also import American and Egyptian cotton for manufacturers who may be requiring finer varieties of cotton to spin higher numbers of Yarn

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श्रीगुरुवे नमः ।

THE HINDU REVIEW.

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND LIFE.

I.

THE PRESENT INDIAN PROBLEM

The Problem Stated.

In politics and statecraft, there is, I think, only one vital problem before the Government and the people of India at this moment. How to work up a reasonable reconciliation between the legitimate requirements of Indian Nationalism on the one side and of the British Empire on the other, is that problem. All other political problems that face us dwindle into utter inconsequence before it. The value of every political or administrative programme or policy in India must now be judged by its capacity to help this reconciliation. And the worth of every political or administrative reform must be determined by the same test.

* * * * *

An Unappreciated Problem.

Unfortunately, however, it is so far practically an unappreciated problem. There are not many people,—neither among Indian Nationalists nor among British Imperialists,—who seem to have got as yet a thorough grasp of it. The Nationalists, as a body, are inclined to take a very narrow view of Nationalism ; while the so-called Imperialists have no conception of the real meaning and significance of the Empire-Idea as a lofty and uplifting social synthesis. The Nationalist, distracted by the passions and prejudices of the passing conflict between the ideal and the actual in his present political life, cannot seize the universal aspect of his own Nationalism or recognise the trends of modern world-politics which will really determine the course of historic evolution in his own country as well as in other countries, in the near future. At

one time he had an exaggerated notion of England's power and strength. That hypnotic spell is practically broken. But the counter passes have apparently been much too strong for him ; and he has got into the habit of taking an equally exaggerated view of his own powers and possibilities now. He has still to recover his sense of proportion. He fancies that he can stand by himself against almost any world-combination. His secret ambition is to be like one of those great nations of Europe, the extent of whose greatness is measured by the degree of menace which their physical and mental strength offers to all neighbouring nations. He has lost his vision of the future when the war-drum shall throb no longer, and the battle-flags of the nations shall be furled—

“In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.”

He has forgotten his ancient MANTRAM—Jagaddhitāya Krishnāya—“In the name of Shree Krishna, for the good of all the world”—by which he had been taught of old to consecrate all his thoughts and works. This Jagaddhitāya Krishnāya—In the name of Krishna, for the good of the universe,—has been the Regulative Idea in Indian history. This has been the purpose of God in India. It is for the realisation of this Idea that India has, in almost every respect, been a miniature of the whole world. It is for this reason that, in the course of its gradual historic evolution, India has become the meeting place of almost all the great world-cultures of our time. From almost the very beginnings of our social evolution, the trend of Indian history seems to have been to evolve a unique federal ideal among us. The Hindu religion has been, for countless centuries past, a federation of many religions. The Hindu society has been, similarly, a federation of many practically autonomous communities or castes. The Hindu ideal of the State, when there were Hindu States in India, was a truly federal ideal. With the advent of other religions and cultures into India this ancient federal idea has received further developments among us. America has concretised the federal ideal only in one single department of life, namely, that relating to the State. India has evolved this federal type in almost every department of life. We have been clearly trained for countless centuries in this federal idea. Our appointed part and function in the coming history of the world is to lead humanity into this Universal Federation, universal in every sense of the term. This is the real meaning of the Nationalist Movement in India. The leaders of the Movement have, do doubt, fully seized this ideal. Bankim Chandra had fully realized it ; and, therefore, he presented the Permanent Form of the Mother as **Maha-Lakshmee seated on the lap of**

Mahavishnool : The Nation standing eternally related to Humanity. Every Nationalist leader since has preached this Nationalism, not as a mere political ideal, but as a high religion. It is the Cult of the Mother. And this Mother is a term of universal connotation with us. Kálee, Durgá, Lakshmee, Sarasvatee, all these are synonyms of the Mother, and they are all at once both particular and universal. This is what Max Muller really meant by Henotheism. The Mother in Bandé-Mátaram, is not only our Mother but the Mother of all. She has many appearances but one essence. This is the fundamental idea of the true Nationalist Creed. Nationalism has, therefore, an essential humanitarian reference. It is not an end unto itself, but must realise its special and particularistic ends in and through the universal ends of other social or socio-political units and the collective ends of Universal Humanity. Nationalist conflicts and competitions are, therefore, only passing phases of the evolution of Humanity, and not its permanent elements. Their end is to help a closer union and not to create wider discords. Even the present conflict in India must ultimately lead to such a union. These are, however, very feebly realised as yet by the general body of Indian Nationalists. And it is, therefore, that there is little or no appreciation of the vital problem that faces us just now.

Neither is there any correct appreciation of this problem among British Imperialists. If some Indian Nationalists have taken a wrong and distorted view of Nationalism, the British Imperialists also, with possibly a few solitary exceptions, have taken a similarly wrong and distorted view of the Empire-Idea. The superior ethical value of the Empire-Idea consists only in its capacity to offer a much higher and wider formula of human association than the Nation-Idea. And a synthesis implies the rational reconciliation of antecedent conflicts. A true empire is that which can, in its corporate life and constitution, offer a rational reconciliation of the particularistic conflicts and competitions of the different national units comprised within it. To realise this right Imperialist ideal, the British Empire must find adequate means for the reconciliation of the particularistic interests and ambitions of the different national units that compose it now. This reconciliation must be worked in and through the larger life and constitution of the Empire. An Empire that will not or that cannot do this can never endure. British Imperialism must, therefore, in its own interest, seek to work out a timely and permanent reconciliation between Indian and Egyptian and Irish and Welsh and Scotch and Australian and South-African and Canadian Nationalism with one

another and with itself. Such a reconciliation can be worked only upon a truly federal basis. An Imperial Federation alone will enable British Imperialism to fully realise itself. To seek self-fulfilment in any other way would be to court ruin and failure. This true Imperialism is very different from that Jingoism which has so long tried to pass itself off as such all these years. Unfortunately, however, there are not many British Imperialists who have any clear perception of the true Imperialist Ideal. Their Imperialism means really the usurpation of the authority and function of the whole Imperial Organism by certain favoured parts and limbs of it. Their conceit of Imperialism is a false and unhealthy thing; it is based upon conceit of superior brute force or of superior cunning, or of a combination of both. It has no true and lofty philosophy at its back. Like the Nationalist with a narrow vision of Nationalism, the Jingo Imperialist also has absolutely no sense either of actuality or proportion. It is inevitable, therefore, that he should have no appreciation of the true character of the problem that faces him in India.

The Indian Nationalist, whether he belongs to the so-called Moderate or the so-called Extremist section, is moved simply by a more or less strong passion for National Self-Rule. He desires to be in his own country what other great nations of the world are in their own country. He has not been encouraged or tempted to think of the world-wide Empire of which, whether he likes it or not, his country is just now an integral part. This Empire has so long been practically a sign and symbol, not of his freedom, but of his servitude. He has hitherto been treated by the other members of the Imperial concern in a way that has not helped to draw him closer to the Empire, but has rather prevented him from feeling any intimacy with it. He has not been a participator in the glories of this Empire, and has not been trained to feel that he has any vital stake in it. He has, therefore, absolutely no call to approach his problems from what may be called the true Imperial stand-point. The very idea of seeking any reconciliation between his Nationalist aspirations and the requirements of the unity and strength of the Empire does not enter into his thoughts. He is anxious only for the fulfilment of his own Nationalist ambitions, but does not care a pin for the fate of the Empire to which, for good or for evil, he now belongs.

If the Indian Nationalist is utterly unconcerned about the fate of the British Empire, the British Imperialist, as a class, are equally unconcerned about the future of Indian Nationalism, except in so far as

it may affect their Imperial interests or hurt their conceit of culture or pride of race. By the British Empire they understand only a dominant White Confederacy mainly of British or Anglo-Saxon origin, holding political sovereignty over multitudinous non-white peoples. If this position of absolute superiority of the Anglo-Saxon in the work and prerogatives of the Empire goes, the Empire itself might go then, it would not be worth having on those conditions. This is how the narrow Imperialist feels. He is the last person, therefore, to seriously think of any reconciliation between his Imperialism and the Nationalist movement whether in India or Egypt. All that he wants is to crush and kill this impertinent ambition of the Indian or the Egyptian to be an equal co-partner with the white members of the Empire. There is, thus, an irreconcilable antagonism between narrow Nationalism and Jingo Imperialism. One does not admit the possibility and the other the necessity of any reconciliation between themselves. Consequently, there is no appreciation on either side of the real value and significance of the Indian problem, as I have stated it here. And this is, to my mind, the greatest difficulty in the way of a statesmanly settlement of the present trouble in India.

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Lord Hardinge seems to be one of those few people who have a clear grasp of this problem. He is perhaps the only official in this country who has a season of the case, as the lawyers would say. And it is impossible to deny that his Lordship has been pursuing a policy of real reconciliation between the legitimate requirements of both Indian Nationalism and the British Empire. It is because of this policy of reconciliation that his Lordship has been able to very considerably relieve the tension of the Indian situation as Lord Minto had left it. This situation would have improved a good deal more if only Lord Hardinge had the unstinted sympathy and whole-hearted support of the Indian Bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian press. There is, of course, no open opposition to his Lordship's policy from the subordinate officials in the country; but there is no intelligent appreciation of it among them. It is hardly their fault either. Statesmanly grasp of complex and far-reaching political issues can hardly be expected from a body of permanent officials trained only to the routine work of the administration, in any country. Least of all, is it reasonable to expect it in a highly organised State. In fact, the more perfect and efficient is an administrative machinery, the lesser is the need there of any statesmanship in the permanent officials in the country. For the lack of any superior

statesmanship: in the subordinate officials there does not in any way interfere with the efficient working of the administrative machine.

But the situation in India is very peculiar. There is hardly any parallel to it either in ancient or modern history. The Government of India is, undoubtedly, a huge and complex machine, and the individual officers are mere parts and limbs of that machine. The Governor-General in Council and the Heads of the various Provincial Administrations with their respective Executive Councils, are, each in his own sphere, engineers and foremen of this complex machinery. It is they who lay down the policy of the State, initiate changes and reforms, and direct and control the Administrative Machinery. The subordinate officials have, at least in theory, simply to carry out the orders passed on to them from headquarters. Theoretically, these officials are only parts and organs of the Administrative Organism. But practically they are a good deal more. The District Magistrate in India, for instance, is not merely a limb and organ of the Administrative Organism, but is, in a peculiar sense, the Organism itself. He is not only the local representative of the authority of the Government, but is, above all things, the fleshly and visible embodiment and incarnation of the spirit and character of the State. He is not merely the executor of the policy of the Government but is also the interpreter not only of the meaning but also of the inner spirit of that policy. People in India, therefore, judge of the character of the Government not by the words of the Head of the State but by the acts and attitudes of the officials. Consequently, the policy of the Head of the Government, enunciated in his public pronouncements, can have absolutely no influence upon the people unless it is clearly understood, thoroughly appreciated, and loyally translated into their everyday conversation and conduct, by every official in the country. This, I am afraid, is not being done by Lord Hardinge's subordinates in the country, in the way and to the extent, it should be done, to meet the requirements of the present situation and to help a clear understanding of his Lordship's statesmanly policy by our people.

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| <p>Ever since Lord Hardinge took up the reins of Government from Lord Minto, there has been a grateful change of heart at headquarters; but the old Adam is still very much in evidence in the District administrations, more or less everywhere. And this is largely responsible, I am afraid, for the smouldering of the old unrest still in the country. The notion entertained even by Lord Hardinge, that</p> | <p>The New Policy In Delhi</p> <p>The Old Spirit In the Districts.</p> |
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because revolutionary anarchism has been found impossible to kill entirely in Europe, it will inevitably remain always with us even in India, seems, to my mind, wholly unwarranted. This anarchism in Europe is an indigenous product, the growth of many centuries of historic and social evolution, and has an organic affinity with the inner psychology of European humanity. Philosophically, it is the necessary logic of Christian culture, with its excessive individualistic emphasis, and its dogmas of social rights and equality. Politically, it is the direct fruit of centuries of oppression of the masses by the classes and their kings. The gulf that separates men in society, has been far more wide in Europe, since the break up of the old Feudal System, than it has ever been in India. Not to speak of Islam, whose spirit of democracy is so unique in human history, even Hindu division of caste, except in the South, has never been so destructive of human fellowship as the secular class distinctions of Europe, with its excessive emphases on the accidents of material possessions. And all these are mainly responsible for the birth, growth, and perpetuation of the anarchical propaganda in Europe. None of these causes and conditions are, however, present among us. The so-called anarchism in this country is an exotic. It is of distinct European origin. It has been borrowed by a section of our Europeanised youths, from the revolutionary literature of France, Italy, and Russia. One has only to glance over the Indian literature of this propaganda, to see how much of its inspiration has been derived from foreign sources, and how largely its deductions are based upon indiscriminate study of European works. And this being the real origin and history of this so-called anarchism in this country, there is absolutely no warranty for the conclusion that because revolutionary anarchism has not been entirely stamped out in Europe, it has come to stay here, with us, in India also. With us the malady is not constitutional, as it is in Europe, but only functional. And if it has not been cured completely as yet, the responsibility rests more with bad doctoring than with anything else.

The King-Emperor came all the way to India to help heal the sore created by the tactlessness of the Curzon Administration and deepened by the panic-begotten policy of Lord Minto. And His Majesty's visit has done a lot towards healing that sore. Lord Hardinge's statesmanly policy, as enunciated in his Lordship's memorable Despatch of August 1911, had the same end in view. It has considerably relieved the irritation in the public mind. But it can hardly be denied that the Indian Bureaucracy as a whole, and the Anglo-Indian publicists as a

class, have not as yet entered into the spirit of the King-Emperor and the Viceroy. They still seem to fancy that "military law and no d——d nonsense" would have settled the unrest much quicker and more effectively than all this weak-need parleying with sedition and rebellion. It is inevitable, therefore, that while the Viceroy is pulling one way, the officials and the foreign merchants and traders, and newspaper scribes are all pulling Britain's Imperial policy in India in another and a contrary way. And this want of living response on the part of the District Administrations to the inspiration of the Supreme Government is very largely, if not entirely, responsible for the continuance of this unrest. No one would say or suggest that the District officials should be less watchful now than they had been before. I for one would not even demand an open repeal or reversal of the unwise measures of the last Administration. A law that exists only on the Statute-Book of the realm, does not necessarily hurt a people. The evil comes only through its application and administration. And what the situation demands absolutely in India to-day is a change of heart and spirit in all the branches of the Administration, from the highest to the lowest. There is evident proof of this change in the head of the Government, and to some extent also at provincial headquarters; but none practically in the lower places. The District Administrations are being conducted in most places just as under Lord Minto. The District officials have not as yet clearly realised it that watching is one thing and nagging is quite a different thing. Lord Minto did not understand the truism that nagging is not administration. The officials habituated to the methods of the Minto regime, have yet to learn it. And it is the general opinion among intelligent students of current history in this country, that this nagging by the officials on the one hand and by Anglo-Indian scribes on the other is very largely responsible for whatever unrest there is still in the country. Existing methods of police surveillance of sensitive patriotic youths, creates, I think, oftentimes more political criminals in the community than the wildest rhapsodies of contraband revolutionary circulars of the Yugantar class could ever expect to do. Political "suspects" may be watched as vigilently as possible: every Government have to keep an eye upon people whose opinions and activities are likely to create trouble for them. They are watched everywhere. But it is a great mistake to subject the "political suspect" to the same kind of watching, which is usually kept over ordinary Police-Register-criminals. I do not know if Lord Hardinge is aware of it, but in Bombay, at any rate, people convicted under Sec. 124-A, the Sedition Section of the Indian Penal Code, have

to give their thumb-mark and other particulars like the P. R. prisoners. And it shows the spirit in which "undesirable" politicians are treated by the subordinate administrations. It is not necessary to cultivate this spirit of persecution for the preservation of peace and order in the country. And yet it rules the treatment of political "suspects" in almost every district. Any one who had ever been tempted to betray the least little sympathy with the Nationalist propaganda is treated with ill-concealed suspicion by the local executive. His movements are watched openly, almost insultingly. Relations and friends he may visit are pestered with harrassing police enquiries. These people frequently find it difficult to earn an honest living. With the police perpetually at their heels, they are turned out of every place that they may secure, and are not allowed sometimes to make their own living even by starting any trade or business of their own. I am sure that neither Lord Hardinge nor Lord Carmichael nor any other superior officials know of these things. I do not think that these things are always done under orders from, or even with the knowledge of the District Magistrate. I do not blame even the police for these petty persecutions. The police had received certain instructions during the Minto-regime to meet a peculiarly trying and novel situation. That situation has visibly changed, no doubt; but the lower officials cannot be expected to understand that this change is entirely due to the inauguration of a new policy of reconciliation by Lord Hardinge. They generally attribute the comparative quiet of today to the severity of the repressions of yesterday. They are, therefore, quite naturally unwilling to relax the old rigours immediately. This is the correct psychology of the general official attitude, and particularly of the attitude of the police towards political "suspects."

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And a change of spirit of the lower district administrations is, to my mind, the most imperative need of the present situation in this country. Nothing less and nothing else will kill the propaganda of political crimes among us. We are as much eager as any official to stamp out this criminal propaganda. It is not merely a menace to the peace, but is equally a very serious obstacle in the way of the progress of the country. Every thankful and responsible Nationalist is anxious to settle this revolutionary unrest. But what are we to do, if all our attempts to induce a sober and reasonable attitude and temper in our young people, are frustrated by the acts and attitudes of the lower official body on the one side, and the venomous vapourings

of the irresponsible Anglo-Indian scribes on the other. And as long as a more reasonable and conciliatory spirit has not been infused into the rank and file of the British Bureaucracy in India, and the Government has not assumed an attitude of stern aloofness from the Anglo-Indian publicists, and treat them openly and scrupulously as they treat the Indian press, resenting their impertinence in always arrogating to themselves a special relationship with the State on the strength of their chromatic or sartorial kinship with the King-Emperor, so long, I am afraid, Lord Hardinge's statesmanly policy in India will not bear fruit, not at any rate in its fullest measure.

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Lord Hardinge clearly recognises both the possibility and the need of a complete reconciliation between the legitimate demands of Indian Nationalism and the true interests of the British Empire. I use the adjectives "legitimate" and "true" deliberately and with a full consciousness of their implications. All human conflicts, whether between individuals or between communities, are due always to unreasonable pretensions on the one side and unjust usurpations on the other. Both unreason and injustice are based on falsehood. The present conflict in India is caused by a false view of Nationalism on our side and an equally false view of Imperial interests on their side. Legitimate Nationalism has no quarrel with true Internationalism or Imperialism. True Imperialism also cannot be destructive of legitimate Nationalism. The real and rational value of the Empire-Idea, consists in the fact that it offers a much wider and higher formula of human fellowship than the Nation-Idea. Imperialism must, therefore, offer a higher synthesis of all national conflicts and competitions than what can be found in mere Nationalism. The legitimate demand of Nationalism is that it must have the fullest and freest scope to realise its own special life and ideals, without any let or hindrance from any other national units or national groups, and consistently with the larger life of Universal Humanity. An Empire is a unit composed of many Nationalities. An Empire is a large Social Organism, composed of many small Social Organisms, which are its limbs and organs. The true interest of any organism cannot be in conflict with the legitimate freedom and self-realisation of its organs, but rather it is furthered and protected by the protection and furtherance of the autonomy and self-fulfilment of its different organs. The true interest of any Empire, therefore, lies not in the suppression of the freedom of its component Nationalities but only and always in the promotion and perfection of that freedom. Isolated independence cannot be a legitimate

demand of any National unit that has been placed by force of its own historic evolution in vital relations with any Empire. Usurpation of the right and scope of free development, along its own line, towards its own specific cultural ends, of any National unit comprised within an Empire is not required in the true interests of that Empire. And it is in view of this lofty and advanced social philosophy, that I hold that there is, in truth, no irreconcilable conflict between Indian Nationalism and what is called British Imperialism. Whether it be from the view-point of this social philosophy, or from considerations of farseeing but practical statesmanship, from whatever motives it may be, Lord Hardinge seems to have recognised that really the present conflict between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism, is not absolutely irreconcilable.

And his Lordship clearly understands this, namely, that to work out any sort of permanent reconciliation between these, there must be a good deal of give and take on both sides. His Lordship, therefore, fully understands it that the present position of the British Government in India will have to be materially amended, before there can be any sort of permanent reconciliation between itself and the aspirations of Indian Nationalism. The Government of India must gradually cease to be autocratic, and become more and more truly representative of the highest thought and culture of India, controlled and worked by the composite Indian people, through their accredited spokesmen and officers, just as the Colonial Governments are,—before it will be able to completely reconcile itself to the legitimate requirements of the Nationalist Ideal. In other words, there must be complete National Autonomy in India, before it can be rightly incorporated into the British Empire as an organic limb and part of it. Lord Hardinge, as I have repeatedly said in these pages and elsewhere, recognises all this, and is fully prepared for this line of development of Indian politics. This is the only meaning that can be reasonably put upon his Lordship's Despatch of August 1911. His Excellency can evidently think without fear or sorrow of a time when India will be autonomous, like the Self-Governing Dominions of Great Britain,—an autonomous State, or, more correctly speaking, a congeries of autonomous provincialities federated to one another and represented in their collective life and authority by a Central Federal Government with its seat in the historic District of Delhi. His Lordship clearly sees that this way lies the coming course of political evolution in India. He further sees that this way lies also the only safety of the British Empire and the preservation of its strength and integrity. He understands that the only way to perpetuate

the British connection with India lies in this peaceful historic evolution. All this is distinctly implied in the policy that he has enunciated in his Despatch. This policy has clearly the fullest support of the King-Emperor or His Majesty would not have put his seal upon it by coming out to India to personally initiate it by announcing the repeal of the Bengal Partition. It has also the support of the British Cabinet without whose sanction all this could not have taken place. The plinth and foundations of a reasonable reconciliation between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism have thus been already definitely laid. What is wanted now is that all parties should forget and forgive the past and loyally work together to help the building up of this noble edifice of an Imperial Federation, the first really of its kind in history, which will stand for all time to come as a model for all the races and nations of the world to imitate with a view to usher in ultimately an era of universal peace and progress, freedom and happiness, which will realise the vision of the prophets and the dream of the poets of every race and land. Thus through the development and perfection of our national life, in and through the larger life of a world-wide imperial federation of Hindu, Christian, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, and Moslem cultures of the world as represented by some of the best representatives of these, we shall at last realise in and through our social and political life, our ancient ideal, enunciated in the sacred formula—Jagddhitāya Kṛishnāya—for the good of the universe to Shree Krishna the Lord of All.

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I am so enthusiastic over Lord Hardinge's Indian policy and have **The Education of** been urging every Nationalist to lend it his loyal **The Bureaucracy.** support, because I clearly see what it means for the future of Indian Nationalism. I am confident that every British official and Anglo-Indian publicist in the country would lend it his whole-hearted support, if only he saw as clearly what this policy really means for the future of British Imperialism also. Unfortunately, however, they do not seem to have so far realised the true inwardness of this policy. And what is needed just now is to devise some means for the education of the subordinate officials, and, if possible, of the Anglo-Indian publicists also, in the ground principles of that high and synthetic philosophy of Imperialism which evidently lies at the back of Lord Hardinge's Indian policy. If only they could be made to see the utter impossibility of perpetuating the present constitution of the Indian Government, in the face of the growing opposition of the leaders of articulate public opinion in the country on the one side, and the fearful

possibilities of either Pan-Islamic or Pan-Mongolian complications on the other, and that the very attempt to do so would simply increase the growing bitterness of the present relations between the rulers and the ruled in the country, and add immensely to the difficulties of a very difficult situation, and that the only possibility of perpetuating the British connection with India lies in working out a reconciliation between the legitimate needs of Indian Nationalism and the true interests of the British Empire, and that Lord Hardinge's policy indicates the only practical line along which this reconciliation may be worked up by slow degrees,—if the British officials in the country could only be educated in these facts and ideas, I am confident they would at once throw the weight of their influence on the side of this statesmanly policy and carry it out to a successful issue. I do not think that the Viceroy has done anything so far to fully explain his policy to the subordinate officials in the country. I am not aware that any Viceroy ever did anything of the kind, before. But there can be no harm in doing it even for the first time now. Since some time past British politicians, from Lord Morley downwards, have been talking of "personal government" as best suited to the genius of Oriental peoples. We know what the surface meaning of this prescription is, and the ignorance and short-sightedness that have combined to enunciate this policy. But if the ideal of so-called personal government is at all to be pursued in this country, there must first of all be much closer personal contact and intercommunication between the Head of the Government and every individual official who represents him in every district. Whatever may be said either for or against the policy of personal government, a close personal contact between Lord Hardinge and our District Magistrates would, I think, go a very great way to improve the present situation in the country.

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| <p>But like the British official in India, the Anglo-Indian publicist also</p> <p>The Education of The Anglo-Indian Publicist.</p> | <p>requires to be thoroughly posted in the facts and arguments upon which Lord Hardinge's Indian policy is based. Whether they profess allegiance to the Liberal or the Unionist programme in regard to British politics, Anglo-Indian journalists belong, so far as India is concerned, practically, to one common school. They are, with</p> |
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one or two very rare exceptions, all committed to a policy of upholding, under every circumstance and in all matters, the superior position and special privileges of the foreign official and mercantile community in India, and consequently they are uniformly "anti-native." And it is impossible to deny that a good deal of the irreconcilable attitude of many of our people, specially of the younger generations, is very largely due to the writings of the Anglo-Indian press. I wonder if a responsible British statesman sent out to act as the King-Emperor's representative in India, has ever tried to realise how seriously the Government is hurt, in the eyes of its Indian subjects, by the intolerable arrogance of the irresponsible Anglo-Indian scribe. These people have created far more sedition in the country than either the Congress or the Svadeshi-and-Boycott agitation ever did. One can understand their position as spokesmen of a particular community, who, as such, have, as a matter of course, to always protect every special advantage or prerogative of their clientele. One may even overlook their interested opposition and abuse. These are not the things that really matter or that actually hurt the Government. What does so is the pretension of these scribes as having a special right, owing to their country or colour, to identify themselves with the Government and speak in its name. When every Tom, Dick or Harry, speaks or writes of the British Government in India as "our rule" and proposes all sorts of preferential measures in the interest of "their" Empire, the situation becomes ridiculous to those who have a keen sense of humour in them, but intolerable to the many whose sensitive patriotism is very much hurt by these follies. And, frankly speaking, the Government in India has done so far precious little indeed, to take this mischievous conceit out of these insensible scribes. Like the British officials in India, these Anglo-Indian publicists also must be thoroughly educated in the ideas and ideals of the new Indian policy, as enunciated in Lord Hardinge's Despatch, if it is to fully realise its purpose. And here again, I think, a few confidential and personal interviews between the Viceroy and individual Anglo-Indian editors would be exceedingly helpful. Of course it goes without saying, that to avoid misunderstandings, such interviews will have to be granted to or sought with Indian publicists also, irrespective of all considerations as to whether they are called "Moderates" or "Extremists." In fact, I think, his Lordship will get more light from the latter than even from the former.

The Education of the Indian Nationalists. The Indian Nationalist also equally requires to be educated, first in the true philosophy of his own Nationalism, and, next, in the actualities of the Indian situation on the one side and those of the general world-situation on the other. For it would serve no useful purpose to shut our eyes to the fact that the general body of Indian Nationalists have as yet no appreciation of the need of reconciling their nationalist aspirations to the continuance of the British connection with India. With the Indian Nationalists, whether they are called Moderates or are condemned as Extremists, the most vital problem now is, not how to reconcile their ideals and ambitions with the perpetuation of the British connection, but simply how to cleverly nullify or violently get rid of the British control. It needs a much keener political insight than what we have acquired as yet, and a much wider vision than what has so far been vouchsafed unto us, to realise the supreme necessity, in the interest of the future of Indian Nationalism itself, of keeping up the British connection, while carefully eliminating the taint of servitude from India's relations with the British Empire. The Congress idea of "self-government within the Empire" is to many people a mere meaningless cant, that helps to save one's reputation for patriotism, without risking one's freedom by sedition. By its confusion of thought in the earlier stages, and its timid diplomacy subsequently, the Indian National Congress, more perhaps than any other body, has helped to confirm the feeling among many people that Indian autonomy is inherently irreconcilable with the British connection. The very idea of any such reconciliation is voted therefore out of court by many people in the country, as absolutely utopian.

There is, however, a still greater obstacle in the way of a clear and correct appreciation of this problem by our people. And that is the low and limited view that many Indian Nationalists take of their ideal and duty. It is due to alien influences. Most of us are Nationalists more in the European sense of the term than after our own true social philosophy. Jagaddhitāya Krishnāya—dedicated to Sree Krishna, for the good of the world,—this has been, as I have said, the formula of consecration of all our works, sacramental and social both. This is how the rich among us always consecrate every public work they construct, be it a temple or a tank, and it shows the universal reference of all our social duty. Our modern Nationalist Ideal has not yet reached this lofty spiritual level. The idealism of the Indian Nationalist rarely rises, in fact, above the lower European plane of it, where it concerns

itself almost uniformly with the carnal conflicts of political and economic competitions between one nation and another. This nationalist idealism has raised our young men far above the meaner joys and pains of their individual life, and has trained, at least, some of them to completely identify themselves with the larger life of their country and their people; but it has not as yet raised them from the nationalist ideal to that of Universal Humanity. Their idealism has not as yet been able to transcend the passing particularities of the mere national life, under the inspiration of the divine vision of the Universal revealing and realising Himself in and through the endless diversities of national ideals and activities. Nationalism has so far done very needful and valuable spade work. It has somewhat cured us of our selfish ambitions, which is the bane of the life of all dependent peoples. It has taught some of our people to care more for their country than for their own self or family or friends. This is no small moral achievement. But the Indian Nationalist has yet to learn the supreme truth that the highest and truest fulfilment of Nationalism is not really inside, but beyond itself. Indeed, this unceasing call of the Beyond is the soul of all idealism. It is the incentive of the devotee, the inspiration of the poet, the intoxication of the martyr, and the dynamic element in all human evolution. The man or woman who is not impelled by this call of the Beyond even in the midst of the pursuit of his or her personal objects of life, does not live, but simply vegetate. This call of the Beyond is the sign and covenant of our Divine origin and destiny. The individual who hears not this call, is killed by the dead weight of his own individualism. A nation that sees and seeks nothing beyond its own national ideals and interests and pursues only these with deathless determination, is destined to be consumed to ashes by its own heat. We must realise all this. When we do so, we shall see both the need and the possibility of a reasonable reconciliation between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism.

And it is in view of all this that I hold that, to reconcile the requirements of Indian Nationalism with the maintenance of the British connection, is the most vital problem before us just now. The future of India, the future of Great Britain and her Imperial family, and in no small measure the future even of modern humanity, depends upon the solution of this problem. Great Britain and India joined together in an honest and honourable federal relationship, will hold the peace of the world and the fate of the modern world-cultures in the hollow of their hands. Separated from each other it may be impossible for both either to save themselves in the coming clash of nations, or help the salvation

of others. Every reconciliation of rival claims means a good deal of give and take on either side. To work out a real reconciliation between them, both Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism must make up their minds to sacrifice what may seem just now as pleasant, to what is really good for all time to come. British Imperialism must renounce its natural desire to perpetuate the present relations with India as a Dependency of Great Britain. Indian Nationalism must also amend its equally natural ambition to attain the status of an isolated and independent sovereign state. And both parties should do it in their own interest. Indian Nationalism should seriously think over the fatal risks of recklessly pursuing the ideal of isolated independence in the face of the general world-situation. British Imperialism should clearly realise the absolute impossibility of keeping a continent like India in a state of perpetual tutelage and helplessness. A free and honourable federation with Great Britain and her Colonies and Protectorates will not hinder but, on the contrary, materially help the realisation of the true ends of Indian Nationalism. The absolute autonomy of the federated states is the only basis upon which such a federation can be built up. It will thus secure to us that freedom of self-development, which must be our one and only plea for desiring national independence, —without calling upon us to run the risk of a fresh period of soul-killing servitude under Moslem or Mongol. These are what we should consider on our side, while seeking for a reasonable compromise with Great Britain. Great Britain too, on her side, should realise that while a dependent and helpless India must, on the one hand, be a source of fatal weakness to her Empire, an autonomous and strong India, with her own national Militia and Navy will, on the other hand, make that Empire absolutely invincible against every possible combination of her enemies. And, above all, such a Federation will also be a guarantee of the world's peace, such as nothing else is likely to be.

II.

BELATED REFORMS.

Few people seem to understand that belated reforms are generally worse than useless. There are periodical floods in a country, caused by the overflow of some mighty rivers. These rivers must be drained to save people's fields and orchards and houses from being washed away every time there is excess of rains in the plains or excessive melting of

snow up in the mountains where these rivers have their source. Engineers come and examine the conditions of land and river and submit a plan for the prevention of floods. But the city or the state has either not the will or the money to immediately undertake the execution of the plan. They discuss it year after year. They wait for prosperous time to come when their exchequer will overflow with gold, and when they will be able to undertake this work without starving any others. But Nature waits not for them. It goes its own way. And ten years later new conditions are created which make the old plan not merely useless, but perhaps positively harmful. Like Nature, Society too, does not tarry in its course to suit the wishes of men. Man may halt and hesitate, may shelve or sleep over urgent problems of political, or economic, or social reforms, but Society does not wait upon his pleasure, but moves on along her own course, the more unhampered, because un-helped by man's intelligence and effort. For Society is not a mere collection of human units; in which case its movements might have been *absolutely* controlled by the activities or want of activity of these units. But Society is an organism. As an organism it has an inner life-and-motive force of its own. Like all organisms it is controlled by its environments, but the force that moves it comes not from these environments but from itself. Environments do not create the life-force of organisms, but simply stimulate it. They do not initiate motion, but simply direct it, to some extent; for even this direction is really not given from the outside, but is taken by the organism itself, for its own organic ends, from within. Like all organisms, Society too has its own organs; and these organs are individual human units that compose the social whole. These humans are themselves organisms, have specific ends of their own. Society controls these ends, and is also controlled by them. Every organism is so controlled by its own organs. It cannot entirely over-ride them. Society cannot also entirely over-ride individual efforts and initiatives, or the weakness of individual human units composing it. But still like every other organic whole, Society is both immanent in every individual human and at the same time always transcends them, both severally and collectively. This is why Society changes from year to year, even where the individuals are apparently bound to fixed and unbending codes and traditions. No amount of conservatism can prevent this inherent movement of the social organism. This is why even China has not been stationary, nor have the Hindus, while owning allegiance to the Vedas and the Manava-Dharma-Sastra, remained through the milleniums that have elapsed

since the days of Vyasa and Manu, exactly in the same stage of social evolution. And it is because of this fact, namely, that Society transcends the individual, and has an inherent motive-force of its own, which though it may be controlled by its members, can never be crushed by it,—that belated social reforms always become worse than useless.

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Thirty years ago, the separation of the judicial and executive functions of Indian Magistrates, was called for in the interest of the administration of criminal justice in the country. But the Government had either not the will or the funds to carry out this much-needed reform. This reform has been waiting for these thirty years. But the course of political and social evolution did not tarry to keep it company. So we have now a state of things that is very different from that of thirty years ago. Thirty years ago there was practically no political unrest in the country. Thirty years ago the official classes were not intolerant of our agitations, and we too had not become impatient of their control. They have lost that tolerance today; we have ourselves also lost a good deal of our old patience. Race antagonism has become keener. The menace to the power and the prestige of the Bureaucracy from the political agitator has become immensely more pronounced today. Thirty years ago the British Judiciary in the country had no political taint in them. Considerations of the safety of the British rule in India or of the maintenance of the position and prestige of those who represent that rule, rarely or never entered into the thoughts of either the executive or the judicial officers of the country. Protection of person and property, prevention of crime, quelling of public disorder,—these were the only conscious motives of criminal administration then. Reasons of State found no place in it, in those days. But these reasons have more or less obsessed almost every British judge in the country now. In fact, the general criminal administration has considerably improved in spirit, with the advent of the present political unrest in the country. In proportion as the courts have developed a tendency to be vindictive in political cases, in that proportion they have been eager to deal leniently with the ordinary criminals before them. And all these show that for the preservation of the purity of British justice in India, what is needed now, is not the separation of the judicial and executive functions of the Magistrates, but something more and, possibly, something else.

And that something is the extension of the system of trial by jury, not only to districts where it does not obtain now, but, what is equally important, to at least certain classes of cases that are at present tried by the Magistrates themselves. The Indian Criminal Procedure must be brought in this respect, into line with the English Law on the subject. The revisionary powers of the High Courts, in regard to cases tried by a jury, may, for obvious reasons, be preserved. That ought to be regarded as sufficient safeguard against miscarriage of justice. But not merely Sessions Judges, but even Magistrates must try every criminal charge, punishable with rigorous imprisonment of more than six months, with the help of a jury. This is the only reform that may expect to meet the present situation. The mere separation of the judicial and executive functions will not touch the outermost fringe of the problem now. And along with it, the High Court must be placed in direct relation to the Supreme Government, and made in every way independent of the Local Governments. These are the only two things that are likely to be useful now. If we have these reforms, the combination or separation of the judicial and executive functions of Magistrates, will be a matter of comparative inconsequence to us. If we cannot get these, the separation of the functions will be, perhaps, even worse than useless. For we may separate outer offices and duties, but we cannot, thereby, change the spirit of the officers. And what is needed just now in India is, above all things, this change of spirit, both in the rulers and in the ruled. This change no law can work up. Its only chance lies, as I have said above, in a thorough grasp of the actualities of the present and the possibilities of the future by both sides, and in a correct appreciation of and loyal co-operation with Lord Hardinge's policy, which this grasp must lead to.

III.

INDIA AND IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

It is not easy to understand why the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis should have gone out of his way to move a Resolution on Imperial Preference, before the Viceregal Council. It shows how little do our "representatives" in the Legislative Councils represent anybody except themselves. Indian public opinion has not as yet devoted any serious thought to this subject. The Indian National

**A Needless
Resolution.**

Congress even has not as yet felt called upon to discuss it. There is, absolutely, no body of political or economic thought in the country which has evinced as yet the least little partiality for the programme of the Tariff Reform Party in England. At first sight, it seemed very much likely that the Hon'ble Member had been put up to it, not by his constituency, if he really has any, but by some one like Sir Roper Lethbridge, who has for some time past been telling the British people how India would welcome nothing so much as a preferential tariff, and who thought that their hands might be strengthened by such a move in the Viceregal Council. But if this be the real psychology of this Resolution, one feels bound to say, that it has signally failed of its purpose. Even Mr. Chitnavis could not so completely forget the actual economic condition of British India, as to demand this so-called Imperial Preference for its own sake. It is Great Britain that has killed all our ancient industries, and it is she who stands today as our most formidable competitor not only in the world-market, but even in our home-markets. India wants protection. Mr. Chitnavis would not deny it. And she needs protection not from Germany or Austria or Italy or America but, primarily, from England. To impose a tariff on German or French or Austrian or American imports, while leaving British and Colonial goods to enjoy more or less free access to our markets, might please Sir Roper Lethbridge and his Tory leaders but would in no way profit Indian trade or commerce. On the contrary it might increase the burdens of the Indian consumers by making them practically dependent for a good many things they want, upon Great Britain and her Colonies only. It is notorious that German and Austrian goods sell much cheaper here than British goods. A protective and preferential tariff would increase the price of the former, without reducing that of the latter. Indeed, protected against German or Austrian or American competitors, by a preferential Indian tariff, British and Colonial producers might be tempted to raise their price and thus increase the burdens of the Indian consumers. I am simply surprised that these plain facts did not strike so experienced a public man as Mr. Chitnavis.

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It may perhaps be said that this Resolution was simply a cover for putting forth a demand for an all-round protective tariff in India. Such a demand would have, in any case, the support of a large body of articulate public opinion in this country. For it is impossible to deny that there is a very strong protectionist sentiment among us.

Free Trade

v.

Protection.

The entire economics of the Svadeshi-and-Boycott movement was protectionist ; though it cannot be said that it has so far been a reasoned and considered national policy. Of course neither Free Trade nor Protection are absolute economic principles. There are circumstances wherein free-trade would be considered mere suicidal folly and protection the only right course. But though under especial conditions protection may be the right economic policy, still it is not the best and the highest, either logically or ideally. But this ideal relation can be realised only under ideal circumstances. The ideal economic arrangement in every community or nation is that each individual shall produce that only which he or she can produce best of all and at the least expenditure of time and energy. Both these conditions must be fulfilled. The commodity must be the best of its kind ; the time and energy spent in its production must be the least possible. If *A* can produce a commodity in its highest perfection, by spending less time and energy than *B* ; *A* should produce it and not *B*, who must find out what he can produce similarly, namely of the highest quality and at the lowest expense. And *A* and *B* should exchange their goods to their mutual profit. This is the ideal economic arrangement inside every community or nation. This is the truest form of free-trade. Similarly if each community or nation will produce that only which it can produce best and at the lowest expenditure of time and energy, and then if all the nations will take from one another their respective goods, freely and without any artificial protection or preference, that will be the ideal economic arrangement in international relations. And that arrangement would be based upon absolute Free Trade Principles.

Ideally, therefore, Free Trade is superior to and higher than Protection. Humanity must reach this ideal one day. We enjoy this freedom in our internal trade and commerce. There was a time when even this freedom did not exist, when particular families or tribes or clans or guilds were protected by social or political laws against the trade-competitions of other families, tribes, clans or guilds. Civilisation has outgrown that primitive stage. Now every person is free to produce his best and place it in the open market, at his own price. But this freedom is absent at present in international trade and commerce. But it will come some day, when all the nations shall be as one people, and being co-ordinated with one another inside the organic unity of Universal Humanity, shall fully co-operate with one another for the furtherance of the common weal. We are, however, very far as yet from this millenium. Consequently, just now, neither

Free Trade nor Protection can be accepted as a universal and absolute economic law or principle.

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A tariff is a form of taxation, indirect, therefore insidious, but taxation it is all the same. And the tax is not paid by the foreigner but by the people of the country which imposes the tariff. The native consumer pays more for the dutiable articles than he would have done if

**The
Rationale
of
Protection.**

there were no duties imposed upon them. He buys dearer. Why should he?—asks the Free-trader. For future profits—the Protectionist answers. This is the whole case, in a nutshell, between Free-trade and Protection. Protection is, thus, only a form of insurance in favour of infant industries or undeveloped resources. I pay more for certain foreign goods today, in the hope of making good more than this present loss, by developing my own goods of the same class, in the future, to the same, if not to a superior standard both qualitatively and quantitatively,—as that of these foreign goods. So only such industries should be protected as, upon a reasonable calculation, may be considered to have a great future before them. And that future will be determined, mainly by two things; first by the existence of natural facilities in the country for the production of these goods, of a high quality and in large quantities; and second by the existence of the right kind of workmanship or large natural aptitudes for it,—and sufficient number of workers,—for such production, in the community. In other words, whether any industry should or should not be protected, will have to be determined (i) by the existence of raw materials in the country, needed for it,—in sufficient quantity and in accessible localities, or the reasonable probability of producing these materials of the right quality and in adequate quantities, at the same if not lesser cost as they are or can be produced in the countries that are sending out these finished goods to the protected country now: and (ii) by the existence of skilled and cheap labour for the production of those goods, among the people themselves. Where these two conditions are present, there is a reasonable assurance of a bright future before any young or undeveloped industry in a country. And it is then only that Protection becomes truly a form of national insurance for a people's industrial and commercial future. Judged by this principle, there are many Indian industries that may reasonably be protected by adequate tariffs. But the tariff must be imposed only upon those imports or exports that threaten to kill or prevent the growth of infant but promising

national industries. And the moment we try to apply these principles to the actualities of our own industrial position we find that our industries need protection against British competitions far more than against those of any other country. Imperial Preference would, therefore, be absolutely useless to us.

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In fact, it would be worse than useless. Great Britain exercises absolute political control over us just now, and determines our fiscal policy. Imperial Preference, by killing all competitions between British and non-British goods in our market, would, therefore, almost infinitely increase our economic dependence upon Great Britain. And this combination of political authority and commercial control over us, would be a very serious menace to both our political and our economic future as an autonomous state. The right economic policy for us now, is not to kill non-British exploiters of our markets, but rather to encourage and strengthen them. If America, for instance, could be induced to compete with Manchester, in our import-trade in piece-goods, the latter would either have to submit to a serious diminution of her trade with us, or would have to demand the imposition of an import duty on all piece-goods, to equalise her chances with those of her foreign rivals. In the one case our poor people would be able to buy their clothing at much less cost than they pay now, and in the other, our cotton-industry would receive a much-needed protection against unfair foreign competitions. Free-trade is the only remedy we have now,—however partial it may be—against the evils of that combination of exploitation and administration which Lord Curzon declared were the dual functions of the Government of India. A well-considered protective tariff upon selected imports would, of course, be the only assurance, just now, of our industrial future. But we cannot have it. So Free Trade is the next best thing we should try to maintain in our own interest. To advocate so-called Imperial Preference is simply suicidal folly. Mr. Chitnavis could never have seriously meant it.

IV.

THE SUFFRAGETTE REVOLUTION.

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One should not be very much surprised if the present Liberal Government in England were too suddenly come to grief over the Suffragist agitation. They have as stupidly bungled over this matter as they did with the Partition of Bengal, seven years ago. They might have easily repealed that act of Lord Curzon, and saved the situation in Bengal, without hurting any body. Such things had been done before. Mr. Gladstone reversed partially the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, and Lord Ripon came with definite instructions to repeal his predecessor's Vernacular Press Act at the earliest opportunity. Mr. Asquith's Government might well have followed that precedent and easily repealed the Partition of Bengal without doing any injury to the prestige of the British authority in India. But Lord Morley could not gather sufficient courage to do what he practically admitted was right, in face of the opposition of the "man on the spot." And every body had to repent this lost opportunity later on. They may plead ignorance, however, in extenuation of that act of unwisdom. But they cannot enter the same plea in the case of this Suffragist business. They cannot say that they could not foresee all that is happening now in their own country. These Suffragists are their own people. The most prominent leaders belong to the very best families in the country. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, Lady Lytton, and many others, belong to the same social strata which are occupied by the Ministers of King George themselves. They are not needy adventuresses, nor vulgar professional agitators. Some of them have made immense sacrifices to serve their "cause." They have the blood of the makers of British history and the upbuilders of British freedom in their veins. They have come of the stock of those sturdy Puritans whose regicidal conscience is held up to the admiration of the world in every text book on British history. They have been taught to look upon the constitutional dogma of "no representation, no taxation," as an absolute and self-evident truth of the political life. They have been habituated to regard it not as a mere political doctrine, but as a fundamental ethical principle. They thoroughly understand the temper of the British politicians, and are intimately acquainted with the tactics of political warfare in their country. Mr. Asquith and his colleagues had

not to deal here with an alien people, or settle a situation thousand of miles away from them. And yet they have bungled with this Suffragist agitation from the very beginning.

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And the reason of it is not also very far to seek. Here there was no fear of loss of prestige, but of loss of office. Liberalism could not possibly be opposed to the enfranchisement of the women on principle. Some Conservatives might oppose it on that ground. One can thus understand, even though one may not sympathise with, the position of Mr. Frederick Smith, who set up the new doctrine of "no fighting capacity or qualifications, no political franchise," in place of the old dogma of "no representation, no taxation." Of course Mr. F. E. Smith must have said all this in joke; but though his argument was jocular, his opposition to female suffrage is absolutely sincere and serious. But the opposition of the Liberal Ministers is of a very different colour. Mr. Asquith opposes it as a mere matter of Party tactics. And I think Mr. Balfour supports it for the same motive. The present Liberal Government would gladly enfranchise the women of England, if they could see their way immediately to pass a Universal Adult Suffrage Act. But that is out of the question. And as long as that is not done, as long as there is some property qualifications attached to the right of voting, and especially as long as the present practice of what is called plural voting has not been stopped, so long the Liberal Cabinet cannot accept any measure for the enfranchisement of women, for the very simple reason that the passing of it would at once increase the strength of their rivals in every constituency and drive them out of office at the first General Election that would follow the passage of such a Bill. There are many more women of property among the supporters of the Tories than among those of the Liberals, and they would swamp the Liberal voters almost in every constituency. And this is the only conceivable motive behind the opposition of Mr. Asquith and his Cabinet to the enfranchisement of the women, under the present franchise law. When and if that law is changed, and there is a chance of the Liberals standing upon a footing of equality with their rivals among the female voters in the country, any Liberal Government will be only too glad to enfranchise the women, in fact they will be more eager to do so than any Conservative Cabinet is likely to be.

**The Inwardness
of
Liberal Tactics.**

But it would not be at all fair to think that the unwillingness of the Liberal leaders to create a situation that might force their expulsion from office, is due in any way to any mean selfish motives. Their desire to hold on to their office as long as possible has public considerations of very great import at its back. They are committed to a very definite policy upon the successful carrying out of which very largely depends the peaceful progress of the Empire. They are pledged to pass the Irish Home Rule Bill. They are also pledged to pass some sort of franchise legislation which will further advance the course of popular freedom in the country. These are very necessary for the carrying out of the whole Liberal Programme, which will be bound to include the enfranchisement of the women also. And with a view to be able to do all this they must keep themselves in office for a pretty long time to come. The immediate acceptance of the franchise of the women would be very likely to deprive them of their office. In the public interest, therefore, as a mere matter of expediency only, they do not want this to be done immediately.

One can easily understand all this. But one does not understand why the Government of Mr. Asquith could not bring in a general franchise measure, proposing universal adult suffrage, including the women, and thus take the sting out of the Suffragette agitation. The mere promise of such a measure as part of the Liberal Programme would serve this end. The Suffragette leaders had already suspended their so-called militant tactics to give the Government a chance of doing or at least of trying to do, this. And it is here that Mr. Asquith's Government grievously bungled, by refusing to accept the olive branch which the Suffragettes held out to them. This is the reason of this frightful recrudescence of Suffragette militancy. And the women have been exasperated by the insensibility of the Government, to adopt a course of action that may even work up a revolution in the country. The present tactics of the Suffragettes is to destroy property; but these lawless methods though adopted at first by the leaders of political agitation more as a game of bluff than as any serious attack upon the law, soon assume very dangerous proportions in the hands of their following, and first force the authorities to take up a stern attitude for the maintenance of their prestige and the preservation of peace and order, and apply methods of relentless repression against the offenders; and this, in its turn, exasperates them the more and drives them to excesses which they never contemplated before. It happened here among us, in the conflict between the

Swadeshi Movement and the Minto Administration. It is happening in England over this Suffragette agitation. They have as yet made no attempt upon the lives of their opponents. This time last year, they had not shewn any desire to hurt them even in their property. They were only trying to annoy them. Now they have started burning their houses, and blowing up their private and public correspondence. Their attacks had hitherto been directed against the politicians only. Now they are attacking the general public. Their evident motive is to bring about a situation which will be simply intolerable. They may not be conscious of it, but those who have read history to any purpose and are acquainted with the ways of our common human nature, clearly see that these British Suffragettes are riding for a Revolution.

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The signs and portents of it are, indeed, already visible in the recent developments of this Suffragette agitation.

Portentious Omens. The organised campaign of lawlessness started by these determined women, pledged to assert their rights, has not only been exasperating the public, but has supplied a plea to the hooligan element in the community to take the law into their own hands and to meet violence with violence. To the outsider, it almost looks like a diluted form of the Russian Pogrooms. No English Government would or could stoop to these Russian methods. But even the British Ministers are, after all, human, and it is hardly possible that they do not relish a little the lesson that these "hysteric women" are receiving at the hands of the excited London mobs. But it is however, a very dangerous game. It is really playing with fire. These women have their own friends and relations also. And there is still some remnant of the old chivalry and good breeding which inculcated respect and tenderness towards women, left in the British character. And as organisations are being formed to offer physical resistance to these Suffragette outrages, so other organisations will soon follow, having for their object the protection of these women offenders from every attempt to mete out extra judicial punishment to them. I find that they are talking of the Lynch law as a last remedy against these Suffragette outrages. And if this ever comes to happen, it will be a signal for a revolution in the land. And for this the present Government will be held entirely responsible.

In fact, no one will be very much surprised, if the sentence of three years' penal servitude passed on Mrs. Pankhurst, brought matters to a pass. This will be bound to exasperate the large body

of militant Suffragists all over the country, who may no longer stop with playing havoc with people's property but may become reckless even about people's lives. That, indeed, is the greatest danger of all lawless and violent agitations. Once people are started upon this campaign, it becomes impossible to keep them strictly within the bounds originally set by their leaders. It becomes especially difficult to do so, when the responsible leaders are clapped into prison, and the guidance of the movement falls into the hands of their enthusiastic but reckless following. Already the Suffragist agitation is showing signs of these dangers. There is a fearful outburst of political outrages all over the country. Unless the present tension is immediately relieved, riots, very similar to those that were connected with the Chartist agitations of the last century, will inevitably follow in the wake of this wanton destruction of people's property by these women. And then the situation will become absolutely impossible. It is difficult to believe that the Government will employ the military to put down these hysterical women of their own flesh and blood. It is doubtful whether the British soldier will consent to fire on unarmed and hysterical women. All these considerations seem to point to a situation which will very soon become hopeless. And no one envies the position of the Government. Their political enemies are only eagerly looking forward to see how Mr. Asquith and his colleagues will face the music of this threatening Suffragist Revolution. And I think history will set it down, if it comes to pass, to their sorry bungling of this problem.

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Nor can we in India view all these anxious developments in the internal politics of the United Kingdom with absolute unconcern. They may not be without their influence upon the course of public policy or popular movements even in India. No one can predict definitely what a change of Ministry at this moment in Great Britain may mean to India. There is every possibility of a change of Viceroy here following upon the return of the Tories to power. And who knows what that may mean to us? But a far more anxious consideration is, how will these Suffragette outrages influence our own revolutionaries? All forms of hysteria are exceedingly catching, particularly among neurotic people. Revolutionary violence like that of the British Suffragettes or of our own anarchists, is, psychologically, a form of hysteria. And it is unlikely that our revolutionaries may possibly, for the mere fun of the thing, commence to imitate the tactics of the militant Suffragists. Already there are

ominous signs of it among us. The charging of postal letters with explosives looks very much like an imitation of Suffragette methods. And incidentally it shows the almost utter impossibility of governing a people subject to the political authority of a Democratic State, upon any except the most openly democratic methods. An Autocracy that has to explain its policy before popular assemblies and defend its measures in the market place is a contradiction in itself. It does not matter that the assembly before whose bar it has to explain itself is of another people, or that the market place where it has to defend its acts is in another and a distant country, provided only the people subject to the autocracy have access to the reports of these proceedings and understand the language of their rulers. All these conditions are present in India. The Government of India is not controlled by the people of India. It is responsible for its policy and acts to the British Cabinet and the British Parliament. The Secretary of State for India has to publicly defend his policy and measures in Parliament. These are freely discussed in the British press both by friendly and unfriendly critics. These have to be explained to the British Democracy at the hustings. The people of India have been taught the language and literature of their British rulers. The Indian Government may gag the Indian or even the Anglo-Indian press,—though there are not many Viceroys or Governors who would venture to lay hands upon the latter,—but they cannot possibly penalise or prevent the importation of British newspapers, except of that very rare type which is represented by "Justice," nor can they prohibit the publication of Parliamentary or other public proceedings of their homeland in this country. English news will circulate in India. The three hundred thousand Britishers and other Europeans in India must have their weekly budget of home-news. They must know, indeed, from hour to hour what is happening in the outside world. The English press in India which caters for them, must publish all these from day to day. The Anglo-Indian press, to find decent dividend to their proprietors and shareholders must circulate their productions as widely as possible among the Indian public. And if it be impossible to prevent all this, one wonders how does the Government think of stopping the spread of sedition in this country by simply curtailing the freedom of the Indian press, while all forms of political poison can be freely imported from outside, and circulated here. There may be no direct references to Indian affairs in these foreign importations. But that matters very little indeed. They are read by an exceptionally acute and sensitive people, who find no difficulty in seeing through them and

putting their own meaning and drawing their own inspiration from them. Thus far more sedition is being preached in this country by the reports of these Suffragette outrages in Great Britain than had ever been done by even the most violent of our Vernacular newspapers, except of course those that were publicly suppressed and commenced to come out periodically in the form of secret circulars. This is an important aspect of this Suffragette revolution as it is affecting even us in India, and that may influence us for evil here unless it is settled betimes there.

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The issue, upon the intrinsic merits of the Suffragist question, not as a universal truth, but as a problem of the present socio-political life of Europe, admits, I think, hardly of any contention now. John Stuart Mill may be said to be the father of this agitation, and his treatise on "The Subjection of Women" exists still, to a very large extent, as the Bible of the Feminist Movement in the West. We too came under its influence five and thirty years ago; and the Feminist Movement among us was not a little inspired by its passionate appeal for social justice to the weaker sex. But that protest has fully served its purpose. The intellectual equality of the sexes has been thoroughly established, after repeated tests, almost in every department of life. But no protest can ever offer a complete and final solution of any problem. All protests are, really, half-truths. The newer thought, almost all the world over, is gradually coming to recognise that, after all, though the woman is by no means "the lesser man," she is, at any rate, a half-human, man being the other half of what is, and should be viewed as, a complete and organic whole. It is, therefore, no longer a question of equality between the two sexes, but only of co-ordination. These questions, as to which is superior and which is inferior, between parts and complements of an organic whole are false and impertinent, and they simply create foolish and suicidal conflicts where harmony should always reign. The "Rights of Women" movement, therefore, as a plank of the Feminist Movement, is based upon a false social philosophy. This is being slowly recognised by the highest social speculations of our time. And this recognition has been slowly but visibly cooling down people's enthusiasm for the Suffragist Cause, as a true and lofty social or socio-political ideal. This accounts for the half-hearted support which the British Suffragists are receiving from civilised public opinion almost everywhere. Had we the old enthusiasm for "Rights of Women," as Mill

preached it, there would have been a far violent conflict between the supporters and the opponents of female suffrage than what we see now.

Apart, however, from the fundamental theoretic aspect of this question practically, its need and justice can scarcely be denied in Europe. The moral strength of the Suffragist agitation comes no longer, from Mill's social philosophy ; but from the cruel economic conditions in which women have been placed, almost in every European country by the present industrial civilisation of the West. In the days when women looked upon motherhood as their highest and only function in life ; and men thought it not only their duty, but even their pride, to labour and earn the means of livelihood, for the mothers of their race ; this question of political franchise did not arise and had neither any need nor justification. Politics is a rough business. Modern politics, with its party organisations and election methods, is a very mean and vulgar thing, that tends to kill delicacy and refinement of character in those who throw themselves into it. It is hardly possible to picture the woman, we idealise in our beatific vision of both Beauty and Humanity, as holding forth from the top of a turned packing case, amidst a shower of rotten eggs and oranges, and the jibes and jeers, the hisses and the catcalls of a hooligan audience, odorous of tobacco and gin,—and not shudder, from the tip of our toe to the crown of our head, at the sight. Nor is the thought of her turning her pince-nez round her gloved finger, while searching the gilded ceiling of the Legislative Chamber, for some truant figure or fact, or some withering metaphor or caustic phrase to hurl against her opponent, nor the idea of her crowding into the lobby, like dumb, driven cattle, or seeking in uncanny corners of the House, a few moments' rest or sleep at an all-night sitting, very inspiring either. The Suffragette is an unattractive sight, in all conscience ; the female politician will only perpetuate this passing type. All this is true. But the woman, rubbing shoulders with men at every office-door that puts up an advertisement for fresh hands to fill up new places or new vacancies, or slaving at the desk of a mercantile or Government office, and living in "Bachelor Chambers" amidst more or less harsh, if not unhealthy, surroundings, is also not a more pleasant sight. Europe has forced the woman out of her old hearth and home, compelled her to earn her bread by the sweat of her brow, thrown her, mercilessly, into the cauldron of industrial competitions, and has presented her with an ideal of economic independence, unknown, except to those who fell out of the social state, to the older world-cultures. Consequently it is

the barest act of justice now that Europe should not handicap the female bread-earner by keeping her in an inferior political position, as compared to her male rival. Political franchise has some chance of controlling economic and industrial legislation in the interest of those who enjoy it. Women want the franchise to be placed on a footing of equality with their men rivals, in offices and works, in these matters. That is the real need of the Suffragist movement. That is the fundamental ethics of the Suffragist agitation. All these must be admitted. Theoretically, as a social ideal, the Suffragist agitation, much less that violent wing of it, known as Suffragette, may not have much to support it. But under the conditions that the so-called modern civilisation has created for the womanhood of Europe, both the need and the justice of their demand for political franchise have to be conceded. Had I been, for instance, an Englishman, I should have felt bound, whatever my social idealism or philosophy, to stand up for the enfranchisement of the women. The real issue of this question is not whether the enfranchisement of the European woman is a need of the ideal social life, and is required for the realisation of the highest ideal of womanhood in the world ; but whether, in view of the enforced economic independence of woman, and the struggle for existence into which she has been thrown, and wherein she has to hold her own, at every step, against her male competitors, her political enfranchisement is not a necessity of her economic life, and is not required by considerations of ordinary justice and fair-play. And this issue can hardly be contested.

CHARACTER SKETCH.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

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**Mrs. Besant's
Work
In India.**

Though not of our country by birth, nor of our people by Mrs. Besant has been, for more than a quarter century now, one of the most prominent figures in our public life. A magnetic personality, a fine orator, a capable organiser, endowed with the powers of imagination and sympathy, and with a very rare combination of the subtle wisdom of the diplomat with the fervour of a prophet, Mrs. Besant's influence over a large section of our English educated

countrymen has been hardly less than that of any other leader of thought in India of the present generation. And on the whole, that influence has been for the good. She has very materially helped to wear away the sympathies of good many English-educated Indians, especially in the South, from the so-called free-thought and secularism of the



middle-nineteenth-century European culture and has very largely rehabilitated in them the faith and philosophy of their fathers. English education and the conflict of ideal which it created have well-nigh killed not only the faith of large and increasing numbers of our educated middle class in the beliefs and traditions of their race, but had

commenced to turn many of them, especially in Madras, into rank atheists and "free thinkers." Owing to the influence of the Brâhmo Samâj, and to some extent of the Arya Samâj also, this so-called free-thought was not so rampant in Northern India as it was in the Southern Presidency. But

neither Keshub Chunder nor Dayânanda, neither Rânadê nor any one else could have stemmed the tide of this so-called free thought and secularism, so far as this large class of people were concerned, so successfully as Mrs. Besant has undoubtedly done. Real Hindu orthodoxy has not been the least affected by her strange apologetics and exegetics, which frequently betray the utmost ignorance of the ancient exegetical literature of our race. Her readings of Hindu philosophy and her interpretations of Hindu rituals have frequently been a strange medley of modern scepticism and ancient supernaturalism. Her professed devotion to Indian Nationalist ideals has not been always above suspicion. Her British Imperialism has not always been easy to accept. Her pride of race has not been always carefully concealed. Her infinite capacity to differentiate between her exoteric utterances and her esoteric opinions and to be all things to all men, has not been uniformly understood or appreciated. And her latest self-revelations in connection with the Narayaniya-Leadbeater affairs have even openly disgusted many people. But notwithstanding all this, one cannot reasonably refuse to acknowledge the immense debt that the present generation in India owe to her. We may question the validity of her high spiritual pretensions. We may not accept her science as true or her philosophy as sound. Every body may not believe in the absolute truth of every statement she makes, or in the sincerity of everything she professes. There may be,—indeed, there are—the widest possible difference of opinion in the country about these things. But no one, I think, can refuse to admit the very patent fact that large numbers of our English-educated countrymen, especially in Madras, would not have been what they are today,—honest and pious men, reconciled to the faith of their fathers, earnest seekers after God and the Divine Wisdom, and ardent believers in both the past acquisitions and the future possibilities of their country and their race,—without her teachings and the inspiration of her magnetic personality.

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To many people who have carefully watched Mrs. Besant's career, as it has gradually evolved through successive stages or phases of traditional faith and rational doubt, of gross materialism and subtle theosophy,—her character and personality seem to be a puzzling mystery. And this mystery has been, very largely I think, the one supreme secret of her success in life. The thoroughly

**The Mystery
of**

**Mrs. Besant's
Life and Character.**

known, the absolutely measured, and the completely understood, have absolutely no fascination for us. All romance grows, therefore, from the call of the Unknown. All romance is dead for the husband whose wife is as an open book to him, and for the wife whose husband has no element of the unknown and the mysterious in him. The teacher who is a *mere man* to his disciple, can exercise but little spiritual influence over him. Modern rationalism, by killing this sense of the unknown and the mysterious in us, practically destroys the very plinth and foundations of our spiritual life. The leader who is not a bit of a mystery to his following can rarely lead them to any superior achievement. We all know the air of mystery that always hung over Napoleon. It is, indeed, the common characteristic of all those, whether men or women, who have any pretensions to what, in the philosophy of Bernard Shaw, would be called superman-hood. The superman is always a character. And a character is always a complexity and a mystery. He who runs may never read the man or woman of character. They are always a strange medley of apparent contradictions. And it is through these very contradictions that they exercise such fascinating influence over their fellow beings. Mrs. Besant is a character, a bit of a mystery, a medley of contradictions, and an interesting psychological problem. And this has been, I think, her most valuable asset in life.

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**Mrs. Besant's
Physical Endow-
ments.**

Love of abstraction has been so dominant a feature of the culture and education of the nineteenth century, that few people seem to have a correct appreciation of the contributions and value of a man's or a woman's flesh and blood, or face or figure, of what is frequently regarded as the mere animal part of their constitution,—to their moral or spiritual life and strength. And Mrs. Besant has been exceptionally favoured by Nature in this respect. She has a fine figure, the beauty and nobility of which even age has not dared to deeply touch. But for a slight tendency to obesity, her contours might well have been described as classical. Her face, however, is unmistakably British. Yet I do not remember to have seen another purely British face like Mrs. Besant's that had absolutely not the least little suggestion of the beef-and-beer-bred-up heredity of John Bull in it. And the most remarkable thing in Mrs. Besant's physical constitution is its extreme sensitiveness to what may be called psychic influences. I have oftentimes seen a weird halo playing about her face as she warmed up to her subject while addressing large and entranced audiences. Her

perfect elocution may be,—indeed is,—the fruit of long and labourious training of her voice. Her gestures may be due to her natural histrionic endowments. But this strange halo that encircles her face and head as she speaks, no art or training could produce. It is undoubtedly due to her immense psychic endowments. It shows the almost perfect harmony that exists between her body and her mind, and is a proof of the absolute purity of both. Judged by current standards, Mrs. Besant would not, I am afraid, be accepted as a pattern of female beauty. In fact, those who have seen her old photographs, that have preserved her youthful figure, may even recognise a slight suggestion of masculinity in her face. Yet there is something in it which exerts a strange fascination over the observer. I first saw her portrait, five and twenty years ago, in the *Review of Reviews*. And I have not forgotten the impression it made upon my mind. That impression was very much deepened when I first saw her upon a public platform in Calcutta. And since then, almost every time I have seen her, I have felt that here was a woman of whom it might well be said, in the words of Emerson, that—"the soul is wholly embodied, and the body is wholly ensouled."

"Her pure and eloquent blood,
Spoke in her cheeks, and so distinctly wrought,
That one might almost say her body thought."

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Such perfect attunement between body and soul is a proof of the purity of her life. According to Hindu experience it is impossible to acquire a physical constitution like that of Mrs. Besant, without the strictest observance of the disciplines of Brahmacharya. We may not accept her pretensions to what they call adepthood in Theosophical parlance. We may even question her title to true discipleship. But we cannot disregard ocular evidence and refuse to accept her as a true Brahmacharinee. And it shows the wonderful self-mastery of this remarkable woman. A rebel against established faiths and morals at a most critical period of her life, Mrs. Besant has waded through many dirty doctrines, and has even been thrown a good deal into many Bohemian sets, but her body and, one might even add her mind also, have passed through all these, without the least taint of any evil. Indeed, it has sometimes seemed to me, as I read of her life among free thinkers and secularists, that she has been built differently from ordinary men and women, and is constitutionally free from the vulgar cravings of our common flesh. But whether it is

**Mr. Besant's
Brahmacharya.**

constitutional or acquired, her self-mastery is undeniable ; and it is manifest in the purity of her life and the large psychic powers which that purity has helped to develop.

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That Mrs. Besant possesses very large psychic powers, it seems impossible to deny. Those who are anxious to deny these, seem to me to be simply confusing the psychic plane with the true spiritual plane. We now and then come across hysteric women with extraordinary psychic endowments, whose powers of both clairvoyance and even clair-audience are undeniable, yet who occupy a very low spiritual plane, in fact whose spirituality is scarcely higher than that of their pet dog or their Persian puss. And the reason of it is also plain. The psychic plane reaches as far as our Manas—मनस—the true rendering of which is not the mind, but the sensorium. Our psychic life is, therefore, very largely, if not entirely, determined and dominated by our nervous system. The keen and quick responsiveness of the nerve centres, is a condition of psychic development. Both clairvoyance and clair-audience imply a supersensitiveness of the optic and the auditory nerves. This supersensitiveness may be attained by a variety of means. It may sometimes result from abnormal conditions, as in neurotic subjects. It may be acquired also under healthy conditions by carefully selected physical and psychophysical exercises that go by the common name of yogic practices. These practices create certain physical conditions, induce a certain state of the nervous system, which are of very great help to the spiritual life, but that have no necessary relation, as of cause and effect, to that life. High spiritual life does develop large yogic powers, but these powers may, and not unfrequently do, exist without any lofty spirituality. Numerous instances of exceptionally large yogic powers in most vile and vicious men and women, are mentioned even in the recognised and authoritative text books on Yoga. Neither ancient Hindu wisdom nor modern Hindu saints and sages make, therefore, any confusion between psychic life and spiritual powers. Right reason, right emotions, right endeavour and right action, these are the true test of the spiritual life. But they may or may not be found in highly developed psychic subjects. And the value of these terms is determined by their direct, constant, and conscious reference to the Universal. Right reason, thus, is that which moves and works

always in the Universal as the True. Right emotion is, similarly, that which always lives and moves in the Universal as Rasa—**रसो बौ सः रसहेऽवयं लब्ध्वा नन्दी भवति**—He is Rasa: by gaining this rasa; all creatures enjoy themselves,—as we have it in the Upanishads. Right effort is that which is moved by a consciousness of the Universal as Sivam or the Good. And right action is that which is without the least little reference to the agent's own self-regarding desires, but which aims at universal well-being. These are the characteristics of the spiritual life, as we have always known and understood it in India.

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It is very doubtful, however, whether Mrs. Besant can be justly credited with any high spiritual acquisitions of this type. She has great gifts. Exceptionally pure in body, quick of understanding, strong of will, Mrs. Besant is also endowed with considerable psychic powers, which almost invariably go with large spiritual acquisitions. These powers are however only an inseparable accident of high spiritual life, but they do not, of themselves, constitute that life or are an absolute proof of its presence. The real spiritual life is different from the intellectual, the ethical, and even the emotional life, as it admittedly is from our physical life; though it always finds outer expressions in and through all these. The true test of this spiritual life is the conscious identification of the individual with the Universal in every department and activity of his life. It manifests itself in three ways. One is the way of Jnanam, (ज्ञानम्) or Gnosis. The other is the way of Bhakti (भक्ति) or love. And the third is the way of Karma (कर्म) or works. But behind these three-fold way of the true spiritual life, there is always present, whether explicitly or implicitly, a special philosophy of life. And that philosophy is fundamentally monistic. The philosophy that we learn from books or to which our intellectual convictions may attach themselves as the result of our own reasoning or ratiocination, is not always the real philosophy of our life. The former may be a mere matter of speculation. The latter must always be the final result and generalisation of the sum total of our inner experience. Consequently, it is not always necessary that our real philosophy of life should have any vital and organic relation to our ordinary intellectual convictions or our traditional beliefs. The truly spiritual man may, therefore, be a pronounced dualist in his intellectual convictions, but in the depths of his inner consciousness, standing in the light of his

beatific experiences, he is, and must be, a pure monist. No one suspects any tinge or taint of monism or pantheism in the ethical teachings of Jesus. But in his innermost consciousness, Jesus was undoubtedly a monist or he could have never said—"I and my Father are One." In his high spiritual life Jesus had fully realised the unity of his individual self with the Universal; and this declaration is only an authoritative assertion of that unity. As in Judaism so also in Islam, there is really no suspicion of what is usually called pantheism. Yet one cannot study the lives of the Mahomedan saints of Persia or Arabia, without being profoundly impressed with their abiding consciousness of the Universal. In fact, a very slight acquaintance with the literature of the true spiritual life all the world over reveals some sort of philosophical monism and idealism at the back of it.

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It is however not very easy to discover Mrs. Besant's real philosophy of life. She has professed and preached so many different and even contradictory doctrines, that it is no easy thing to find out either the least common multiple or the greatest common

**The Evolution
of
Mrs. Besant's
Philosophy.**

measure of her strange and rich intellectual repertory. Yet there must be some sort of a secretunity or affinity even in these strange collections or they could never have found a place in an individual intellectual life and evolution. Mrs. Besant's changes have been somewhat violent, and one cannot indeed feel sure even now that she has reached the last of these. Nor do they prove any serious mental or moral disqualification. The men or women who change not from youth to age, except in the body, may be considered very steady and respectable, but whether they actually live or simply vegetate may also be very pertinently questioned. And whatever else Mrs. Besant has or has not done, there can, I think, be absolutely no question about the fact that she has lived her life and not simply vegetated. She has changed many a time. But changes have no meaning unless they are worked upon something that persists, unchanged, through all these changes. There is something, somewhere, persistent and ever-present,—something that is vainly seeking to find itself through all these changes, even in the most-volatile person. That something is at once the least common multiple and the greatest common measure of our changing lives. It is that something which constitutes the most vital element in our real philosophy of life. To understand the

value of Mrs. Besant's spiritual life one must seek and discover this permanent and persistent factor of her inner life and character.

Born a Christian, married to a priest of the established Church in England, her first intellectual allegiance was naturally given to the creeds and dogmas of popular Protestant Christianity. Nor was she a half-hearted Christian, either. Mrs. Besant's forceful nature never can engage itself half-heartedly in any pursuit, whether intellectual or moral, social or religious. She believed in every Christian doctrine, faithfully followed the religious exercises of the Church, and threw herself with unstinted enthusiasm into the parochial works of her husband's congregation. But all of a sudden, a domestic calamity, the death of her only child, a daughter to whom she was much devoted, scattered her house of sands. She could not reconcile this death, this cruel crushing of a life so tender, so lovely, so full of hope and promise,—with the presence of a God who is Good, in this world. Mill's problem faced her. Why is there death, disease, sorrow, degradation, vice, sin,—all these multitudinous evils in this world? How are these reconciled with the Beneficence of the responsible Ruler of the Universe? The only answer that Mill found for this question was, that God is either not-good, or He is not-powerful enough to keep down evil. This view of the world-problem destroys either the benevolence or the omnipotence of the Deity. In other words, it banishes God altogether from this world. Mrs. Besant thus found out by bitter personal experience,—or more correctly speaking, she thought that she had discovered,—that there was no God like the God whom she had all her life believed in and prayed to.

Many people, especially in our age, losing the faith of their fathers, gradually drift into some kind of philosophical agnosticism. In fact, this agnosticism is the general trend of the highest generalisations of modern science. The scientist finds himself surrounded by such endless mysteries which baffle all his logic and his thought, that a confession of ignorance is his only natural course. Science, therefore, in the usual sense of the term, is fundamentally agnostic. It refuses to assert that which it does not know and cannot verify. But to some intellects a confession of ignorance is absolutely impossible. These intellects can never say—I do not know. They must assert themselves as much in their assertion of what they profess to know, as in that of what they admit they do not know. Mrs. Besant's intellect is distinctly of this type. Her unbelief became, therefore, more than mere agnosticism, it developed into positive atheism. This intellectual assertiveness has been a prominent feature of her character. It

was equally present in her early Christianity, as in her subsequent atheism and secularism. It is a prominent feature in her present Theosophy also. What does not exist to her, cannot exist in the universe. What is true to her, must be true universally and for all. In theory, Theosophy has little room, really, for any kind of absolutism. A system or doctrine that proclaims the truth of *all* religions, which believes, like Hinduism, in evolution and *adhyakarsabhedha*—अधिकारीभेद—in the religious and the spiritual life, cannot be absolutist in any sense of the term. In practice, however, especially as it is concretised in the life and character of its present President, Theosophy is, clearly, absolutist. It is, therefore, that we so frequently find an irritating impatience of other ideas and ideals, other doctrines and disciplines, in Mrs. Besant and her followers. In India her condemnation of almost all our modern religious movements, whether of the Brahmo Samâj or of the Arya Samâj, or of the Vedantic propaganda of Swâmi Vivekananda, has been both exceedingly narrow and exceedingly bitter. This narrowness is inconsistent with the true spirit of Theosophy, and this bitterness is unknown in those who have attained high spiritual life, at least in India, and among the Hindus. But I do not blame Mrs. Besant for it. These things are constitutional in her. All extraordinarily ardent natures are narrow; and absolute devotion to a particular school or system or sect, naturally, breeds bitter antagonism against opposite or rival schools, systems or sects. It is only when these ardent and devoted souls attain very superior spiritual elevation, that these limitations drop off their mind and character like the dry leaves of autumn.

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**Mrs. Besant's
Self-centredness.**

This absolutism is a common feature of all great minds, as we know them in this world. It drops off only when the individual rises to a deep and abiding consciousness of his unity with the Universal. People with a mission—and Mrs. Besant undoubtedly believes herself to be one,—cannot get rid of it. The one fixed idea that possesses or obsesses these prophetic minds is that they are especially made for the world, and the world is especially made for them or their mission. We see it even in Jesus. It is prominent in Mahomet. It is very common in all the great Jewish prophets. And it is not at all surprising that it should be so marked a feature in Mrs. Besant's character also. For she too, undoubtedly, counts herself among the prophets. In fact whether one agrees with Mrs. Besant or not, one cannot reasonably

deny that she is made of the stuff of which the world's prophets are made. She has the same purity of flesh, the same psychic powers, the same magnetic presence, the same fervour of spirit, the same gift of the tongue, the same powerful imagination, and the same self-confidence and self-consciousness, that are characteristic of the prophets of the world. And this excessive consciousness stands out very prominently of all the multitudinous changes that Mrs. Besant has passed through. Her revolt against Christian Theism was not the fruit of any deep reflection on the meaning and *rationale* of the Christian doctrine. The prevailing unbelief and scepticism of the later eighteenth and the middle-nineteenth century in Europe, was the result of the new criticism which the progress of modern science called into being. Not to mention Mill or Bentham, Tyndell or Huxley, Spencer or Frederick Harrison—to cite a few British names only,—even Charles Bradlaugh's so-called atheism was the result of his mental speculations and intellectual temperament. But Mrs. Besant's early atheism was not of this type. She did try, no doubt, to present her ideas in a scientific garb,—and her reading of scientific literature has also been very considerable ; but still it can hardly be held that she was driven out of the orthodox Christian fold, by any insuperable intellectual difficulty. These difficulties came afterwards to support and strengthen her revolt, but did not themselves originate it. Her rationalism and secularism was not the fruit of reflection and criticism, but they seemed to have emerged out of a sudden shock caused by the illness and death of her only child. It was not her intellect but her emotions that first raised the standard of revolt. And even these emotions were not of the highest order. They were practically carnal, entirely sensuous and absolutely self-regarding. The blow that laid her prostrate was really physical, it was due to the annihilation of her sense-relations with her beloved daughter. Death pains us so terribly simply by breaking up our sense-relations and carnal communion with our beloved ones on earth. All grief is, therefore, carnal and absolutely self-regarding. It was a great grief that broke up Mrs. Besant's old faith in God. And it means, in plain English, that because her little girl had the measles and died of it, Mrs. Besant saw no justification for a God to exist, or to pretend to be Good and Omnipotent, in this world. The whole universal order was created for Mrs. Besant and her little family. This is really what this revolt meant. All the science and logic with which she supported her atheistic propaganda came, thus, not first, but subsequently, to justify and strengthen her carnal revolt. It was neither science nor logic that really

destroyed Mrs. Besant's earlier religion. It was rather Death that killed her God.

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**Her Lack
of
Discrimination.**

And that death could play such havoc with Mrs. Besant's life was due to two things ; first her supersensitive nervous constitution, and second her lack of discrimination between the soul and the body. This lack of discrimination is very common in this world, yet if death does not create such revolutions in our lives, it is because our natures are shallow, and we have not that capacity to feel anything, whether pleasure or pain, as some people have. Mrs. Besant has this capacity. This extreme sensitiveness to pleasure and pain is, indeed, a characteristic of all superior psychic constitutions. Had Mrs. Besant been less psychically endowed, or had she any real spiritual life in her, her child's death would not have touched her so deeply. She had professed the Christian faith. She had followed the outer, ethical laws of her Church. Her faith was sincere, but still it was merely traditional and not reasoned. She received it from others, it was not the fruit of her personal experience. Her loyalty to the regulations of her Church was also unflinching. But we do not get real spiritual life from either of these. To get that life one must be born again. And the process of this birth is baptism, not as the Churches administer it, but as Christ knew and understood it ; and as He exemplified it in His own life. It was only, as He emerged out of the waters of Jordan, after His initiation by John, that Jesus received His recognition as the Son of God :—"This is my Son in whom I am well pleased." In our language, we call it *Gurukaranam*—गुरु करणम्—the acceptance of a Guru by the disciple and the acceptance of the disciple by his Guru, as a fit subject to receive the initiatory sacrament. And during this ritual, the spiritual life that is fully developed in the Guru, passes on to the disciple, through what is called *Saktee-sanchara*—शक्ति संचार—or the transmission of spiritual power. These are things which are, practically, unknown to the practice of the Churches in Christendom, as well as to popular religious rituals in Hinduism. Mrs. Besant never had this true baptism administered to her. She had, therefore, not been born in the spirit. Her *viveka*—or discrimination between the body and the soul,—had not yet been awakened. Her sense of identity between the body and the soul had not yet been destroyed. And all this accounts at once for the destruction of her old faith and the birth of her new scepticism and athiesm.

**Materialism
and
Occultism.**

In fact, one hardly feels quite sure if Mrs. Besant has as yet got rid of her old emphasis on the sense-life and her faith in sense-testimony. She has for many years past been a great preacher of occultism. And all occultism is, indeed, occular, that is, really sensuous. All miracles however produced, appeal finally, not to our inner but to our outer senses, for their truth and verification. Occultism need not be dismissed as false. Miracles need not be voted as impossible. All our saints and sages believed in these. They have borne testimony to their truth and possibility. But, all the same, they have set little or no value on these, as factors or proofs of the spiritual life. On the contrary, higher Hindu thought has always discouraged the tendency to seek these powers to work signs and wonders, regarding them as hindrances to real spiritual progress, when they are deliberately sought. For, after all, though they indicate, in certain cases, the domination of matter by the spirit, and the consequent superiority of thought over matter, and of the soul over the senses, yet these signs and wonders help to bind us to the sensuous and the material plane, and do not really liberate us from their bondage. And as one recognises this lack of discrimination, or *aviveka*—**विवेक**—in Mrs. Besant's first revolt against Christianity, and sees her dependence on the senses made fully manifest in her secularist propaganda, so one cannot completely get rid of the suspicion that it lay hidden even at the back of the impulse that drove her from the gross secularism of the school of Charles Bradlaugh to the subtle occultism of Madame Blavatsky. It was Madame Blavatsky's "ISIS UNVEILED" that led to Mrs. Besant's conversion to Theosophy. And remarkable as that book undoubtedly is, it does not really deal with true spiritual verities, but only of the secret and unseen forces and powers that dominate man's outer and open material and sense-life and control his evolution. It seeks to explain that many things voted as supernatural, and therefore incredible,—by the votaries of natural science, are not really supernatural. They are as much controlled by natural laws as either heat or light or electricity or any other object or phenomena of the physico-chemical group. It may perhaps be said that Madame Blavatsky naturalised the supernatural, superfinised the sensuous, and reduced the grosser material contents of our experience into subtle etherialities: that is all. And all her superfinities and etherialities were still very different from true spirituality. She had got very far, and very high indeed, into the psychic plane only, but not to the real spiritual plane as it is understood in higher Hindu culture.

And this is the secret, I think, of the strange hold that the "Isis Unveiled" took of Mrs. Besant's imagination. There was, in the first place, considerable affinity between the inner nature of Madame Blavatsky and that of Mrs. Besant. Both were highly developed psychic subjects. Both were also, profoundly rationalistic and sceptic, though Madame Blavatsky's scepticism was covered by an exuberant supernaturalism. All her atheistic professions notwithstanding, Mrs. Besant could not find complete solace in the realm of the grossly sensuous. Her keen psychic instincts forced upon her, one might say almost against her will, the insufficiency of the merely materialistic explanation of life and its experiences. Her scientific readings told her that what is ordinarily called matter is not self-sufficient. There is force behind the atoms, that shaped and moulded this cosmos out of primordial chaos. And this force, though revealed to the senses through its works and effects, is yet, in itself, absolutely supersensuous. The suggestion of the Unknown, the Unseen, the Immaterial is present in every act and experience of the senses. All these, even the atheist and the secularist could not refuse to admit. What really troubles them is the wide and impassable gulf which popular religion creates between the seen and the unseen, between matter and spirit. In Madame Blavatsky's presentation of the unseen, there was no such gulf. The spiritual was only etherialised matter. The Supernatural was not an antithesis of the Natural, but only its perfection and fulfilment,—a higher stage of its own natural evolution. There is no absolute contradiction, thus, between the unseen and the seen; they are really one, like two ends of one and the same stick. The difference between them is that one is subtle and superfine, the other is gross and crude. It was thus, it seems to me, that Madame Blavatsky's "Isis Unveiled" bridged the gulf between the natural and the so-called supernatural, that had been troubling Mrs. Besant. This is how she saw a new Light in Madame, and went to her with all the passionate ardour of her nature.

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| Psychology of Mrs. Besant's Conversion. | Superficial observers characterised Mrs. Besant's sudden conversion from rank atheism and secularism of the Bradlaugh School to the Theosophy of Madame Blavatsky as a wild somersault. But upon careful analysis it will be found, I think, as a most easy and logical process of regular development. It is notorious that both Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott were Buddhists of the Southern School |
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which is distinctly agnostic, if not atheistic. Neither Madame Blavatsky nor Colonel Olcott believed in God. Their intellectual allegiance was paid to what is called Buddhistic Nihilism or the *Bauddha Sunya-vada*—बौद्ध शुनऽवाद—as it is described in our literature. The universe is uncaused or self-caused and moves around its own axis, by its own force or law, without the action or intervention of any one who is its creator or governor. As the seed grows from the fruit, and the fruit from the seed ; so the cosmic process is an endless and uncaused series. And in this series there is, and can be, no real difference between what is popularly called matter and what is called mind. Mind proceeds from matter, and matter proceeds again from mind. Spirit is etherialised matter, matter is concretised and sensualised spirit. And man himself is the maker of his own destiny. He thinks, and he is ; he wills and he becomes. And when one considers these fundamental concepts of the Theosophical Doctrine of Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, one feels really no surprise that Mrs. Besant, as soon as she became acquainted with it, embraced it with all her mind, and all her heart and all her strength.

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Even as a secularist, Mrs. Besant had her high ideals. She had lost faith in the God of the Church in which she was brought up ; but she still retained her faith in man. **Secularism and Theosophy.** She believed in the ethical perfectibility of the human race. Her ethics was hedonistic, no doubt, happiness was to her the goal of life. But still it rested upon her innate faith in the almost endless possibilities of the human life, here on earth. At the back of all the denials of Charles Bradlaugh there was a profound sense of the utter impotence of man. I once heard him exclaim—"we all know, what little man can do ;" and he put, it seemed to me, the experience of a life-time into that short sentence, every sound of which seemed to receive a lively response from every atom of his flesh, every drop of his blood, and every tissue of his nerve-cells. I am not sure if Mrs. Besant had in her secularist days, any deep sense of this impotence of man, as Charles Bradlaugh had it. The idea finds little support from the general tenour of her inner life and make. On the contrary, in the Theosophical Doctrine of Madame Blavatsky Mrs. Besant found a new support of her inner confidence in the power of man to work out his own happiness or salvation or destiny by whatever name we may call his ultimate end,—himself. Mrs. Besant's revolt against the Christian's God was due to the fact that that God would not or could not make her happy, enable her to fight and conquer

death. But neither her atheism nor her secularism could solve that root-problem for her. Denial of God does not banish Death; nor does disbelief in the beyond,—which is the fundamental fact in secularism—disprove the presence of this terrible fact of life. If, therefore, intellectually her atheism and secularism could not bridge the gulf between the seen and unseen, so ethically these could not bridge the gulf between the here and hereafter. In the Theosophical Doctrine, as Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott understood and preached it,—there was some sort of a solution of these difficulties. Theosophy, as Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott understood it, did not posit any God, like that of the Christians or the Mahomedans or even our own Vaishnavas or Saivites of the Siva-Jnana-bodhinee School,—and had, therefore, no open conflict with atheism. Even atheists cannot deny the existence of some ultimate reality, from which the universe is evolving; only they refuse to attribute intelligence or will or love or goodness to it. In other words, the difference between atheists and agnostics on the one side, and theists, whether Hindu, or Christian, or Moslem, on the other, consists fundamentally in their respective conception of that Ultimate Reality which the former consider impersonal and unconscious, the latter believe to be personal and self-conscious. And the Buddistic School to which Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott belonged, held the former position. They did not believe in the Personality of God. But they believed in the unseen. They believed in soul; and in the endless possibilities of this soul. The soul's *karma* creates all its material vehicles for itself. The soul again by right culture, can sever this endless chain of *karma* and attain Nirvana, passing beyond both life and death. Theosophy, thus, without demanding of Mrs. Besant a surrender of her atheism and secularism offered her an easy way out of the difficulties that these had created in her intellectual and moral life. It worked, therefore, only a transfiguration of her old secularism and atheism, but not a true conversion of Mrs. Besant into beliefs totally different from what she previously had.

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This was, indeed, the special *role* which Theosophy came to play in the moral and intellectual evolution of our time. It found a refuge for those whose capacity for the true spiritual life had been practically destroyed by modern materialism. Even great spiritual teachers had sometimes used these Theosophical methods for the conversion of the faithless.

**The Role That
Theosophy Played.**

Christ's miracles were admittedly meant for those "of little faith." They could not have believed in his lofty spiritual teachings, if he had not supported these by signs and wonders. The older religions had lost their hold on our generation. Most of them were too other worldly on the one side, and laid too much stress on the unseen or the spiritual on the other, to have any message for large numbers of those whose minds had been unsettled by modern rationalism. The emancipation of the intellect which modern science, and modern social, economic and political movements combined to work out, deprived the representatives of the older religions of their ancient authority over the laity. The older moorings of the religious life were thus completely destroyed for large numbers of people in every part of the world. It was so in Christendom. It was even so here in India, where the new illumination brought by the British rulers, unsettled people's faiths and created a large body of deistic or sceptic opinion in the country. The Brâhmo Samâj and the Arya Samâj did try to offer some sort of a readjustment; but the postulates of both these reformed religious movements warred, more or less, against the fundamental ideas of that secularism and free-thought, which was responsible for this prevailing unbelief. The position of neither was sufficiently logical. Neither Brâhmic intuitions nor the Vedic authority of the Arya Samâj touched the root of the problem that troubled large numbers of the modern-educated classes among us. What these people wanted was a demonstrated and demonstrable religion,—a religion that could be tested and verified by the same or by similar kinds of evidence upon which the sciences work. Neither the older religions nor these modern reforms could do this. Theosophy offered to do it. It appealed to signs and wonders. It claimed to produce phenomena on the plane of the senses which ordinary sense-experience could not explain. Its missionaries spirited away articles of dress or ornament from people's body, and discovered these in places where no human agency, as we understand it, could have placed them. The first success of Theosophy, in India, was at Mrs. Hume's house at Simla. This was followed by others. The transmission of missives through the ceiling, the discovery of Kuthoomilal's pugree somewhere, thought-reading, hypnotism, clairvoyance, clairaudience, materialisation of immaterial thought, and the spiriting away into empty space of gross and tangible and solid materialities,—all these helped to recreate the faith of good many people in the unseen and the supersensuous, who had lost it altogether. And these signs and wonders were accompanied by

interpretations of both mind and matter, which in no way warred against the prevailing materialistic theory of the universe. Theosophy did not ask people to believe in a God or to pray to Him. It did not ask them to believe in a spiritual world which was not only different from, but was, in many respects, contrary to, the visible world of matter and sense. It simply worked or pretended to work miracles; and declared that these were not supernatural but only the application of hidden or lost knowledge of natural laws, more subtle and, therefore, more powerful than those which modern science called such. It did not banish death by any lofty spiritual philosophy such as we find, for instance, in the Bhagabad-Geetâ,—but simply proved the possibility of indefinitely postponing death by certain disciplines, and pointed out to the *Mahatmas* as men who had attained this indefinite, if not everlasting, life, through these means. Thus, Theosophy found what may be called a half-way-house between infidelity and faith, for large numbers of people whom no purely spiritual appeal could influence at that time.

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**Theosophic Morals
and
Universalism.**

But though we may not accept the spiritual pretensions of Theosophy, as preached by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, we cannot refuse to admit its ethical and humanitarian claims. In fact it was these that drew good many people into the Theosophical Society, especially when it first started work in this country, who had no sympathy with the theology of its founders. Even occultism has a supreme ethical reference. The training of the will is an essential element of the cultivation of occult powers. The development of a healthy sensitiveness of the nerve-centres is another requirement of it. And all these demand the strictest discipline of our animal instincts and appetites. Libertinism and occultism can never go together. Strict regimen, rigid abstinence, regular habits, observance of the rules of holiness, in the old-world sense of *taboo*,—all these are counted as Theosophic disciplines; and all these make for a pure and self-restrained life. In spite of their undeniable physical reference, the ethical value of these disciplines cannot be reasonably questioned. Many people whom modern secularism and “free-thought” had gradually driven to gross sensualities and intemperance, turned altogether a new leaf in their life, under the influence of Theosophy. It visibly broadened their outlook upon humanity also. It proclaimed a Universal

Brotherhood, based not upon a common denial of all faith, but upon an acceptance of every faith and every religion as fundamentally true. And this universalism, whatever its philosophic basis or value, was distinctly broader, and in some sense, even truer than the credal universalism of either Christianity or Islam. No man had to deny anything really, to join the Theosophic Brotherhood. The Hindu, the Buddhist, the Christian, the Mahomedan, the Zoroastrian, the Theist and the Atheist,—all could join it, without giving up their own faiths and beliefs or renouncing their allegiance to their respective social or religious communion or denomination. No other organisation or association, except those of a professedly secular character that had for their object the realisation of some definite material or social end,—had before offered such latitude to its members in the matter of their religious beliefs or their social life. The conflict of religions had for ages jarred upon the sensibilities of all refined people. Theosophy offered to settle this conflict, not by denying the claims of any religion in favour of any others, but by declaring that in truth and reality, all religions are one and equally true. In every religion there are two sides : one its outer, popular, exoteric side ; the other its inner, refined, esoteric side. All conflicts appear on the exoteric side of the different religions. They are due to gross misunderstanding of the real meaning and purpose even of these outer dogmas, doctrines, rituals, sacraments, disciplines and worships. But on the esoteric side, there is, really, no conflict. Esoteric Buddhism is the same, substantially, as Esoteric Christianity. The meaning and purpose of the Grecian Mysteries are similar to, if not the same as, those of the Hindu Tantras. The Secret Doctrine of the Moslem Sufis is the same as that of the Hindu Vendântin. And the proclamation of this unity between the different religious systems of the world, based upon the unity of the Secret Doctrine, taught and demonstrated by a body of adepts or Mahâtâmâs, who form a secret brotherhood among themselves,—appealed to many people who had been groping after some sort of a universal religion or church, which would cancel all religious conflicts, and build up a universal brotherhood among the races of the world. These are the secrets of the hold that Theosophy took of many people both here and in Europe and America in the last quarter of the last century. All these explain also the strange spell that it cast over so rebellious a spirit as Mrs. Besant.

**Mrs. Besant's
Contributions
to
Theosophy.**

Mrs. Besant's conversion became, in fact, the salvation of the Theosophical Society. She not only lent a new inspiration to it by her wonderful eloquence, but added distinctly new elements to the whole thought-structure of the movement. Madame Blavatsky had emphasised the occult teachings of Theosophy. Colonel Olcott had emphasised its ethical and humanitarian side. The revelations of the Columns considerably shook public confidence in the truth and honesty of Madame Blavatsky, and threw considerable discredit upon occultism itself. For a time the whole movement was under a cloud. It is, indeed, very doubtful if the Theosophical Society could have lived all that evil-repute down, if Mrs. Besant had not come to the rescue. Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott had both of them dropped down upon us almost from the clouds. Little was known of their antecedents. But Mrs. Besant's case was different. For years before she joined the Theosophical Society, she had been a well known person in England. Her life was as an open book to all the world. Her veracity was above suspicion. Her intellectual integrity was absolutely unquestioned. Whatever else this remarkable woman could or could not do, of one thing everybody who knew her either personally or by repute, felt absolutely sure, and it was that she could never be false to her own self. The conversion of Mrs. Besant helped, therefore, to somewhat recreate the faith of good many people not perhaps in the integrity of Madame Blavatsky, but, at any rate, in the truth, at least, of occultism. Mrs. Besant, however, started to work almost from the very commencement of her career as an apostle of Theosophy, to remove the old emphasis on occultism, and to import an element of attractive metaphysical speculations and spiritual idealism into the Theosophic movement. Her metaphysics may or may not be sound. Her spirituality may or may not be real. But that she has given a colour of both to Theosophical teachings none can deny. And in so doing she, practically, freed these from the taint of that agnosticism with which both Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott had been notoriously identified, and placed her theosophy in a close and vital relation with the highest thoughts and speculations of the Hindus. In India, at least, the Theosophical movement, under Mrs. Besant's leadership, became almost openly allied to, if not absolutely identified with, the Hindu Revival of the closing decades of the last century. And this is, I think, the real secret of the wonderful hold that she soon took of the thoughts and aspirations of a good many of our English-educated people.

In one sense, the Theosophical Society was, from the day it came to India, more or less allied to this Hindu Revival Movement. The Brāhmo Samāj was, in fact, the first and earliest expression of the revived consciousness of Hinduism, quickened by its first impact with the Christian propagandist and European rationalism. It stemmed the course of both among the English-educated classes, offering them a religion that was at once rational in its philosophy and national in its spirit and form. Gradually, however, the Brāhmo Samāj under Keshub Chunder Sen became possessed with an ideal of abstract cosmopolitanism that weakened the old nationalist note of the movement, and gradually became more allied, both in spirit and form, to Christian thought and history than to those of Hinduism. The Hindu Revival Movement which practically synchronised with the advent of the Theosophical Society in India was, in fact, a protest against the cosmopolitanism of the Brāhmo Samāj. Theosophy lent considerable strength to this revival, by its new message of what it called "Ancient Wisdom." This ancient wisdom, as Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky understood it, was not entirely Indian. It was the wisdom of all the ancients, Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Hindus, all alike. It was the secret doctrine of all the ancient cults. But still among us in India, this appeal had the direct effect of creating a new interest in our modern-educated classes, in the old scriptures of the country. The study of the old Upanishads was revived. And, I think, after Raja Ram Mohun Roy, it was the Theosophists of India, who first commenced to publish English translations of the more canonical of these ancient scriptures. Notwithstanding all this, however, there was as yet no direct reference in the teachings of the Theosophical Society, to the popular religion of our people. The ancient Hindu wisdom that Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky preached recreated people's faith in the old religion of their country, yet offered but little explanation or justification of our current ecumenicalism, and absolutely no open apology for our social economy.

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All this was left to be done by Mrs. Besant. Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky had only helped the movement of Hindu Revival from the outside. They inspired large numbers of our English-educated classes with a profound reverence for the past spiritual acquisitions of their race, and thereby stemmed simultaneously the tide of both Christian and

**Mrs. Besant's
Contributions to the
Hindu Revival.**

**Theosophy
and
Hindu Revival.**

Brāhmo propagandism among us. Their work was, thus, in a way more or less negative. They offered no apology for current religion, but simply tried to justify popular supernaturalism. They claimed some element of truth and reality for what may be called the magic and sorcery, the *mantra*, and the *tantra*, of lower Hinduism, but did not touch the vital problems of either caste or idolatry. Mrs. Besant commenced to tackle these difficult problems. Colonel Olcott occasionally talked of the Buddha. Both he and Madame Blavatsky always spoke with bated breath of the mysterious Mahatmās from whom they claimed to derive both their instruction and their inspiration. But, neither the Buddha nor these Mahatmās had any reference either to our religious traditions or to our religious life. It was Mrs. Besant who first, among the leaders of the Theosophical Society, commenced to preach the wisdom of Sree Krishna and the Bhagavad-Geetā. The old disciplines of the Theosophical Society were mostly psycho-physical and ethical. Mrs. Besant was the first to import into these what may be called a spiritual element. She did not believe,—not in her earlier years in the Theosophical Society, at any rate,—in what is called the Personality of God. In this she followed in the steps of both Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky. The Hindu Vedāntin also, of the Sankara School in any case, does not posit any personality in the Absolute. But even Sankara accepted the personality of *Isvara*, the first and highest emanation from the Absolute or the Brahman in the Māyic series. Popular Hindu thought is very largely Vedāntic in this respect. It is only Vaishnava Vedānta which accepts the Personality of the Supreme. I doubt it very much if Mrs. Besant has advanced to this highest Vaishnavic standpoint; but that she went as far as the *Isvara* of the Sankara Vedānta cannot be denied. In this, her philosophy was a distinct advance upon the older philosophy, at least of the founders, of the Theosophical Society. It was a clear advance from Buddhistic rationalism and ethicism, to the imaginative Hinduism of the Puranas. Indeed, Mrs. Besant went still further. She even more or less openly allied herself to the so-called idolatry of popular Hinduism. She did not condemn this idolatry, not even by implication, as might well be said of Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott. The very fact that these Theosophical teachers emphasised the teachings of the Upanishads that have no suspicion of any image-worship, as embodying highest Hindu wisdom, and ignored the later phases of Pauranic Hinduism, was a silent but significant condemnation of these. Mrs. Besant, however, stood up as a defender of these. Her explanation of the value of this so-called idolatry was not orthodox. It was, really,

secular and materialistic. Our fathers would rise up in anger against Mrs. Besant's suggestion that the merit of these images lay in the mesmeric potency communicated to them first by the potter--for it is the potters who make these--and then by the priest. They did not believe in the *identity* of these images with their deities; but they believed that during worship the divine spirits do come and possess these symbols and, through them, accept the homage of their devotees. But to a generation anxious to hold on to the current ceremonials of their people, Mrs. Besant's was the only kind of exegesis that could possibly have any value. But whatever their real spiritual or rational value, Mrs. Besant's exegetics did exercise considerable influence over many people who were already losing their faith in the truth of popular Hindu ceremonialism; and who yet, for domestic and social reasons, and possibly also from considerations of the culture of the religious emotions, did not quite like the idea of giving up these so-called idolatrous institutions altogether. As in the matter of this so-called idolatry, so in that of our institution of caste also, Mrs. Besant, following the *Bhagavad-gectâ*, sought to somewhat justify and rationalise it. The earlier Hindu reformers, from Keshub Chunder Sen downwards, had all absolutely condemned this institution, and had appealed to their following to openly break through it. Mrs. Besant did not do this. On the contrary, without actually supporting the existing rigidities of caste-exclusiveness, she offered an apology for the original social economy of the Hindus, by basing the caste-divisions upon *guna* and occupations (गुण-कर्म), just as Sree Krishna had himself done, in the *Bhagavad-gectâ*. And owing to all this, the Theosophical movement, under Mrs. Besant's leadership, became more intimately allied to the movement of Hindu Revival than it had been under Colonel Olcott or Madame Blavatsky. Naturally, therefore, Mrs. Besant has, all these years, exercised an influence over large numbers of our English-educated countrymen, including some of the very best and most scholarly of the present generation of Hindus, that has been unapproached and unapproachable by any other person.

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The intrinsic worth of Mrs. Besant's personal contribution to our present intellectual and spiritual evolution is not, perhaps, very great. The new generations will, most likely, dismiss her philosophy of life as at heart infidel and materialistic, veiled though it may be by an exuberance of un-understood or mis-understood spiritual verbiage. They will surely dismiss

her apologetics of current Hindu ceremonialism as grotesque, if not almost sacrilegious. Hindu thought is fast reaching out to a new synthesis wherein all these apologetics and exegetics will be utterly useless and unnecessary. But yet, when all is said and done, the fact still remains, that Mrs. Besant has materially helped the return movement in modern India, and, as such, the historian of Indian thought in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth century, will assuredly assign her a place, by the side of Keshub Chunder Sen and Dayananda Sarasvatee, Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, as one of the makers of Indian Nationalism. No one can say what new turn she will take now. But it seems to me that her work among us has been finished, and whatever she may do now, that work will remain with us and bear its legitimate fruit in its own time. She herself will not be able to destroy that fruit.

THE VIGIL.

My dear, my dear! the night is breaking
 Over my soul's relentless flutter,
 And all the passions vainly waking,
 Shall die before my soul can utter
 The thought that lived in every motion,
 My dear, my dear! of your emotion!

My dear, my dear!—the night is waiting
 With strange unrest for birth of morrow,
 And stars with stars superbly mating
 Are trembling on the verge of sorrow,
 Just as my soul to-night is trembling,
 My dear, my dear!—with Fates' assembling

My dear, my dear!—the night is heading
 With breathless haste to life's undoing!
 See on the eastern sky is spreading,
 The forms and phantoms of our wooing!
 —The forms that mock with bitter laughter
 The phantoms of our Love's thereafter!

P. R. DAS.

SCIENCE IN OUR VERNACULAR.*

[BY DR. PRAFULLA CHANDRA RAY.]

—:O:—

There is now a real demand for education in the country. New Universities are being ushered into existence with a view to opening up the treasures of the wisdom of the world to the Indians. It behoves us, therefore, to bethink ourselves calmly as to the way in which our educational system can be worked with success.

The first thing that presses itself upon our attention is what should be the medium of instruction in these new educational institutions. Leaving apart the question of Hindi and other vernaculars, it can now be safely asserted that, on consideration of the high degree of development and enrichment the language has attained, Bengalee is quite fit to be made the medium of instruction in Bengal. To make my meaning



Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray.

clear I will survey the history of introduction of English education in this country and the gradual development of the Bengalee language. I shall be as brief as possible.

English education began here with the advent of Ram Mohan Roy on the scene. Our far-seeing predecessors could then see that it would not do for us to continue in our good old ways.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, in a well-reasoned letter to Lord Amherst, the then Governor-General, maintained that the Government would be doing more harm than good to the country by creating a number of scholastic endowments with the funds at their disposal for the dissemination of education in India. He, therefore, appealed to the Government that it might be pleased to provide for the introduction of the study of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences. From the controversy about matters educational that raged from 1817 to 1830 we can gather that the then leaders of our society acted in concert with the English officials to make English the medium of the disseminating Western knowledge in this country. It is needless to add that the country has immensely profited by it.

* This is a free English rendering of Dr. P. C. Ray's Address, at the Chittagong Literary Conference held during the last Easter holidays.

From that time onward for eighty or ninety years, English has been the medium of instruction and it could not but be so. In the first place, we had little prose literature then. It was Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Missionaries of Serampore, who introduced prose writing in Bengalee. It was quite natural therefore that we should turn to English for acquiring knowledge. From the time of Derozio, philosophers like Bacon, Lock, Hume and Adam Smith on the one hand and poets like Shakespeare, Milton, Byron and Shelly on the other, are found to have occupied the entire field of our thought. To refer to science, Newton, Faraday, Kelvin, Darwin, Spencer and Huxley have exerted no less influence on us than they have done on the Europeans. We have been thoroughly imbued with the spirit of English literature. That our modern Bengalee is largely indebted to English literature hardly admits of any doubt.

It is a matter for satisfaction to observe that with the spread of English education amongst us, our love for our mother tongue gradually increased. After Ram Mohan came in the course of time Madhusudan, Bankim Chandra, Rabindra Nath and other talented writers, who devoted themselves exclusively to the cultivation and enrichment of our vernacular. Each of these men would have been an ornament to any country or to any language on the face of the earth. It is these men who have raised Bengalee far above the vernaculars of the other Indian provinces. Provincial languages like Hindi and Marhatti seem to be fifty years behind-hand of Bengalee. Of late some patriotic Marhatta and Hindusthani writers have undertaken to translate the best Bengalee books into their own vernacular with a view to enriching it. It is no small honour to the Bengalee. Remembering the improvements the Bengalee has effected in his mother tongue within so short a period we cannot set him down as a worthless fellow. He who has displayed so much talents in one subject may, with application, so far excel in others as to claim the attention and regard of the savants of the world.

But I am sorry to observe that our language has developed a very great defect. There is no lack of scientific books in English, German and other highly developed languages; but Bengalee has no books worth mentioning on Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany and other allied sciences. This goes to show that our language has not equally developed on all sides. Moreover, it strikes one as strange that after a good beginning in *The Tattvabodhini* and *Bibidhartha-Sangraha*, the last fifty years should have yielded us so poor a result. Akshaya Kumar and Rajendra Lal devoted themselves to creating a scientific

literature in Bengalee with as much zeal and devotion as did Vidya-sagar in giving us a prose literature. But it is a thousand pities that their labours proved unproductive. Both Akshaya Kumar and Rajendra Lal lived to see that science found no scope in our vernacular. Even in *The Bangadarshan* which created a new epoch in our literature one finds science at a discount. Why is it that science did not take root in Bengalee literature? The chief reason is the want of scientific education in the country. Though it was in the interest of scientific education in the country that Raja Ram Mohan Roy supported the introduction of English education here, what was taught in reality was philosophy and literature and not science. It is only recently that the teaching of science has been taken up seriously. Our people have not at all bothered themselves about science. What have those to do with it, who have set their hearts on being pleaders and clerks, bidding good-bye to manufacture and trade. From the very day Persian was abolished as the court-language in Bengal, the Bengalee set himself to learning the new foreign tongue. As people saw that men with the hall-mark of the University, stood a better chance in life, there was a general rush for University education. It was nothing strange; in every country people value the sort of education that makes it easier for them to earn a living. The demand creates the supply. As there was no demand for scientific men, nobody cared to go in for science. Nor did Government make the slightest attempt to create a demand. The Departments of Geology, Botany and Trigonometrical Survey that it created later on, turned out to be forbidden ground for the children of the soil. Thus, there was no career open to an Indian trained in science. The result was that our youngmen went to England to compete for the Civil Service or to qualify themselves for the Bar or any other learned profession but not for scientific education. No doubt it is a happy sign of the times that some of our youngmen now proceed to England or other foreign countries for scientific education, but on their return they find it almost impossible to utilise their education in works and factories, and they get disheartened at their evident failure. True, our University is conferring on our youngmen degrees in Science. But our B.Sc.'s and M.Sc.'s are found to swell the number of law students for want of proper careers before them in their own lines. Science will find its recognition only when trade and manufacture will furnish a scope for the talents of men trained in science—when the children of the soil will find an easy entry to the Scientific Departments of Government of the country. Then, and not till then, will arise a class of men who

will consecrate their lives to the cultivation of science. Our mother-tongue will then be enriched through the dissemination of the scientific truths discovered by our own scholars and savants and thus will grow a scientific literature in Bengalee.

It does not require much discussion to ascertain what is the kind of education we need for the people at large in Bengal. The arguments that Spencer has advanced in favour of science in the matter of popular education in England fully apply to the problem of education in India, specially in Bengal. The first requisite for man is to learn how to live a healthy and vigorous life; the next is to cultivate the graces of body and mind. Spencer has shown that in the education of man science comes first, poetry and fine arts afterwards. What is the kind of education most needed in Bengal? I say, that, which will teach us how trees and plants grow and bear fruits and flowers, how the fertility of the soil increases or decreases, how roads, canals, tanks, gardens, cities, villages and our very houses should be made to contribute to the health and happiness of the people, where to find the mineral wealth and the useful vegetable materials of Bengal and how to utilise them in the interest of increasing the wealth of the country and ultimately its health and beauty, and how railway engines and other machinery are made and worked.

So far science has been taught in our colleges through the medium of the English tongue. Time has now come when we should agitate for science being taught through the medium of our vernacular. The use of a foreign medium has greatly interfered with the progress of scientific education in the country. Of the entire population of Bengal only ten in a lakh receives university education of whom only a fourth has anything to do with science. Thus the vast majority of the people is precluded from knowing anything about science. Had Bengalee been the medium used there would have been by this time good treatises on scientific subjects in our vernacular, making it possible for other than university students to cultivate a knowledge of science. Science in England is indebted for its progress more to men who had no university education than to those who had it. Could she have produced a Faraday or Davy, if science had been taught there in the language of Japan?

The teaching of science here through the medium of English involves a considerable amount of waste on the part of those who must master a foreign tongue before they may attend to the specific subject of their studies. In learning English from his very boyhood the Bengalee boy has to exercise his memory to the neglect of his power

of observation. Is it not idle to expect anything like original research from one whose early training has been so defective? I may be here asked, if the Japanese could learn their science through German or English, why should not the Bengalee? We forget that the Jap's way of learning a foreign tongue is quite different from that of ours. He is satisfied if he can make out the sense of a book written in English or German without caring to be thorough as to pronunciation or idiom. But we audaciously aim at proficiency. Our attempt can never succeed. How many amongst us even know that Madhusudan wrote 'The Captive Lady,' Kashiprasad 'The Shair' and Bankim 'Rajmohun's wife'? Not this, but only what they have written in their own tongue have endured and immortalised these great men.

We have to pay dear for the English education we receive. Before he is six the child begins his First Book of Reading and completes his Third Book when he is eight. As he steps forward class by class there come crowding upon him grammar, composition, phrases, idioms, homonyms and what not, with the higher and higher literature of the class. And we must add to them Mathematics, Geography, History and Sanskrit. Even at this tender age he is over-burdened with the dead weight of English. As soon as he passes his Matriculation and joins his I. Sc. class he is weighed down with a mountain-load of English literature, which has become simply unbearable. Over and above this literature he has got Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Botany or Physiology, both theoretical and practical, to learn. Thus it is not unoften that he has got to attend class after class from ten to five. The effect of all this has been killing. The country now abounds with youngmen with emaciated limbs, shattered health and impaired eye-sight. I, for one, am of opinion, that there ought to be no English literature in the I. Sc. Course; and that Mathematics, History and Geography ought to be taught through the medium of our own vernacular. I would have English as our Second Language. We can ill-afford the time that is now spent in learning the niceties of Shall and Will and appropriate prepositions, when so many important things are inviting our time and energy.

In conclusion, I beg to draw your attention to the way in which the nations of the world are enriching their languages. If we turn to Russia we find that Russians no longer publish the results of their scientific research in the journals of Germany as they used to do forty years back. They have found out that for the good of their people science should be cultivated in their own tongue. Mandelizeff's invaluable treatise on Chemistry is in Russian. Look at Japan, the country

that has made the greatest progress in Asia in matters scientific. The language of Japan being still in a comparatively undeveloped state, the Japs find it necessary to communicate to the civilised world the results of their original scientific researches in either English or German. They too have found out that science must ultimately be cultivated in their own mother tongue, if the thing is to take root among them. The Japanese are now replacing the foreign medium in their colleges. Even in our own country there seems to be a change for the better. To give an impetus to the study of science amongst us, the Bangeeya Sahitya Parishad has undertaken the publication of scientific books written in Bengalee. The time has come to start a fund for the dissemination of scientific knowledge in the country. With the monthly grant of hundred rupees that Government has been pleased to make to the Parishad and the example of Palit's magnanimity, fresh in our memory, to encourage and stimulate our rich patrons of learning, there should be no difficulty in giving the thing a good start at once.

THE DEAD SOUL.

Bring me a garland of roses,
 Laughing with laughter of life,
 Where a bright vision reposes
 Throbbing with melody rife !
 Build me a palace of music,
 Moving with mystical moan,
 Brimful of sorrows that you seek,
 Lifting you out of your own !

I am not dead, tho' not living,
 —I am but phantom of life !
 I have no joy in achieving,
 I have no sorrow in strife !
 Yet thro' the slumberless night-time,
 Dreaming of fancies now fled,
 Visions of sorrows and bright-time
 Mock to my soul that is dead !

Out of thy mystical poses,
 Step to me, Spirit of song !
 Rouse me with laughter of roses,
 Rend me with wrong after wrong !
 Bring to me life just to live in,
 Throbbing with infinite breath !
 Bring to me faith to believe in,
 —Come, and redeem me from death !

P. R. DAS.

THE WOOING OF MAHOSHADHA.*

(*Written after the Jataka-Stories.*)

MANASHEE—JYAISTHA.

BY BABU BYOMKESHA MUSTAFI.

I.

Prince Mahôshadha was only sixteen, but his fame had already spread over the whole kingdom. At every gathering of the people, be it small or be it large, the central topic was the prince,—his learning, his valour, his skill in the arts of warfare, his solicitude for the well-being of his father's subjects. Was a village infested with wild beasts? The prince was there to kill them and free the people from the terror. Did robbers raid a frontier province? The prince was the first to go there and ensure the safety of the person and property of his subjects. Was a district oppressed by unscrupulous and greedy officials? The prince was there to enquire into the matter personally and punish the evil-doer. In the assemblage of the Brâhmins, in the discussion of knotty questions of science or law, the decision of the young prince was accepted as correct and supported by the highest authorities. Thus, by his learning, his wisdom, his valour, his skill in arms, his readiness to fight evils and put down wrongs, his sympathy with the people and his solicitude for their material and spiritual well-being, Prince Mahôshadha though only a youth of sixteen, became the darling of his father's subjects, and his fame spread far beyond the frontiers of his own kingdom.

It soon reached his only sister Udumbarâ, now the consort of a mighty monarch, whose kingdom lay far, far away from that of her father. It filled her with exceeding joy. They had lost their mother while very young; but Udumbarâ had stood in her place to the baby prince. Old memories woke up in her mind. She thought of the day when once sitting with her motherless baby-brother, on the ledge of the palace, there came to them a great saint,—the Guru of their princely house, and he related to her the future glories of the prince. All this had now come to be true. And Udumbarâ longed to go and see her father and brother once. She went to the king and asked his permission to go on a visit to her parent's kingdom; and with the willing consent of her lord, she started on her journey that very day.

II.

Queen Udumbarâ spent the first few days of her visit, almost entirely in the company of her beloved brother. Gradually, however, other thoughts took possession of her mind. Her father had lost her mother long, long ago. He had devoted the earlier years of his bereavement in tending the motherless children, being himself both father and mother to them. The idea of a second marriage

* [The beautiful painting, reproduced in our frontispiece, by Babu Bhabanec Charan Laha, represents this tender scene. These blocks also appeared in that excellent Bengalee Monthly—*MANASHEE* in its *Baisakha* issue.]

had never crossed his mind. The boy had grown up to youth. But the inner apartments were still like a deserted palace. Queen Udumbara was pained at the sight of this desolation. It was time, she thought, that the prince took unto him a suitable wife. Udumbara went and broached the subject to her father, who resigning the cares of government to the hands of his worthy son, had been devoting himself entirely to the meditative and the spiritual life. He had no thought for the world. Udumbara saw it, and was a little pained by it. She told the king that it was nothing strange that her brother, the scion of such an illustrious race, should have won all this renown. This was as a matter of course. But she expressed her painful surprise at the indifference of her father for the continuance of his royal line. "No one desires," she said, "the extinction of so noble a race. Please, therefore, arrange for the marriage of the prince. No other duty remains unfulfilled by him, except those belonging to the pious householder,—the duty of rearing progeny and providing, thereby, for the perpetuation of the race. He has fully discharged all his debts, except those to the manes." The words of his daughter opened the king's eyes. "I agree with you, my child, in what you say. But the prince is not a child. He knows all science and all Dharma or Law. I can do nothing without knowing his wishes. Ascertain these yourself, and act accordingly."

III.

The prince had finished his morning bath and his morning worship, and was just dressed to go out to supervise the work of his officers, when Queen Udumbara approached him, and lovingly drawing him to her, smiling said:—"Dear brother, you have learnt all the sciences prescribed for the education of the princes, you have acquired the wisdom of the learned, and earned far-reaching fame, befitting one born of so noble a race; and have gathered experience of the duties of the various orders or *Asramas*. There is no need to instruct you, in your present duty. I have father's permission. You should now marry and assume the responsibilities of the householder and thus fulfil your functions as a son. Arrange for discharging your obligations to your ancestors, help to bring forth fresh shoots and young branches of the royal family-tree,—in a word, my brother, it is time you got married."

The prince quietly thought over his sister's words for a while, and having thus determined his duty, said—"Be it so, my dear and revered sister. But where shall I find a bride endowed with all good signs and pleasant to the mind?" Udumbara said—"If I have your permission, I shall look out for a suitable bride for you." The prince thought—A girl selected and brought by others may not be after my own mind. I shall myself go out in search of my bride. But I will not communicate my resolve as yet to my father. So thinking he confided his wishes to his sister, and seeing how reasonable it was, Udumbara too gave her consent to the scheme.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

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AN INDUSTRIAL UTOPIA.

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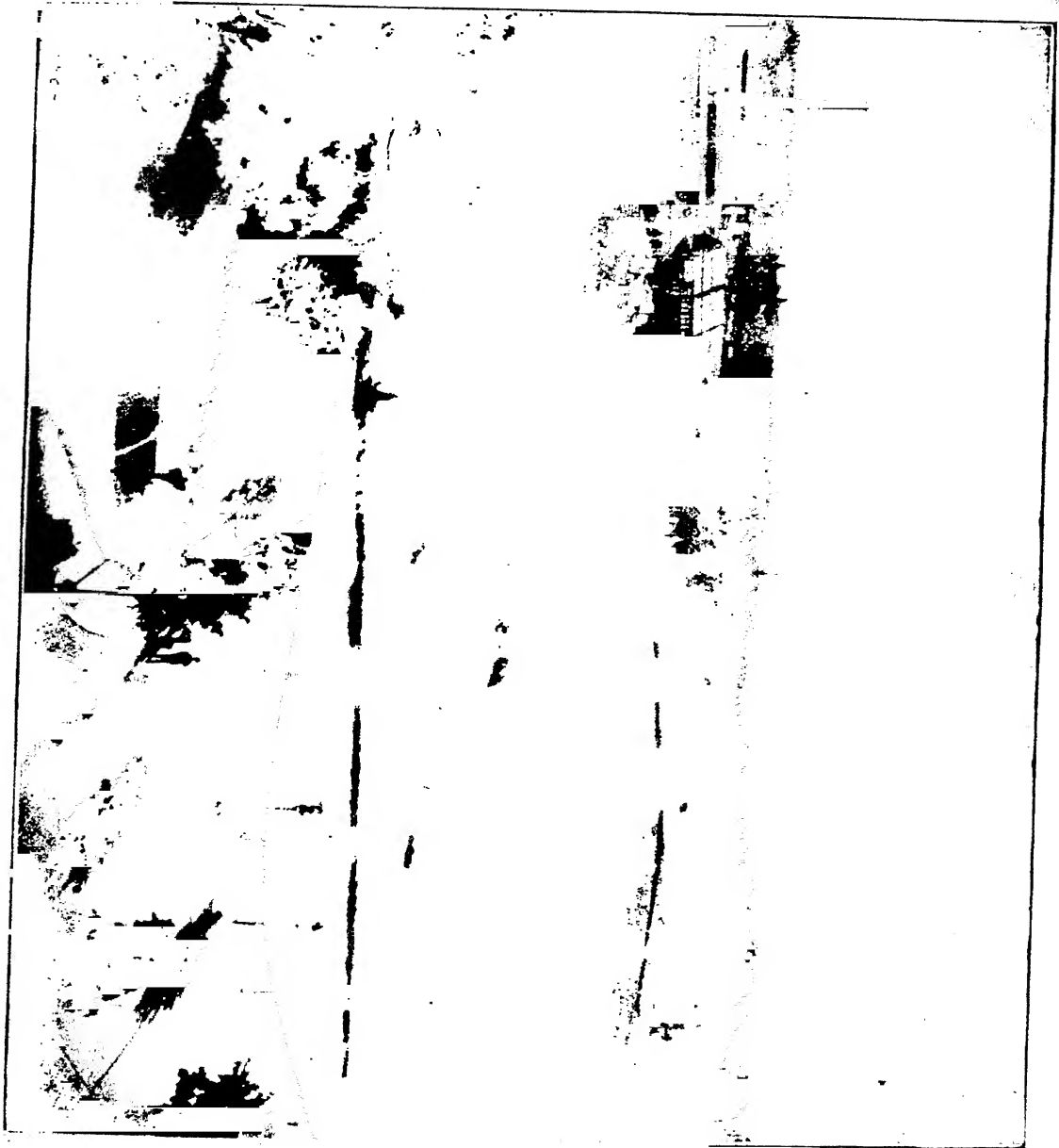
(A VISIT TO BOURNVILLE WORKS.)

All sociologists and economists admit that labour is the source of all wealth and it should follow, both in logic and justice, that the labourer should be wealthy. How far this is a fact I need not discuss here. It is well known that the mass of labourers in even so wealthy a country as England, are underpaid ; and their sufferings are almost too great to describe. Up to the end of the eighteenth century it would not be unjust to say that practically no consideration was shown by the employer to his employees. Those who are at all acquainted with the condition of labour in times past and especially prior to the present century, know out of what state of bondage it has gradually freed itself. At one time the British labourer had literally not even the ordinary rights of human beings. In 1360, during the reign of Edward the Third, the law was that if a labourer refused to work for the wages fixed by law or by the judges of the country, he was to be imprisoned and was to have the letter F branded with a hot iron upon his forehead. If a labourer sought in any manner to increase his rate of wages he was to be kept in prison. From that time on, for four centuries, the law relating to labour remained the same. But with the close of the eighteenth century commenced the present industrial revival, and, in consequence, things have considerably changed for the better since. But although the primary rights of citizenship of the worker are recognised all over Europe, their pecuniary condition remains relatively the same. The deplorable condition of the workers of Europe and America is almost wholly the direct result of the modern industrial and commercial system. This system owes its inception and its continued maintenance almost entirely to the capitalist class. The workers, as a body, even now are overworked, underfed and under-educated ; and it is no wonder that the criminal classes are daily increasing everywhere. The employers of labour frequently refuse even to provide means of decent living for their employees and the majority of workers in England do not live—they simply exist. England had been slow to admit these facts—but she is driven to recognise them now and the great problem that is troubling her statesmen and social reformers today is the problem of capital and labour.

In these days of strenuous competition they cannot do without factories and machineries in Europe. They are necessary evils and it would be very difficult to replace them. True, in India we have no factories to speak of—no struggle between capital and labour—there every workman is his own master. He makes and owns his goods. But then, they cannot compete with machine-made goods. Any industry that wants to keep pace with the times must—it is felt in many quarters even in India—have plant and machinery of the most approved type, so that the finished article may be turned out as perfect and as quickly as possible,

OUR LON

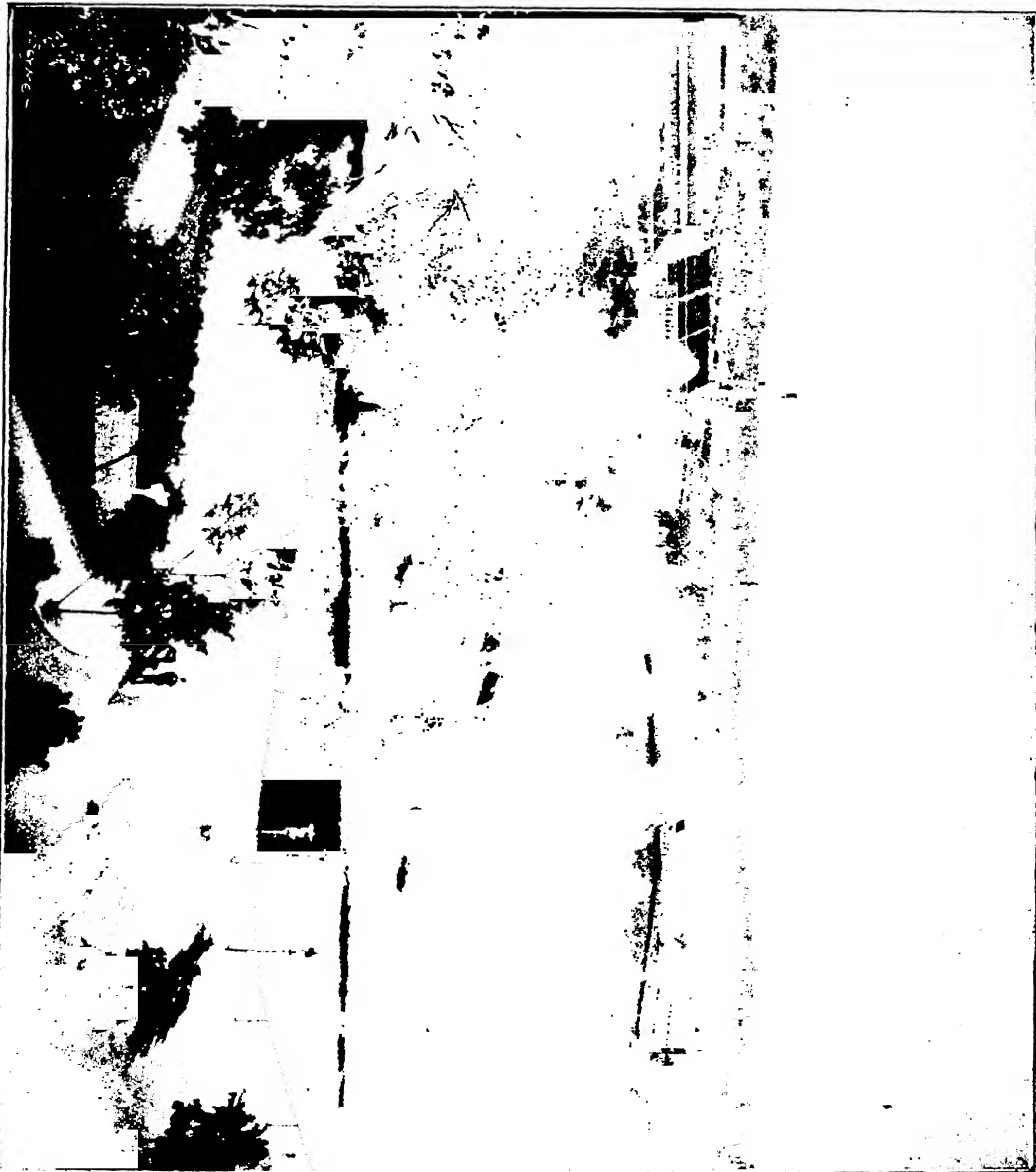
invitation, I visited their works at Bournville, near Birmingham : at to give my readers the impression I received from my visit. In India not got many factories, but those that exist would do well to copy some things done at Bournville. Of course it is for Indian business-men to say how



Bournville

the method of working by the Bournville Works, are suitable for the types of labour available at Bournville may not be suitable for the types of labour available in India. But still I think

invitation, I visited their works at Bournville, near Birmingham ; and I propose to give my readers the impression I received from my visit. In India we have not got many factories, but those that exist would do well to copy some of the things done at Bournville. Of course it is for Indian business-men to say how far



Bournville Works.

the methods set forth in this article and adopted by the Bournville Works, are suitable for imitation. Business differs greatly, so do the types of labour employed in India, and what may be possible or desirable at Bournville may not be quite suitable or practicable in Bombay or Ahmedabad. But still I think

VIEW.

works which will be quite worthwhile to seriously think over.

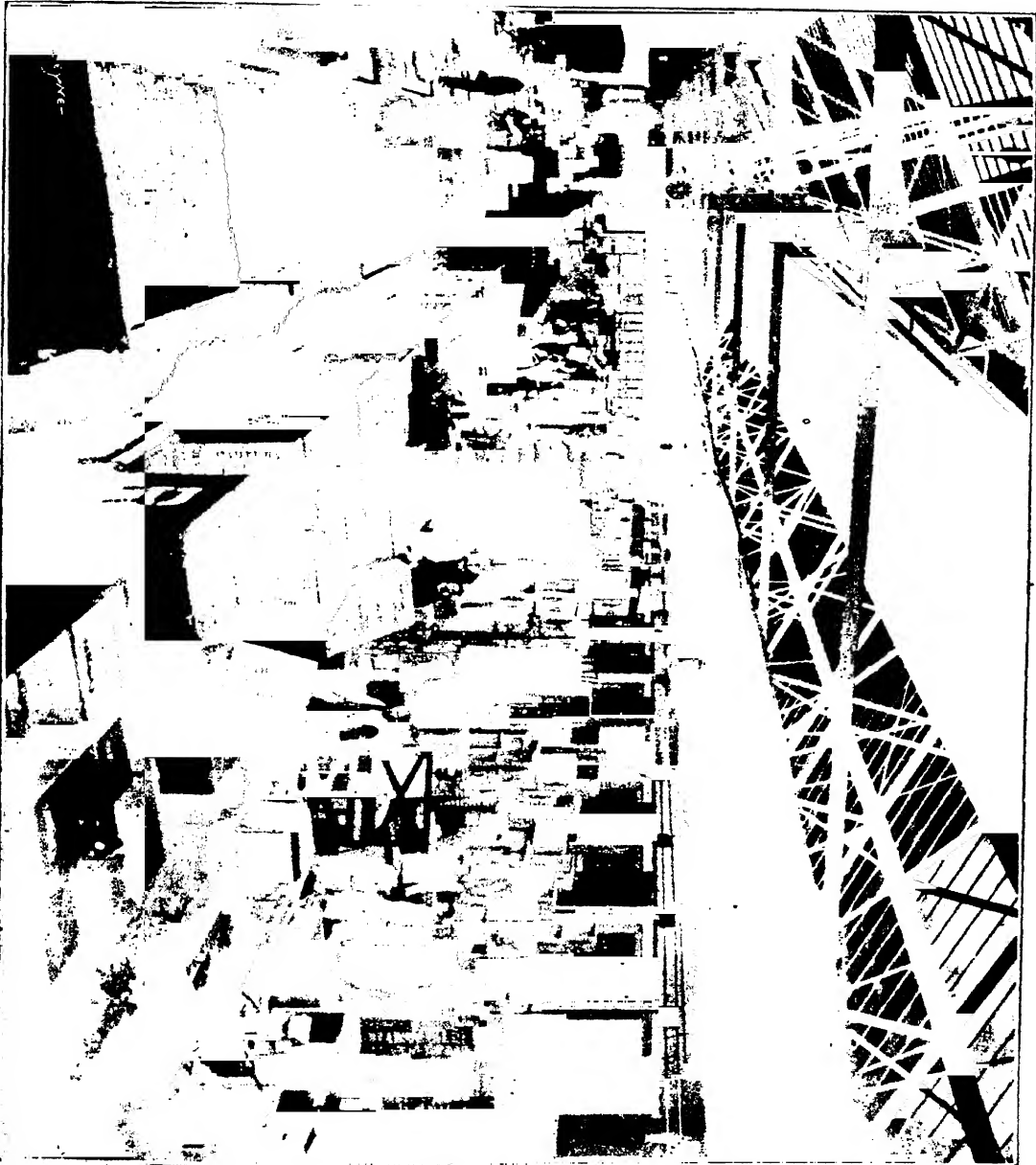
To illustrate the progress of the Social-Welfare Movement I have selected the works of Cadbury Bros., the well-known firm of cocoa and chocolate manufacturers, as the best and most illuminating example of earnest effort for securing efficiency and the health and comfort of employees, that exist in this country. Bournville is situated quite close to Birmingham and is considered as one



A Typical Workroom, Bournville Works (Filling card boxes).

of the healthiest places in England. While approaching the Bournville Works I did not find what I naturally expected. The idea that I was looking at the interior of the building was not to enter into my mind, and I must admit that I was pleasantly disappointed in this matter.

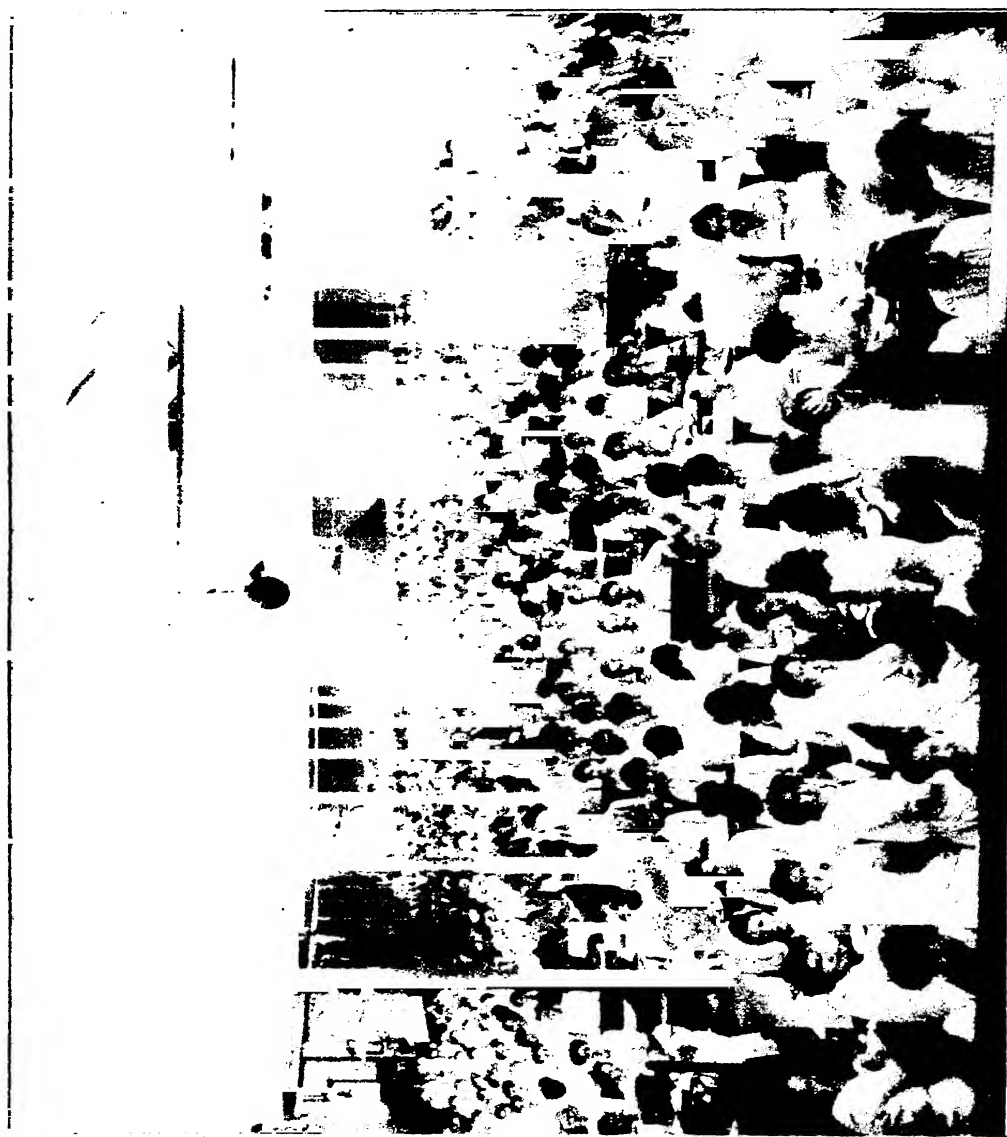
had never before visited any big factory and what I heard and read about them was totally different from what I saw at Bournville. There was nothing in the surroundings of the work to tell a visitor that it was a factory. The ornamented grounds, the flower beds and shrubberies, the high and airy rooms of the works—



The Despatching Station, Bournville Works.

all these do not exist in a factory, but nevertheless it was a factory, and I learnt that all these beautiful surroundings, the lofty and spacious rooms of the works, the green spaces between the buildings, and in fact everything that has

made the life of the Bournville happy, is the expression of a carefully-thought-out plan of Mr. George Cadbury, who wanted to make his factory attractive, bright, and comfortable. The Bournville Works may be rightly termed a factory in a garden. In view of the nature of Bournville-products, Cadbury



Girls' Dining Room, Bournville Works.

Bros. have always regarded two things as essential: (1) that there should be absolute cleanliness in the conditions under which their goods are made, that the health of the workers must be maintained at the highest standard for that purpose. The management also recognise that the

workers are those who are happy as well as healthy, and various attempts are made to meet these ends and to promote the social, moral, and intellectual welfare of the employees here.

Unlike other factories, the buildings of the Bournville Works have been planned with the object of realising the most modern hygeinic ideals. The



work-rooms are spacious, well-lighted, and well-ventilated. The physical needs of the employees are further considered by the provision for comfortable and airy dining rooms where food of all kinds are procurable at cost price. While every

wifery and needlework classes for the women are held regularly during the evening.

One of the special features of the Bournville Works is the arrangement for the education of its boy and girl employees. Owing to the nature of its manufacture, the Bournville Works employs a very large number of child-labourers and every precaution is taken by the management to secure their physical, intellectual as well as moral well-being. It is a most difficult work no doubt and happily the Bournville Works has so far succeeded in discharging its share of responsibility very satisfactorily. It is compulsory for all boys and girls under eighteen years of age to attend evening classes. The various forms of educational work may be brought under five heads: (1) Compulsory evening classes for boys and girls under eighteen; (2) Physical training classes; (3) Miscellaneous classes; (4) Apprenticeship classes, and (5) Trade classes.

All boys under eighteen have to continue their education in the evening classes. The educational needs of the younger people are not allowed to be interfered with by any overtime-work. The management have drawn out a scheme, covering four years, for the education of its boy-employees. Courses under this scheme are as follow:—

BOYS' COMMERCIAL COURSE.

First year.

1. English language.
2. Elementary Mathematics.
3. History and Geography.
4. French.

Second year.

Same subjects as first year but more advanced.

Third year.

1. English, including commercial correspondence.
2. Commercial Mathematics.
3. Modern Book-keeping or Shorthand.
4. A modern language.

Fourth year.

Same subjects as third year but more advanced.

BOYS' INDUSTRIAL OR GENERAL COURSE.

First year.

1. English language and literature.
2. Elementary Mathematics.
3. Art.
4. History and Geography.

Second year

1. English literature and History.
2. Elementary Mathematics.
3. Art.

4. Elementary Science.

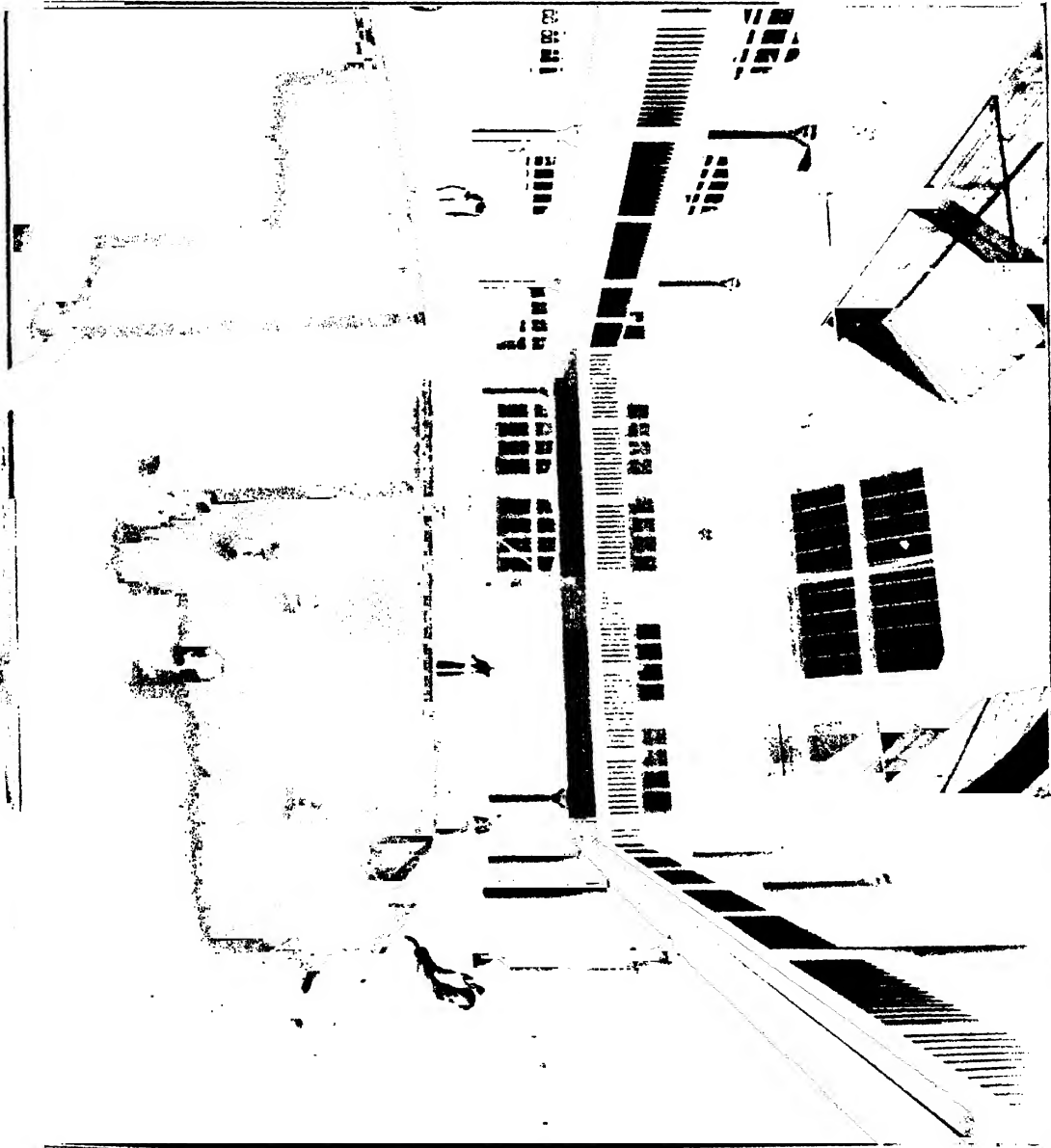
Third year.

- Apprentices to take specialized courses.
General workers to take the following:—
1. English.
 2. Practical Mathematics.
 3. Elementary Science, Mechanics and Physics.

Fourth year.

- Apprentices to take specialized courses.
General workers choose their own subjects.

analysts busy testing new materials and perfecting new processes. The Bournville Works encourage all kinds of recreation amongst its employees. Extensive recreation grounds (11 and 12 acres respectively) have been laid out to meet the requirements of modern sports and athletics. The men run three



Girls' Swimming Bath, Bournville Works

cket and three football teams, two hockey and scores of tennis clubs. In the n's recreation grounds there are a large open air swimming bath, a well-furnished and well-ventilated pavilion, and a fully-equipped gymnasium. Gymnastics compulsory for boys under fifteen and classes are held every evening when a

The girls' course is followed in the same way as the boys' the syllabus being as under :—

GIRLS' DOMESTIC OR GENERAL COURSE.

First year.

1. English language and literature.
2. Arithmetic.
3. Art.
4. Needlework.

Second year.

1. English language and literature
2. Arithmetic.
3. Home dress-making.
4. Physiology.

Third year.

1. English literature.
2. Cookery and laundry work.
3. Laws of health.

Fourth year.

1. English literature.
2. Housewifery, including cooking, mending of household linens, etc.
3. Sick nursing and care of infants.

The Housewifery classes are held in ordinary cottages, furnished and equipped in much the same way as are the girls' own homes.

The following comparative table shows the number of employees who have attended evening classes during the last six years :—

| Year. | Compulsory. | Voluntary. | Total. | Reward, £ s. d. |
|---------|-------------|------------|--------|--------------------|
| 1906-07 | 430 | 156 | 586 | 172-12-6 |
| 1907-08 | 512 | 306 | 818 | 198-13-10 |
| 1908-09 | 513 | 280 | 793 | 180-17-4 |
| 1909-10 | 856 | 200 | 1,056 | 237-10-0 |
| 1910-11 | 1,500 | 200 | 1,700 | 380-11-7 |
| 1911-12 | 1,737 | 213 | 1,950 | 363-18-2 |

So much for the educational scheme of the Bournville Works. Besides these classes there are various other classes held during the afternoons and evenings such as Correspondence class, History class, Mathematics, Ambulance and First Aid, Music, etc., etc.

The other feature of the Bournville Works is the Pension Fund. All male employees may draw pensions at the age of 60. The contributions amount to from $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 4% of the employees' wages according to the age at which they join. For every shilling contributed by the employees the Firm contributes a like amount into the fund : and whereas the employees' contribution may be withdrawn *plus* compound interest should they cease to be members of the Fund, the Firm's contribution remains permanently in the Fund. A magazine is

published by the Bournville Works every month and is presented free to employees. In addition to articles of trade and general interest it gives all the news of the Bournville Works and fosters a feeling of comradeship throughout the Works.

We hear nowadays so much about garden cities and town-planning schemes, etc., that it was very instructive and interesting for one to visit the Bournville village. The village of Bournville was founded by Mr. George Cadbury in 1895 and has been administered since 1900 by a trust. The object is to provide healthy homes with adequate accommodation for workers in the factories and to secure for them some of the advantages of outdoor village life. The area of the village laid out for building is over five hundred acres and there are already over six hundred homes and the population approaches nearly 3,500. Mr. George Cadbury presented to the village a school at a cost of £25,000. Among other buildings I visited the Ruskin Hall, the centre of the intellectual and social life of the village, and the village meeting house, an undenominational place of worship.

I do not think I have been able to give my readers even a rough idea of what I saw at Bournville. If factories are conducted on the same lines as the Bournville Works, I am sure we shall never hear of industrial strifes, the fight between capital and labour. The popularity of the Bournville Works is amply proved by the enormous number of applications for admission received at the Works annually. I was told by a young man employed in the packing department that they are perfectly happy and contented and the wages they receive provide them with all the necessities and comforts of life.

There are millionaires and there are poor men and there is the eternal dispute between the two classes ; and the envy and hatred and contempt that the one feels for the other can only end if the rich make an advance to bring about a better understanding with the poor. It is the poor who understands the poor—it is the sufferer who understands the pangs and agonies of sufferings and there are very few among the owners of palaces who worry about those who have to sleep in low, damp huts and even those of the ' high ' who sprang up from the low, sometimes forget their needy fellow sufferers. And therefore all praise is due to Mr. George Cadbury for his kindly feelings for those whom he employed. In conclusion I must also thank the management for their very kind reception and for the illustrations of this article.

23, SANDWICH STREET,
LONDON, W. C.
4th April 1913.

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SREE NIRANJAN PAL.

FINANCE AND BUSINESS.

THE CANNING INDUSTRY.

(BY BABU HARIDAS HALDAR—Kalighat.)

The art of preserving food in vacuum within hermetically sealed receptacles by means of heat first evolved from the studious and observant brains of an humble Frenchman, Nicholas Appert, whose sole occupation in life had hitherto been connected with brewing, wine-making, pickling and the making of confectionary. In 1810 he first introduced the process of heating provisions in vessels which could be hermetically closed, so that the steam should drive out the air and a vacuum be produced. The French Government, under Napoleon the Great, awarded him the prize of 12,000 francs, which long before had been offered for a method that would preserve alimentary substances without robbing them of their natural qualities and juices. This method of preservation, although invented by a Frenchman, did not make much progress in France. And it was reserved for the go-ahead people of America to seize on the same and make it, as they have indeed done, a great industry, now so well known under the generic title of canning, which enables us to-day to secure and consume the good things of life which Heaven sends us and genius preserves for us in all climates and all seasons. With the separation of country from town, the development of manufacturing nations as distinct from agricultural and food-producing peoples, the spreading of civilized man from Torrid to Arctic Zones, the needs of travellers on land and sea and of armies on the march, the problem of the prevention of the natural decomposition of food substances became increasingly urgent, and it has now been satisfactorily solved by the industry of canning. For by this means we can now store the plentitude of one season or one place against the need of other seasons or other places.

There is almost no limit to the possibilities of canned food if it is properly packed and placed before the people. The various methods and improvements which tend to raise the standard of quality and at the same time lower the price are gradually bringing it within the reach of all classes. The rate at which the world's demand of these goods has increased during the last ten years is almost incredible. There are at present in the United States alone between two to three thousands of canneries packing principally tomatoes, corn, milk, oysters, corned beef, salmon, sardines, peaches, peas, beans, apples, pears, pineapples, small fruits and pumpkins. There the total out-put of canned goods is computed to have been about 700,000,000 cans of all sizes and kinds. The annual aggregate value of these goods amount in an average year to over Rs. 246,000,000. The introduction of labour-saving machinery has revolutionized this industry. It has, while banishing to a considerable extent the use of manual labour, greatly reduced the price of goods and increased the out-put. The tests which canned food has successfully undergone during the past twenty-five years is wonderful; only improved health has followed its use, and its keeping qualities have been demonstrated by long expeditions in various parts of the world.

India is pre-eminently the country of splendid luscious fruits, varied green vegetables and famous fresh-water fishes. The prospect of this industry in this country is therefore immense. In Bengal at any rate we may with advantage pack pineapples, bael, mangoes, liches, nakats, shabedars, kharbujahs, jack-fruits, jambrils, cabbages, cauliflowers, greenpeas, parwals, beans, hilsa fish, mango-fish, vekties, magoors, koies, fresh-water lobsters, prawns and what not. The beneficial effects of good ripe sound fruits in purifying the system and toning up the general health are well known and are being increasingly recognised by physicians, who advise the judicious use of fruits in preference to nauseous drugs much more than they did formerly. In the first class canned article we have something better than similar goods in their so-called fresh state in the bazar, where the stall-keepers too often palm off stale unsound fruit on their customers, while the least unsound fruit if canned will not keep at all. But probably the best argument of all in favour of canned fruits is that these can be had in all seasons and all places where fresh fruits cannot be obtained. All fruits should be packed in glass jars instead of tin cans. Tin is slowly acted upon by the mallic acid, the natural acid of fruits, and the mullate of tin, thus formed, imparts a metallic distaste to the tinned fruits, the prejudice against their use being solely due to this cause. Dr. S. Rideal says, "If the inside of the tin be much discoloured, or tinned fruits show a strongly marked crystalline appearance on the interior surface, they are unsafe to be eaten." When fruits are packed in glass jars no such deterioration is possible, and they retain their natural taste and aroma for a long period.

The *rationale* of canning is rather a simple one. All decomposition of food is due to the development, within the food, of living organisms. Under conditions under which living organisms cannot enter or cannot develop, food keeps undecomposed for an indefinite length of time. The problem of food preservation resolves itself, therefore, into that of keeping out or killing off all living things that might feed upon and thus alter the food, and as these organisms mainly belong to the family of moulds, yeasts and bacteria, modern food preservation is strictly a subject for the bacteriologist. At boiling point of water all living cells perish, but some spores of bacteria may survive for about three hours. Few adult bacteria can live beyond 75°C., in the presence of water. To preserve food in a permanent manner and on a commercial scale it has to be cooked or processed in a receptacle which must be sufficiently strong for transport, cheap, light and unattacked by the material in contact with it. None of the receptacles at present in use quite fulfils all of these conditions: glass and china are heavy and fragile, and their carriage is expensive; tin-plate is rarely quite unaffected by food materials, but owing to its strength, tenacity and cheapness it is used on an extensive scale. Tin itself is slightly attacked by all acid juices of vegetable and animal substances. With the exception of milk, all human food is slightly acid, and consequently all food that has been preserved in tin canisters contains

variable traces of dissolved tin. Happily, salts of tin have little physiological action. A good many kitchens in every country are well supplied with tin vessels for all sorts of uses, and no poisoning ever results. Nevertheless, the employment of tin cans for very acid materials, such as acid fruits, is very objectionable.

The process of preservation in canisters is carried out as follows:—The canister, which has been made either by the use of solder on the outside or by folding machinery only, is packed with the material to be preserved, and a little water having been added to fill the interstices, the lid is secured by soldering or folding, generally the former. Sterilization is effected by placing the tins in pressure chambers, which are heated by steam to 120°C., or more. The tins are exposed to that temperature so long as experience has shown to be necessary; or they may be placed in open baths of boiling water or some heavier liquid as may be required. This is known as processing. Sometimes a small aperture is pierced through the lid, to allow the escape of the expanding air, such holes before cooling being closed by a drop of solder. The processing of provisions in glass bottles is also conducted in a similar way. The degree and mode of processing of different food materials constitute the trade secret. Care should be taken to ascertain that the contents do not get over-cooked on the one hand, nor the ferments and the bacteria left alive on the other. Imperfect sterilization shows itself in many cases by gas development within the tin which causes the ends to become convex and drummy. Were it not for the fact that sterilization is rarely quite perfect, and that the food attacks the tin, the contents of tin canisters ought to keep for an indefinite length of time. Under existing circumstances, however, there is a distinct limit to the age of soundness of canned goods. The use of lacquered tins, having the inner surface covered with a heat-resisting varnish, is gradually extending. But bottled goods are decidedly superior to canned goods, and in England the former command an ever increasing sale.

A moderate-sized plant for canning all kinds of provisions should consist of a suitable boiler with pipings and fittings for furnishing steam for heating the open bath or the pressure chamber; a scalding tank for scalding or blanching those vegetables requiring it; an exhaust tank for exhausting the cans in order to force the cold air out of them after they have been packed and capped; a process tank or pressure chamber for processing the cans after exhaustion; a few scalding baskets made of galvanized wire; a number of crates made of strap iron; a couple of cranes for lowering or hoisting the crates holding the cans into the tank and the pressure chamber; some perforated steam coils or crosses supplying the tanks; a syrup holder and a syrup gauze for holding the syrup and ascertaining its density, as syrup is used in canning fruit; a blast furnace for heating capping steels and tipping coppers; besides peeling tables, packing tables, capping tables, thermometers, scales, can tongs, hammers, buckets, etc. A building of two stories, 25×45 ft., with some grounds attached to it, would be a suitable one for this outfit. The first floor can be used for manufacturing purposes, and the second for the storage of empties and stock. To successfully operate such a

factory would require at least a dozen hands. Outside of processor, capper and tipper, the help will compose mostly of women and children and other unskilled labour. The art of processing, as well as that of capping and tipping, is easily acquired.

In a big commercial city ready made tin cans and glass jars can perhaps be had from the market in any number, and the packer there need not set up a separate can-making plant in his own factory. Otherwise he will have to make his own cans and order his glass bottles from elsewhere. It is more costly and tedious to pack provisions in glass jars than in tin cans. Hence the price of bottled goods is higher than that of tinned goods. But where the buyer can afford to pay for them he should prefer the former to the latter. It would be advisable to pack fruits solely in glass bottles, tin cans being reserved for packing vegetables, fishes and meat, which should generally require re cooking in this country in order to obviate the risk of ptomain poisoning, as all soluble ptomains are destroyed at 80° C. The question of labelling the cans is not an insignificant one. Much progress has been made of late in the art of designing and turning out handsome labels, and modern cans are covered with fine specimens of the lithographic art. These attractive labels are among the best paying advertisers of canned goods. The writer of this article will be glad to correspond with any patriotic Indian capitalist who may be willing to start a factory for canning Indian provisions.

KALIGHAT,
Calcutta.

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HARIDAS HALDAR.



ARTICLES FROM THE REVIEWS. A STUDY IN COTTAGE INDUSTRY.

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THE SILK INDUSTRY.

BY BABU RADHA KAMAL MUKHERJEE, M.A.

(*The Modern World*—March and April 1913.)

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The March and April numbers of *The Modern World* (Madras) have a very important and interesting article on "The Silk Industry," by Babu Radha Kamal Mukherjee, M.A., Professor of Economics, Krishnath College, Berhampore, Bengal. Professor Radha Kamal, though a very young gentleman, has already commenced to make his mark, as an original thinker and constructive writer on Indian Economics and Sociology; and the paper will certainly enhance his reputation for laborious research and sound scholarship. I would ask my readers to provide themselves with these two issues at least of this eminently readable magazine and study the whole thesis of Professor Mukherjee. It will, I assure them, amply repay perusal. I wish I had sufficient space at my disposal to reproduce the whole of it in these pages. That being, however, impossible, I quote here only the concluding part of it. After describing the complicated processes of the manufacture of silk fabrics, in our handlooms, Professor Mukherjee points out the difficulties that face the silk-weavers now, owing to want of capital. At one time they had not this financial difficulty. For, these weavers were rich, and could employ their own capital in their works, and were not dependent upon the money-lender.

In Benares the silk weavers of the past besides preparing first class pure Indian silk work and Saries and Kimkhabas, used to keep a store of silk articles. In those good old days they were both makers and sellers of their articles. The present day merchants (silk sellers) then only worked as brokers. But now the broker has turned into a wholesale dealer, a big merchant who orders the weavers to prepare things according to the taste and demand of the public. As long as the makers were sellers also, they used to make things as their artistic traditional training and the pleasure that a maker or artist feels in his work, inspired them to do. They had their own good old patterns and designs. They had their own dyes and dying materials, the deep harmonious Indian colours. The result was that the work prepared was quite superb in every respect, and fine and beautiful. From the economic point of view it was a great gain to the country. Thousands of gold and silver thread makers lived abundantly.

n Benares. The silk culture was a living industry.* The Mahajans on the other hand are not to blame, for they perform indeed a useful economic function under the present conditions of the industry. There is competition among them and considering the risks involved in the trade the interest they get on their capital is not too high. Still credit has to be made much cheaper if the industry is to prosper. Again so long as the industry is in the hands of the Mahajans it is hopeless to expect any art in the wares for long. Their sole motive is to make profit and they always have those things prepared which suit the public taste. Thus the old indigenous colours of India have been superseded by the dazzling and transient aniline dyes and the pure gold thread by the fine and brilliant thread of Europe. Again if superior fabrics are woven the capital has to be locked up for a much larger period than at present. Capital is also required for the purposes of advertising the silk work widely, thus creating a demand for them among the richer people also for inducing the weavers to adopt good and fresh designs.† This capital has to be supplied to the weavers at an easier rate of interest.

In Benares, the Silk Weavers' Association founded in 1906 and registered under Act X of 1904 as a Limited Company with a capital of Rs. 45,000 seeks to finance the poor weavers. It supplies the raw materials to the weavers and receives manufactured fabrics at a particular fixed time. It will thus be seen that the Association is practically a Limited Liability Company as acting as Silk Merchants. The system of payment is really that of piece work and it is to the interest of workmen to accomplish as much as possible in the day. The Association is not concerned with apprenticeship, as it pays only for work, instead of for workmen's time. The workmen themselves teach their sons or employ apprentices on their own account. The apprentices are stimulated to exertion by the knowledge that they can obtain no remuneration until they are qualified to work by themselves.

* Lala Mukundi Lall, Prize Essay on Trade Guilds in India, Modern Review, March 1911.

† Many of the silk weavers of Midanapur and Benares told me that they could reproduce any pattern from paper that I would like them to do. But it seems that the initial cost of transferring a design from paper to the cotton thread frame is almost prohibitive. A. Chatterjee's note on the Industries in the United Provinces, page 46).

In Murshidabad, Mr. Mritunjay Sarkar of Gankar, Mirzapore, a clever silk weaver, was asked by Mr. N. G. Mukherjee if he could construct looms for weaving ornamental fabrics like those made by Dubraj, a Chamar by birth who was a most famous weaver of the district. After many efforts he succeeded in reproducing the border of Dubraj's shawls and table covers without the corner ornaments. It is by a special arrangement of healds for the borders that he produced his plain shawl with a wide ornamental border, an article which is now highly valued in the Berhampore market. There is now no one in the district since Dubraj's death who understands the mechanism of those looms which are still in use in the Baluchar circle for producing figured fabrics. When any of these looms would get out of order Dubraj was sent for to set it right, but he reserved the neatest patterns for himself.

* Similar advances of money, looms or other appliances might be made to the weavers by the Government. In Europe in some countries, *e.g.*, Austria, Switzerland, the government support the artisans by granting them subsidies to purchase the raw materials and the appliances of production. But the best method of financing the weavers is through the establishment of Co-operative Unions. The Government has recognised the necessity of Co-operative Societies among the industrial classes and steps are being taken by the Registrars to pioneer such societies among the weavers in the different provinces. Many such societies have been established and they have done immense good to the weavers. As Mr. G. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S., says "The introduction of Co-operative Credit Societies amongst weavers which has been so successfully tried for the silk-weavers of Benares, for the weavers of Solapur in Bombay and in parts of Madras, stands out as the most suitable means for improving the financial condition of the weavers and of teaching them habits of co-operation, self-reliance and self-help which in themselves will be valuable assets in bringing success to their occupation."†

Murshidabad is the centre of the silk weaving industry of Bengal. Various kinds of fabrics are woven in the district, such as Motka Dhuties and Saries, Alwans or thick Chaddars, silk Muslins and *Hawai Duk*, Chelies, Namabolis, etc., which have a great demand in the local market. Gown-pieces are in demand among the European ladies and also among Bengal gentlemen for making Chapkans and Chogas. Corahs are the cheapest fabrics forming the staples of export to Europe, where they are used mainly for lining purposes. Bootidar Saries are woven in Baluchar; some are very decent but the ladies of the rich and middle classes prefer the Benares fabrics. Ornamental silks, Rumals and Shawls, Scarfs and Sashes are also made to order from the looms set by Dubraj. These are inferior only to the best patterns of Kashmir and Benares looms, but unlike them they can stand any amount of washing. Mr. N. G. Mukherjee has remarked:—"It is too late to think of reviving the industry of weaving ornamental silk fabrics, as the only man who could be used to up-lift this industry is now dead. The only hope of reviving the industry now rests in the fact that Dubraj's looms are still in existence." In other parts of Bengal, Maldah, Bogra, Birbhoom

Mr. A. Chatterjee, I.C.S., has suggested the establishment of a school of drawing and designs which introduce new designs and teach the art of transferring them to the loom. The services of expert weavers have also to be utilised for teaching the art of constructing looms for bringing out new patterns. Even now the art seldom dies with the talented weavers for they do not as a rule keep the patterns for themselves. In Baluchar, *e.g.*, the weavers recognised Mrittunjoy as their master as he was the means of introducing many improvements in the silk weaving industry at that centre. "The caste system viewed in the light of a trade guild is a great lever for industrial improvements in this country and any system of technical education that may be introduced in the country should fully utilise the existing system."—Mr. N. G. Mukherjee's Monograph on the Silk Fabrics of Bengal, page 42.

* Mr. G. Gupta's Prize Essays on Trade Guilds in India.

† Mr. G. N. Gupta's Survey, page 23.

and Rajshahi, Silk Saris, Dhoties of silk or Motka, handkerchief, pieces of coating, uranis made of silk or of mixed silk and cotton are manufactured and command a good sale. The demand for silk fabrics is increasing and will continue to increase in the country with steadily rising standard of life of the people. The increased demand however is satisfied to some extent by the Japanese and Chinese silks, * the imports of which have been increasing for some time. It is only a vitiated taste that prefers the gaudy and brilliant fabrics to the pure and lasting silks of the indigenous hand-loom.

The working of the looms from which figured patterns are made is highly complex. The following is a description of the working of a loom used for weaving bootidar saris, in Baluchar, given by Mr. N. G. Mukherjee, which shows the cleverness and ingenuity of our weavers who manipulate it. The cloth beam is placed on two pillars or platforms, the weavers sitting on a plank resting on the same pillar alongside the cloth beam, his legs going between and his feet working the treadles which are fixed in the floor at one end in the same manner as the treadles are fixed in the pit in the case of the ordinary loom. The work beam is also placed on the floor, being slightly elevated with pivots. Thus the work runs up in a slant from the warp beam to the cloth beam, instead of horizontally, as in the case of the ordinary loom. The use of four healds where two only is essentially necessary, has been already mentioned. The essential peculiarity of the Naksha-loom consists in the presence of the Shirak or a large number of strong twines running across and above the warp just beyond the healds. Each of these twines is attached below to a certain number of the threads in the warp by means of long loops of strong cotton suspended vertically from the twines and allowing one, two, or more warp threads to pass through each, accordingly to the figure intended to be brought out. Above the fumes are attached two Nakshas or sets of harness cords, which the setting beyond the fumes on an elevated platform manipulates, thus bringing up each time a number of twines which in their turn are raised by means of the loops the required threads of the warp. To make "sheds" on this side the reed distinct, two *nanglis* or plough-shaped wooden pieces suspended from the ceiling with ropes are thrust in by the weaver along the twines. He then passes the little sticks called *shirkis*, charged with several weft threads through the 'shells' along the whole width of the piece, responding to the *buts* or figures. When the coloured threads for the *buts* have been once passed the *nanglis* are withdrawn while the reed is pressed home to the web, the treadles worked and the shuttle passed once to lay one thread of ground weft. The reed is again pressed, and then the draw boy manipulates the cords of the *nakshas* which govern the elevation of the warp for the two borders. The *nanglis* are again thrust in to bring the two shells on the two sides

*Silk piece goods representing Rs. 178.93 lakhs were imported in 1910-11 the increase being 16.4 per cent. This is largely accounted for by that of Rs. 12.49 lakhs for 13.5 per cent in consignments of predominant shipper, Japan, which sent goods to the value of Rs. 104.96. Imports of China show an advance of Rs. 5.46 lakhs and stand at Rs. 52.56 lakhs.—*Paton-Revenue of the Trade of India, 1910-11*).

(for the borders) distinctly up and then the two sticks with coloured threads meant for the two borders are passed through the shed once. Another weft thread for the ground is then put in with the shuttle. These three sets of operations go on throughout the weaving. As a rule there are two *naksahas* for the borders, two for the *buts*, two for the *anchala* or the ornamental end-piece, and one for the beginning and finishing up. The draw-boy manipulates a harness cord for the butts and the weaver puts in a thread for the butts. At the next operation, *viz.*, the putting in of a weft thread for the ground, the draw-boy does nothing; then the draw-boy manipulates a harness cord for the border while the weaver puts in a thread for the border. At the next operation the draw-boy does nothing, while the weaver passes the shuttle to put another weft thread for the ground. At each operation, therefore, time is spent by the weaver not only in his own manipulation, but also in watching those of the boy. For richer designs as many as 14 *naksahas* are sometimes employed. It is easy therefore to imagine how a piece of five yards long and 42 inches wide can take much as six months for a weaver and his boy to weave, beginning at the adjustment of the loom, and ending in the completion of the first piece, and sometimes 20 pieces are turned out before a re-adjustment of the loom is allowed. acs

These looms are highly suited for weaving the fabrics for which they meant, and the fact that there are as many varieties of looms as there are patterns of weaving shows that silk weaving is a living industry. J

THE NEW AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

(REPRODUCED FROM THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS.)

HIS INAUGURATION, CABINET AND PROBLEMS.

It is twenty years since a Democratic President was inaugurated in Washington. President Wilson's induction into office, the beginning of an Administration supported by a party majority in both branches of Congress, and the appointment of his Cabinet, all made last week most eventful politically and in popular interest. We endeavor in this place to describe the history of Inauguration Week and to report the impression made upon the country by the new Administration; and in an editorial elsewhere in this issue we consider the problems that lie before it.

I.—THE CEREMONIES.

It is estimated that half a million people gathered in Washington to witness the Inauguration on Tuesday, March 4; and fair-weather conditions made the traditional out-of-doors ceremonies free from the discomfort and even suffering of four years

It should not be forgotten, however, that the real reason for



changing the date of the entrance into office of a President is not the probable inclemency of March weather, but the absurdity, under modern facilities for communication and travel, of leaving such a long interval between election and accession into office, with a "hold-over" Administration and Congress no longer possessing the direct mandate of the people, as shown through the election.

The enormous crowds that lined Pennsylvania Avenue witnessed a review of thirty thousand men, the longest line of march, it is believed, since Lincoln in 1865 reviewed the returning Union troops. The military and naval display was impressive, and, as usual, the West Point and Annapolis cadets attracted enthusiastic applause. Naturally, the civic section was less resplendent; there were strong points of interest, however—notably the large Princeton representation, the groups of Indians, and the two thousand Tammany Hall "braves," whose presence was inevitable and might seem to some politically ominous if their defeat by the better element of the Democratic party at Baltimore were forgotten. The crowds were admirably controlled and good order was preserved, a striking contrast to the disgraceful laxity of the police on the previous day, lamented upon in another place. The review, however, started too late, and it was well after dark when the new President and the reviewing party were freed from their four hours of standing in the reviewing stand,

The actual installation into office of President Wilson and Vice-President Marshall was conducted with simple and therefore dignified ceremonial. As is the custom, the Senate Chamber was the scene of the inauguration of the Vice-President, and there the announcements were made of the approach of the House of Representatives, the Ambassadors and Ministers of foreign countries, the Supreme Court, and the President and Vice-President elect. Before the brilliant assembly Senator Gallinger administered the oath to Mr. Marshall, who replied in an unusual manner, "God helping me, I will," and later, when the Sixty-second Congress had been adjourned *sine die*, delivered a somewhat unusual address, earnest and original, but unconventional in some of its comparisons, and particularly so in that of the Senate to the blinders which keep a horse from deviation from the right path.

For the inauguration of President Wilson a grand stand holding ten thousand persons had been built at the east end of the Capitol, stretching from wing to wing of the great building. Thither proceeded from the Senate Chamber the President, President-elect, the two Houses of Congress, and officials and distinguished guests. Before the stand was massed the largest assemblage that has ever witnessed such a ceremony. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taft were greeted with prolonged cheers, and, among others enthusiastically received, the demonstration for Mr. Bryan was notably warm and hearty. The oath was administered by Chief Justice White in these words: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." As he finished the new President replied, earnestly, "I do." Then followed the impressive inaugural address by the newly constituted President, the twenty-seventh to take office. President Wilson's address in full was as follows:—

II—THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has not been completed. The Senate about to assemble will also be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice-President have been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds to-day. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order if I may, to interpret the occasion.

It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and points of view. Some old things with which we have grown familiar and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked upon them with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguise.

and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great also, very great, in its moral force. Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering, and set the weak in the way of strength and hope. We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been, "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should

have a chance to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our National life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried in our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered, and here are some of the chief items : A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principle of taxation, and makes the government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests ; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the government to sell its bonds fifty years ago, and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits ; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading-strings, restricts liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country ; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs : watercourses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied, as perhaps no other nation has, the most effective means of production : but we have not studied cost or economy as we should, either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity in safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality of opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding o

property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day : to lift everything that concerns our life as a nation to the light that shines from the heart-fire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans : it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy ; we shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon ; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they cannot tell. Justice, and only justice shall always be our motto.

And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heart-strings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph : it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us : men's lives hang in the balance : men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust ? Who dares fail to try ? I summon all best men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me !

WHAT CAN ENGLAND DO WITH HER SUFFRAGETTES ?

The conviction in London last week of Mrs. Pankhurst on a charge of inciting and encouraging lawless acts bring up again the puzzling question, What shall be done with women who break the law in order to help, as they wrong-headedly think, their political purpose, and then attempt to starve themselves in prison ? Mrs. Pankhurst, after her conviction and her three years' sentence, declared that she would at once start a hunger strike, and it is reported that the British Government will not in her case undertake forcible feeding, but will take advantage of the bill just about to become a law, and after a few days of "starvation"

will release Mrs. Pankhurst on a doctor's certificate ; she will then be on ticket of leave, subject to rearrest at any time. At this distance all this seems a weak way of dealing with a serious situation. The assertion of the suffragettes is that they would endure imprisonment quietly if they were not classed and treated as ordinary criminals, whereas, they assert, they are really political offenders. Hence the hunger strikes. In the recent discussion on this matter in the House of Commons opinions differed greatly. Lord Robert Cecil was of the opinion that the Government should not treat these women as ordinary criminals. He said : "Forcible feeding is disgusting and indefensible. I do not agree that the women should be left with plenty of food and allowed to starve if they liked, nor do I agree with the idea of letting them out on license and rearresting them. I recommend that the women should be deported for a considerable period, as they are a danger to the State." Sir Arthur Markham took the opposite view, saying : "Let them die if they won't take food, or deport them to St. Helena or some Scottish island," whereupon the Home Secretary asked what would be done in case of a hunger strike on board ship. Mr. Keir Hardie urged that "the only remedy for the hunger strike is to release the prisoners and give them the vote." Sir Frederick Banbury said : "Put food in the cell, but have no forcible feeding. If they want to commit suicide, let them do so. If one woman died, there would be no more deaths. Which is better : to allow the law to be made a mockery, or to let one woman suffer the penalty for her folly?" The Home Secretary, Mr. McKenna, said that his intention was to get power to release all prisoners only on license, so that after recovering from a hunger strike they may be rearrested and reimprisoned. One method proposed is that the British authorities should treat these women as mental defectives. But this, again, leaves the hunger strike difficulty unsolved, unless a thorough-going change for the better were instituted for the treatment of all who are mentally defective or disturbed. The riotous scenes at the close of Mrs. Pankhurst's trial were a disgrace to the women concerned and to modern civilization, as were also the renewed threats of further and more serious violence. Mrs. Pankhurst's defence for the whole militant movement—if it can be called a defence—was this : "I deliberately broke the law, not hysterically, not emotionally, but for a serious purpose and because I honestly believe it is the only way. The movement will go on whether I live or die. These women will go on until women have obtained the common rights of citizenship, as they shall have over the civilized world before this movement is done. The law of divorce alone is enough to justify a revolution by the women. If the burning of buildings belonging to innocent people, the destruction of material matter, the silly smashing of windows, the campaign of insult and screaming, the "only way" to attract attention to mooted questions in England, it will not be long before Macaulay's New Zealander stands on the ruins of London Bridge. I make such an assertion is to refute it, to maintain it is to give evidence of moral dementia.

THE BOY SCOUTS OF FRANCE.

We hear so much about the Boy Scouts of America and England that the formation of somewhat similar squads in France has seemingly passed without proportionate recognition. The French name of the movement that corresponds to the organization of Boy Scouts of America is La Ligue d'Education Nationale. Its President is M. Louis Liard, the eminent authority on philosophy and ethics and Vice-Rector of the University of Paris. The League is both non-political and non-sectarian. Its membership comprises the youth of the country between fourteen and nineteen years of age. The members take a pledge never to speak of their country before strangers, and under any circumstances, when they have occasion to speak of French public life, "to discuss discreetly what is bad, to be silent about what is middling, and to extol what is good in French public life." The local groups are made up very much as they are in America and England, and the members have naturally come to be known as "éclaireurs," scouts. On joining his squad, each éclaireur receives a badge bearing the letters "R. F." Every one immediately concludes that these letters stand for "République Française;" and this is true. Primarily in the mind of every éclaireur they probably do stand for the initial letters of the French Republic. But they also have other significances. "R" means "réfléchi, robuste, rapide"—well-considered, robust, quick; and "F" means "franc, fidèle, fier"—frank, faithful, spirited. It is not surprising, with these spurs to patriotism, that a general revival, not only of French alertness but of French pride of country, has been noticeable since this French Boy Scout movement began.

SKETCHES OF MUSLIM CHARACTER.

BY SHAIKH FEROZUDDIN MURAD, M.Sc., B.A., M.A.S.I.,

Professor, M.A.O. College.

To preach the Unity of God and to promulgate the moral truths of Islam—constituted the core of the Prophet of Arabia's mission. The history of Islam in its early days and the history of Musalmans in all ages is a standing proof of the success of his mission. It was the death-bed prayer of the Prophet that his grave should not become an object of worship. And it is an incontrovertible miracle of the prophet that through the grace of God Almighty, no Musalman has ever prostrated himself before the Prophet's mausoleum. Hundreds of thousands of devoted pilgrims visit his tomb every year, but nobody can point out a single case of deviation from his prayer, the subject matter of which was one of his life-long injunctions to his companions. This courtant formula was:

"Undoubtedly I am a man, and the only difference between other persons and myself is that I am inspired by God."

Every Musalman repeats five times a day at least in his prayers :

"I testify that there is no God but one God, and I testify that Mohammad is His creature and His Prophet (literally 'the—sent' or messenger)."

The keynote of an Islamic character is thus an implicit and unshaking belief in the unity of God coupled with an unswerving allegiance to His Propheet. Our characters are Islamic only so far as we are true to the teachings of the Qoran and the Prophet. No Musalman can claim to possess a true Muslim character, unless his words, deeds, and thoughts are one and all in perfect accordance with the teachings of the Prophet and unless he fully acts upon the Qoran and the Ahadis-i-Nabwi.

The Musalmans are repeatedly ordained by their Lord God to follow in the footsteps of their Prophet—his *Uswa-i-Hasna* (excellent example) should be slavishly imitated by us in all times.

The Qoran is full of injunctions for Musalmans to obey God, his Prophet and those whose duty it is amongst Musalmans to direct their co-religionists to do deeds of virtue and to desist from evil. And they are ordered by the lord to refer to God and His Prophet in their quarrels since it is the best thing for them if they believe in God and the Day of Judgment. At another place it is said in the Qoran :

"By thy God they shall not be true believers unless they make you their arbitrator in all their affairs, and unless they yield to what you decide, willingly and without any misgivings."

Hundreds of instances can be quoted from the early history of Islam illustrating the hearty and unequalled devotion of his companions to the Prophet. Everybody knows the august position and the high esteem in which the Prophet held Umar, the second Caliph, in virtue of his many qualities of head and heart. Bilal, a poor Musalman, was one day walking about just close to where the Prophet was sitting. Umar with his lofty conception of the respect which Musalmans should show to the Prophet, took it ill and said to Bilal "what is this Negro doing?" Upon this the Prophet gently remarked "Umameseems there is still a lingering remnant of the days of ignorance in your mind. Umar was stunned with this reproach and fell senseless on the ground. It was only when Bilal had yielded to his persistent request and lifted his head with his (Bilal's) shoe that Umar rose repentant from the ground. How many Musalmans are there to-day who give alms to the poor in obedience to the Prophet's example and precept? I say how many Musalmans are there to-day who spend their Zakat* to please their God, and help their suffering brothers? If Musalmans only spend their Zakat duly and properly, not a single Muslim beggar would be seen. At the minimum calculation, Musalmans of India alone must spend twenty lakhs for charitable purposes. It was this Zakat which was the long

make It is a sort of tax which God has imposed upon Musalmans : to spend 2½ per cent of their savings, etc., for helping the poor and the needy.

backbone of mighty Muslim armies and the nucleus of Bait-ul-Mal or Muslim treasury. When the Prophet left Mecca and went over to Medina, a large number of the Musalmans of Mecca accompanied him thither. At the instance of the Prophet the Muhajir (immigrant) and the Ansar (Medinites) stood by one another like brothers and life-long friends. The Muhajiri were houseless and the Ansar (Helpers, Medinite Musalmans) shared their houses with them : many of them were penniless in Medina and the Ansar distributed their wealth and other possessions equally with them. And all these sacrifices were made willingly and with pleasure for obeying the Prophet. History cannot present any other parallel to this unique unification. The principles of Islamic fraternity, equality and freedom are unprecedented in the annals of humanity. But it is a pity that the Musalmans of now-a-days are drifting hopelessly away from their former grandeur.

If one studies the Qoran carefully and with his eyes open, one is struck with the repetition and emphasis of expressions and phrases which are equivalent to "God loves the thoughtful, God loves those who study and are well grounded in knowledge," etc. Islam is a religion which cannot from its very nature tolerate ignorance and thoughtlessness. All Musalmans should be students of, and well read in, the Qoran and Hadis, at least. And those who have attempted the task will agree with us in saying that it is by no means an easy thing to enter into the spirit of the Qoran and Hadis. They require an intimate acquaintance with the phenomena of Nature and a knowledge of logic and philosophy at the least. Again every Musalman is his own priest, since there is no priestcraft in Islam. It is par excellence a first class missionary religion. No Musalman, therefore, who strives to discharge his duty as a Missionary of Islam, can afford to be ignorant of his contemporary knowledge.

Islam has fixed a higher reward for acquiring knowledge than even the best argument in favour of it—study for the sake of study—can offer. Musalmans are told that they can please their Creator by educating themselves and then educating their fellow brothers. It is said :

"Acquire Knowledge, because he who acquires it in the way of the Lord performs an act of piety ; who speaks of it, praises his Creator : who discusses it, performs a holy act ; who seeks it, adores God : who dispenses instruction in it, bestows wisdom, and who imparts it to worthy recipients, performs an act of devotion to God."

The Prophet of Islam has very fervently preached the value of knowledge.

"The acquisition of knowledge is obligatory upon all Muslim men and women." Had we acted upon this now-a-days "female education" would not have been such a backward condition.

Again, the Prophet used to say "the ink of the scholar is holier than the blood of the martyr." "He who leaves his home in the search of knowledge, to God shows the way to paradise."

Just attend to what the Prophet said about learning the sciences. "To listen to the instruction of science and learning for one hour is more meritorious than attending the funerals of a thousand martyrs, more meritorious than standing up in prayer for a thousand nights." "One hour's meditation in the work of the Creator is better than seventy years of prayers." And see how strongly are the Musalmans induced to honour eminence in learning. "He who honours the learned, honours me." "Eminence in science is the highest of honours" was one of the favourite sayings of Ali.

"Knowledge enables its possessor to distinguish what is forbidden from what is not; it lights the way to Heaven, it is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude, our companion when bereft of friends.....With knowledge the servant of God rises to the heights of goodness...and attains the perfection of happiness in the next world." The definition of science by the Imam Jaafar-as-Sadiq is well worth studying: "The enlightenment of the heart is its essence; Truth, its principal object; Inspiration, its guide; Reason, its acceptor; God, its inspirer, and the words of man, its utterer."

And now let us turn over the pages of Islamic history to see if Musalmans have ever acted upon these exalting precepts, emphasising in such strong and unequivocal terms the value of knowledge. The great Imam Ibu-i-Jozi was left an orphan by the death of his father when he was three years old. His paternal aunt was his guardian—you may judge for yourself from this single instance the spirit of that age—and so anxious was she about his education that she used to take him to the schools of the learned doctors of Islam even when he was a child of 5 years of age. As a result of her solicitude for his training Ibu-i-Jozi could preach on the pulpit at the early age of ten and became one of the greatest men of his age.*

Still more astonishing and illustratively useful is the life-story of Imam Rabiya[†] ur-Rae, the teacher of Imam Malik and Khawja Hasan Basri. We mention it here not only to illustrate the Muslim love of learning in the days of Islamic expansion, but also to illustrate especially that even Muslim ladies had a passionate love for knowledge. The Imam's father was a soldier in the army of the Ommeyyade Caliphs, and the Imam was born in his father's absence when the latter was away in Khorasan. Rabiya was educated solicitously by his lonely mother who spent all that she possessed, in giving him a complete education. The father was absent on military service for twenty-seven years, and during this time, Rabiya's mother was giving him every facility she could think of, for completing his education. As a consequence, Rabiya became one of the leading learned men of his age and a great Imam. His father returned after 27 years.

* *Udd* Tazkiratul Muffaz, Vol. IV, pp. 136-37, written in the eighth century of Muslim Era.

† Ibu-i-Khaliajan, Vol. I, page 183.

and was very much surprised when his wife told him that she had spent all that he had left with her. He insisted upon an immediate explanation, but this wise lady purposely postponed this discussion for some time until he should know all about his son. In the meantime Rabiya-ur-Rae was imparting instruction to a large number of pupils in the neighbouring mosque. When the father went to say his prayer in the mosque, he was very much surprised to see a youngman of the age of his son sitting in the centre of a large audience. His cup of joy was filled to the brim when he was told that the Shaikh was his son. Coming home he narrated the whole story of his meeting with his son in the mosque and was perfectly satisfied when his wife told him that the thirty thousand gold pieces had all been spent in educating his son!

It is a staggering fact that the early Musalmans were never daunted by difficulties. Poverty, distance, scarcity of books and the dangers of travel could never damp their passionate love of learning. Imam Bukhari—the greatest Imam of Hadis—who learnt by heart 6 hundred thousand Ahadis and wrote his book after 16 years of incessant labour—had to live on the herbs of the jungle for three days in one of his journeys as a student. Another student of Hadis, Hajjaj Bagdadi, took with him a hundred loaves when he left his house in the pursuit of knowledge. Except a few books and these hundred loaves, he did not possess anything else in the world. With these hundred loaves he spent some time with his teacher, Shababa, and when these were all eaten, he had perforce to leave the inspiring company of his teacher. You will ask with wonder “How did he contrive to eat his dry morsels of bread without any soup?” Well, he had devised an excellent scheme and used to eat his food with the help of the inexhaustible waters of the Tigris!

Not only were the early Musalmans eager to learn Islamic lore but their love of learning in other branches of knowledge also led them to wander all over the known world and was equally intense. Ibr-i-Ranya, the famous physician of Andalusia, travelled on foot from Spain to Egypt, and from Egypt to Syria for examining all those herbs and vegetables which were not procurable in the West. Similarly the famous botanist Zia-ud-Din-Ibn-i-Baitar travelled all over Greece, Spain, and Asia Minor for studying the properties of the herbs which are to be met with in these countries. Abul Mauzur discovered several species of plants and herbs which were not known to his predecessors. He used to watch the growth and different stages of development of those plants, and had a painter provided with inks of every colour always accompanying him. In this way exact simile pictures of the plants at various stages in their life, were preserved. It is a great pity that several of these excellent books written by the early Muslims have been lost and we know of them only because they are mentioned in the existing works of those days.

THE HINDU REVIEW.

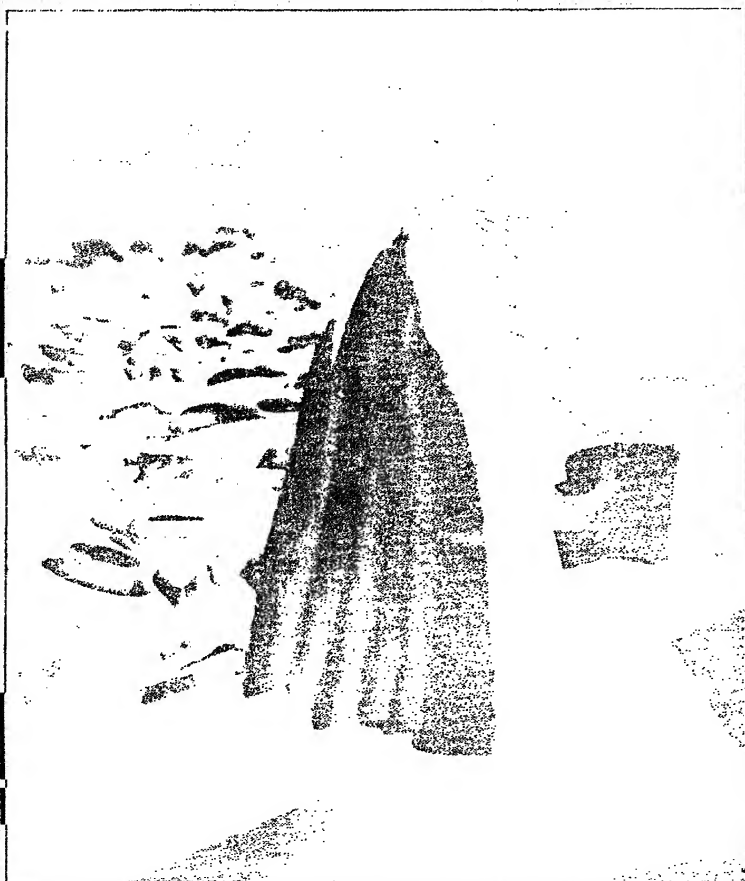
MRS. DESPARD.

A CHARACTER STUDY.

—:o:—

A distressing rumour disturbed the social sanctities of a great industrial in Lancashire some twenty-five years ago. It was whispered, in every

ing room it
discussed,
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rumour
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rding to
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doctor riding a
bicycle! The
rumour proved
true, and the
lady was duly
punished for
the outrage by
social ostrac-
cism. Within
a year or two
that pleasant
road was alive
in the evenings
with women
cycling over
the ridge to the
plain beyond.
But the doc-
tor's wife was
not forgiven
and honoured
as a pioneer
she was perma-
nently banned
as an unwom-
anly woman.
She had
stepped out
of the rank

That inci-
dent, which
had its paral-
lel, I suppose
in many

" Who seems in the crowd, but not of it. p. 405. "

try town, serves to illustrate the most significant revolution that has co-
society in the first years of the twentieth century. It is a revolution that
ends from Piccadilly to far Cathay. The insurgence of woman is world-wi-
tain she has ceased to cripple her feet in obedience to a hoary conventi-
ngland she has broken through the artificial restraints of the past and
ed into a more liberal life. This applies especially to the serious action
world, but it is apparent also in the social and recreational spheres.
talking to me the other day

was a woman who had just come in from golf and another who had driven a motor-car from the West of England.

These external changes are only the outward and visible signs of a spiritual renaissance. Of that renaissance the suffrage crusade is the formal embodiment. The demand of the women for the vote is fundamentally different from the demand of the man for the extension of the franchise to himself. His protest is against a discrimination between those who own much and those who own little. His manhood is not insulted by that discrimination : he is only injured as an individual or as a member of a class. But the woman's claim springs from deeper sources. It is not political, but elemental. She claims the vote, not as an instrument, but as a flag—the flag of her freedom from the sex subjection of the past. The vote to her is what the removal of the bandages from the feet is to the Chinese woman. It is not only a release from physical or political restraints : it is a symbol of spiritual emancipation.

A SIGNIFICANT FIGURE.

For this reason I think the woman suffrage crusade will, in the eyes of the historian, overshadow all the other events of these tumultuous times. He will look for his significant personalities not to Parliament, but to the street, and among all the figures he will find there none will arrest him more than that of an elderly woman, tall and slight of build, who seems in the crowd but not of it. She is dressed in black, and a widow's cap falls with black streamers from her white hair. Her face is pale and scored with the lines of sorrow more than of years. She walks swiftly and urgently, as though under the compulsion of some

Stern tyrannic thought that makes

All other thoughts its slaves.

She is a woman on an errand that brooks no delay. She passes through the streets with a certain aloofness that commands the respectful silence even of the scornful and the foolish. They suspect that she is a little mad. They feel that anyone who does not conform to the regulation dress and behave in the regulation way must be a little mad. They would not be able to preserve their self-respect if they did not believe that what they do not understand is, *ipso facto*, insane. It is the comfortable refuge of dullness. But at least they do not suspect her motives. However fantastic, they feel that they are sincere and in some way noble, that they have nothing to do with personal aims or idle advertisement or the mere passion or revolt. And with all its dullness there is one note that the public is swift to catch and sure to honour. It is the note of personal sincerity. And there is no more sincere woman in the suffrage cause than Mrs. Despard.

MANY MOTIVES.

There are many impulses that go to swell the volume of the movement. To some it appeals with the cold authority of a political axiom ; to some it comes like

(blinding revelation of social relationships) to some it is a vehicle of revolt against the tyrannies of nature itself. Mrs. Henry Fawcett represents the intellectual side of the movement, the sense of abstract justice, the historic tradition associated with the name of John Stuart Mill. Nearly fifty years ago she with Miss Emily Davies was among those who presented that great man the memorable memorial on the subject. To Miss Davies, whose frail form and white hair are still familiar in processions and at meetings, the suffrage is an educational instrument and that alone. She was one of the founders of Girton and the author of those Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations which destroyed the "Ladies Seminary," and made the teaching of girls a reality. The work of this extremely unrevolutionary woman has probably had more to do with the uprising than anything else. She sowed the seed of revolt when she broke down the tradition that women should only be educated as household pets. To her the suffrage is a continuation of her work. It means the liberation of the mind of woman. Mrs. Pankhurst on the other hand sees in it the overthrow of a tyranny and some of her followers carrying the idea further make the movement the expression of a revolt against the inexorable decrees of nature and tinge it with the arid passion of a sex war. Some even link it up with some far off hope that sex itself will vanish from the world. I once heard Mrs. Flora Annie Steel after tracing the agonies and wrongs of life to the evolution of sex with all its ruthlessness and passion, a palled belief that in the mysterious processes of nature some escape would be found from this primal curse.

WOMEN AS ORATORS.

Mrs. Despard's contribution is different from all these. It is something individual and intimate. It is charged not with anger or revolt, but with pity, and it glows with a visionary tenderness that suggests the cell of the mystic rather than the dusty field of politics. There are more stirring orators among the leaders of the movement. Probably no cause ever drew to itself a greater wealth of eloquence, and Johnson's gibe about a woman speaking being like a dog walking on its hind legs, "it is not done well, but the wonder is it is done at all," has lost any reality it ever had. There are some things which women do not do well. William Morris specified two. "They know nothing about cooking or dress," he said. "No woman ever invented a new dish or failed to spoil an old one." But in the art of popular speaking, especially emotional speaking, they have nothing to learn from men. Mrs. Fawcett is as loud as Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Carson is not more withering than Miss Pankhurst, Mr. Phil Snowden's oratory pales beside the brilliant rhetoric of his wife and the energy and passion of Miss Mary Macarthur would move any mob to storm any Bastille. But the oratory of Mrs. Despard has a quality of its own as distinct from the rest as her personality is distinct. It is like the reverie of one who is tortured by all the sorrow of the world, and speaks the language of vision and prophecy. Her thought is steeped in the literature of the Bible, and with a wealth of it

tration she traces the tragedy of the earth to the subjection of woman and shows that the hope of humanity is in her restoration to dignity and power. As she speaks, the crowd that has gathered round her at the little "sensible" place where she is speaking grows still. The youths in front who have hurled their witticisms at the young lady who preceded her are silent and as the dusk deepens to darkness the company seems to fall under the spell of a white prophetess.

A LIFE OF SACRIFICE.

Her spiritual parentage is strange. She is a member of the Roman Catholic Church but it was the reading of Shelley when she was a girl of fourteen that first filled her with the sense of the sorrow and injustice of life. "I could not see people in the same light any more," she said. "I shut myself up in my room with fierce thoughts and indignant dreams. . . . What deeds were desperate enough in the face of so much senseless wrong?" How like the scene in the childhood of another great rebel, Kropotkin—that scene when he waited in tears in the dark for the servant who had been flogged with the lash and tried to kiss his hand. The "desperate deed" that little Miss French resolved on was to go out as a servant. "I must work—I must not stay here, it is too comfortable. Oh, ease is shameful!" The passion passed—but the spirit that gave it birth remained and it burns now as clearly and steadily as it did more than half a century ago. It is the spirit of a warrior, for she comes of a warrior strain (her brother is Sir John French, the Inspector-General of the Forces). But no one spends herself less in mere idle fighting. She is that rare combination—an idealist who does not scorn the practical work immediately at hand. When her husband, Colonel Despard—who had shared both in England and in India her enthusiasm for all the causes of women and of the oppressed, died in 1890, she submerged her sorrow in the sea of London wretchedness. For twenty-two years she has lived a life of voluntary poverty in Lambeth, and it was in a strike of poor ill-paid little starveling girls in South London that I first became conscious of this labourer in the fields of misery. She had become by this time a speaker and an administrator. It was at Wandsworth twenty years ago that she made her first speech in public. Her brother accompanied her to the door of the hall, and when she expressed her wish to flee from the ordeal, he bade her be of good cheer—"Only nervous people are ever of any real use," he said, and with that comfortable word he left her to her fate, satisfied thoughtless that no French was long to fall.

A HEROIC SINGLE FIGHT.

It was her labours as Poor Law Guardian in Lambeth and Wandsworth which deepened her conviction that mere administrative work alone would never touch the heart of the disease of society. She threw herself into those labours ungrudgingly, just as she spends herself in her Workmen's Clubs, her Boys' Clubs, and her Clinic for School Children at Nine Elms. In all these enterprises, which

THE HINDU REVIEW.

made her the idol of Nine Elms, she takes a delighted interest. But they reach the root. They are useful as palliatives, useful as small mitigations of the vast sum of misery ; but no remedy. And so when the heather catches the woman's movement flames up heaven high no one hurries more to the standard of revolt than the Poor Law Guardian of Nine Elms, she has never associated herself with the extravagances of militancy.

For seven years she has been in the forefront of the battle, heading deputations to the House to be repulsed by the police, standing on the plinth of Nelson's Column to deliver her message, standing sentry at the gates of Palace and Peckham, peaking at street corners : founding societies, editing papers : not infrequently in prison, sometimes in risk of her life as when the stone of a stupid truck struck her forehead. And for what pay ? A lonely home in a back street. And for what end ? Simply that she may lighten the sorrow of others, and save souls ? Well, perhaps she has : time will show. A little mad ? But all the deliverers have been that, until they have died and been found out. It is nothing men so little understand as a life of complete self-sacrifice and—until it is over.

THE MARVELS OF HYPNOTISM.

BY HENRY PROCTOR, M.R.S.A.S., F.R.S.E., F.L.L.C.

The practice of Hypnotism for the cure of diseases has led to many most valuable discoveries, the accounts of which, as furnished to the Psychological Society and described at length in two enormous volumes by F. W. H. Myers on "Human Personality," read more like fairy tales than sober and sober fact.

Nothing could illustrate in a more remarkable degree, the power of mind over matter than these experiments in hypnotism. Dr. Backman thus describes the case of one of his subjects—Amelia Rudberg :—

"In the middle of an experiment I put a drop of water on her arm, suggesting to her that it was a drop of burning sealing-wax, and that it would create a blister, which would, however, be healed after the third day. The blister, which appeared next day, extended as far as the water had run, just as if it had been a corroding acid, and the wound healed on the night of the third day."

A patient of Dr. Krafft-Ebing "was much injured and offended by the action of a medical student who laid a pair of scissors upon her person. I saw the scissors were red-hot, and thus created a serious wound which took some time to heal."

ing lines of

In healing experiments duplex or multiple personalities are often developed. Dr. Osgood-Mason in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, November 30, 1905, thus writes :—

“ Alma Z. was an unusually healthy and intellectual girl, a strong and attractive character, a leading spirit in whatever she undertook, whether in study, sport, or society. From overwork at school and overtaxed strength in a case of sickness at home, her health completely broke down, and after two years of great suffering, suddenly a second personality appeared. In a peculiar child-like and Indian-like dialect she announced herself as Twoey and that she had come to help ‘ Number One ’ in her sufferings. The condition of ‘ Number One ’ was at this time most deplorable : there was great pain, extreme debility, frequent attacks of syncope, insomnia, etc., which rendered it nearly impossible for ‘ Number One ’ to take nourishment in any form. Twoey, on the other hand, was vivacious and cheerful, full of quaint and witty talk, and could take abundant nourishment, which she declared she *must* do for the sake of ‘ Number One.’ Four years later, under depressing circumstances, a third Personality appeared and announced itself as the ‘ Boy.’ This personality was entirely distinct and different from either of the two others. It remained the chief alternating personality for four years, when ‘ Twoey ’ again returned. All these personalities, though absolutely different and characteristic, were delightful, each in its own way, and ‘ Twoey ’ especially was, and still is, the delight of the friends who are permitted to know her, whenever she makes her appearance, and this is always at times of unusual fatigue, mental excitement or prostration : then she comes and remains days at a time. The original self retains her superiority when she is present, and the others are always perfectly devoted to her interest and comfort. Another patient of Dr. Mason’s, Fedila X., also developed a secondary personality—perfectly sane, thoroughly practical, and perfectly in touch and harmony with surroundings—which came to the surface, so to speak, and assumed control of the physical organization for long periods of time together. During the stay of the second personality the primary or original self was entirely blotted out, and the time so occupied was a blank. In neither of the cases described had the primary self any knowledge of the secondary personalities, except from the report of others or letters from the second self, left where they could be found on the return of the primary self to consciousness. The second personality, on the other hand, in each case, knew of the primary self, but only as another person, never as forming a part of, or in any way belonging to their own personalities. In the case of both Fedila X. and Alma Z. there was always immediate and marked improvement in the physical condition when the second personality

made its appearance, and as it is so often the case that the secondary personality is free from the diseases to which the primary self is subject, many lives have been saved through hypnotic change of personality. This is further illustrated by the case of Marceline R., a patient of Dr. Jules Janet, who, in January, 1886, after a miserable series of hysterical troubles, was seized with insuperable vomitings, which became so bad that the very sight of a spoonful of soup produced distressing spasms. Artificial means of feeding were tried, with diminishing success, and in June, 1887, she was paralytic and so emaciated that her death from exhaustion appeared imminent. Dr. Janet was then asked to hypnotise her. Almost at once he succeeded in inducing a somnambulic state, in which she could eat readily and digest well. Her weight increased rapidly, and there was no longer any anxiety as to a fatal result. But the grave inconvenience remained, that she could only eat when hypnotised. M. Janet tried to overcome the difficulty : for a time he succeeded, and she left the hospital for a few months. She soon, however, returned in her old state of starvation. M. Janet now changed his tactics. Instead of trying to enable her to eat in her first or so-called normal state, he resolved to try to enable her to live comfortably in her secondary state. In this he gradually succeeded and sent her out in October, 1888, established in her new personality. He again hypnotised her in November 12th, 1888, and left her in the secondary state till January 15th, 1889. He then "awoke" her, but the vomiting at once returned, and she again applied to M. Janet for help. M. Janet adds that since she had been replaced in the second condition the loss of flesh had been rapidly repaired and she was again comfortable."

Now these indications of the existence of a Larger Self, of which only a part is at any time manifested, are intensely important from a spiritual standpoint, for the Larger Self would appear to represent our Central and Abiding Being, which, during the slumber of the Normal Self is left comparatively free, and performs functions of great importance in restoring and rejuvenating the bodily organism by drafts upon the energy of the spiritual world, and by entering into close connection with that spiritual world apart from the bodily organism demonstrates that mind exists apart from matter, and rules matter.

(Continued from page 370.)

IV.

The village Yavamahyaka stood to the north of the capital. It was once inhabited by many well-to-do people. They are all reduced to the position of poor peasants to-day. He who is most respectable among the villagers now, belongs to a family which in the olden days was looked upon as the richest and the most respectable in the village. But he is so reduced in circumstance to-day, that he has to till the ground with his own hands to earn his frugal living. One fine morning, two way-farers walking from two opposite directions, came and met each other under the shade of a way-side tree on the outskirts of the village. One of them was a man and by his dress and ways looked like a journey-man tailor. The other a woman, a peasant-girl, going somewhere with a vessel of barley-water on her head. Coming under the shade of the tree, they looked at each other and saw that they were strangers to each other. Yet they felt strangely drawn towards each other. The woman was just emerging from girlhood to youth and was blooming all over with beauty of face and form and gracefulness of deportment. The youthful tailor, on the other hand, was also equally endowed with all the strength and beauty of pure manhood, and looked like cupid redivivus. The two fell into love with each other at first sight. The youngman thought—a girl like this endowed with so much beauty and grace can never come of any low stock. If she is not already married, it will not be a bad thing to take her as a wife. The girl thought—if fate has reduced me to this position to-day, I have no doubt that this journey-man tailor also comes like me of a high family. If I could be married to a youngman like this, then even in my present reduced condition I might be happy. The youngman thought that I am a stranger to this girl, so it is best that I should talk to her by signs. For I shall then know whether she is sufficiently intelligent or not. So he closed his fist and holding it out before the girl wanted to know whether her hand was locked in any other person's hand or not. The girl held out her open palm in reply, indicating that her hand was free. Satisfied with her intelligence, the youngman went up to her and said—"Madam! May I ask your name?" The girl thought—he has tried my intelligence by his previous question. Let me also measure the extent of his own learning. Thus thinking, she replied "My name is that which never existed in the past and does not exist even to-day." The youngman smiled and said—"I understand, madam. No one became immortal in this world in the past and no one is immortal to-day. Your name therefore is Amara or the Immortal One." The girl blushed, and with downcast eyes said—"So it is, my lord. My name is Amara." The young tailor asked, "For whom are you carrying this barley-water?" The girl once more replied in riddle, saying "For my Purvadevata or previous-god." The tailor laughed and said "I understand, madam. You are carrying this barley-water for your father.

Parents are called gods, but for a woman her husband is her first god ; therefore it is only meet that for the women their parents should be called previous-gods. Is'nt it so ?" Amara replied—" Yes, my lord." The tailor asked—" What is your father's occupation ?" " He makes two out of one " replied the girl. The tailor said, " By ploughing one becomes two : your father is therefore a tiller of the soil. " He next asked—" Where, madam, does your father till his lands ?" " From whence whoever goes there never comes back." The youngman said " I understand ; it is near the burning ground. " After a while the tailor asked—" Madam ! Will you come back to-day ?" The girl looked at the youth and replied—" Yes, I may come. But if it comes, my coming back will not be possible. If it does not come, then I will. " The tailor smiled as before and said—" I see, your father tills his land on the other side of the river. If the flood comes, you will not be able to come. If the flood does not come, then you will be able to come back. " The young lady melting almost in modesty and as if hiding her face in her own breast, answered in low tones—" Yes, that is so, my lord." She felt so humbled that she could not gather sufficient courage to ask for an account of the tailor's family or residence. But as a matter of courtesy, as well as moved by her maidenly tenderness, she said,— " My lord ! May I offer you a little barley-water ? " The tailor said, " Yes, if you please."

Amara set down the vessel of barley-water. The tailor thought—by the manner of her giving me this drink, I shall know her social rank. If she does not first offer me water to wash my hands and face and mouth and does not wash the vessel in which the drink is offered, then I shall have to leave her at once. Amara, however, gave no room for these misgivings. She went to a neighbouring tank and washed the drinking cup first and brought a cup full of water for the youngman's ablutions. She next poured out a cup-full of the barley-water to him. And after he had finished, she took the cup and duly cleansed it, and placed it in its proper place on the top of the vessel. The tailor then said " Madam ! I want to go to your house. Tell me the way." Amara told him where she lived and which way he should go there. The two then went towards their respective destinations.

V.

This was the beginning of Prince Mahôsadha's wooing. He went to Amara's father's house and stayed there for many days, repairing the clothes of the villagers and examining closely the habits and ways of the object of his love. Finally he prayed for Amara's hand in marriage, of her parents. Amara had already accepted him by receiving his presents. And her parents knowing her to be already attached to the young tailor, gave their consent to his proposal. On an auspicious day, Amara and the tailor-youth started for the latter's country.

VI.

One morning, almost at break of day, a man and a maiden of unexceptionable beauty and gracefulness, came and stood at the door of the King's head gate-keeper. The chief gate-keeper, seeing the young tailor, made his obeisance to him and stood at attention for his orders. The tailor took no notice of the conduct or attitude of the gate-keeper, but simply told him—"You will please allow this lady to stay with your wife, and keep her with the consideration and respect due to a queen, but you are not to interfere with her wishes or her movements nor to prevent her visiting whomsoever she likes. You will not oppose her in anything even if you think it to be bad or corrupt. Only she is not to go out of your house by herself." So saying, he left Amara, and went his way.

A few days after, Prince Mahôsadha riding one evening out through the town with his retinue, saw this exquisitely beautiful girl in the house of the gate-keeper. The gate-keeper was absent then. And he asked his servants to try and fetch this girl by fraud or by force or by securing her consent by making costly presents to her. "Communicate my commands to the gate-keeper and he will give you free access to this girl."

The servants did as they were bid. They tried to tempt Amara by various means, but Amara, though suffering all sorts of insults at their hands, did not submit to their evil proposals. At last they offered thousands and thousands of gold coins. At this Amara told them with withering scorn—"I am the betrothed of a common tailor, but a single copper coin earned by the honest labour of my husband is equal to a thousand gold coins to me. I will never agree to the sinful overtures of your prince." Then the prince's retainers, following his instructions, literally dragged her to the palace even to the chamber of the prince himself. Finding herself in the royal chamber, Amara covered her face with her garments, saying "I shall never look upon the face of so vicious a prince." At a sign from the prince, his servants tried to forcibly remove the covering from her face. The cloth was torn to pieces. Amara still would not open her eyes but put her hands over her face and commenced to cry. A little while after, she was left alone with the prince, who addressing her said—"Amara, my love! Won't you forgive me?" Amara startled by the old familiar voice, opened her eyes and saw the prince seated on the royal seat, but in the old and familiar garb of the journey-man tailor. Everything became clear to her now. The Prince Mahôsadha took her up by the hand and sat her by his side. Amara looked about her and first smiled and then commenced to cry. The prince mystified by this strange behaviour, asked her the reason of it. Amara replied,—“My lord! Your wealth and power, honour and renown—all these could not have been attained without any merit or with small merits. These are evidences of the virtues that you had acquired in your previous births; and I smiled at the thought of my exceeding good fortune in becoming the consort of so noble and virtuous a man. But when I remembered that all these wealth

and power have been placed in your hands as a trust and if you do not loyally use this trust for its own proper purpose, you shall be condemned to perdition the thought so pained me, that I commenced to cry." Hearing this Prince Mahôsadha knew Amara to be the purest of women and congratulated himself upon his selection.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

(APRIL 1913.)

Principal contents :—1. Episodes of the Month (Harper). 2. What is Wrong (Rev. Lord Harry). 3. Our Peril from Above (Claude Grahame-White and H. Harper). 4. The Truth about War (The Earl Percy). 5. Decay of Patriotism in England (Ignotus). 6. Citizenship and Duty (Field-Marshal the Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G.). 7. Daylight in the Marconi Mystery. 8. Boy Labour and Education (Waldorf Astor, M.P.).

THE DECAY OF PATRIOTISM IN ENGLAND.

In the *National Review* of April 1913 "Ignotus" says, in his article "The Decay of Patriotism in England" that a decade or so ago, it was supposed that the British character was, above all others, patriotic and that British institutions rested upon a rock. Now all has changed. No one can pretend today that Britain spiritually leads Europe. Nations have the Government which they deserve; and no great state was ever overthrown in war that did not richly merit defeat. The outward and visible decay of British power would be impossible without an inward deterioration in the British character. In a large part of the nation patriotism seems extinct. And the modern system of education is one of the direct causes of its extinction by devoting excessive attention to the intellect and too little to the formation of character.

Everywhere in Europe military service is courageously accepted as a duty by the young men. In England however the cultured youth indignantly rejects that task and vapours of the horrors and vulgarity of war as excuse. If the "nut" shirks and boasts of shirking little surprise can be felt that the hooligan also shirks and prefers to hang round the street corners rather than to march and drill.

Not only will the Ministers not take any steps to arm the nation; they also place every conceivable obstacle in the way of those who, like Lord Roberts and Lord Percy, would tell the truth and call upon it for strenuous efforts. Behind the unpatriotic sophists of the Cabinet and Ministry are the unpatriotic sophists of the Liberal Press.

With a degenerate youth, a disloyal Government and a treacherous Press the outlook for Britain is not precisely brightly with hope.

The first sign of the British awakening will be given when the nation sweeps away a Government which from Prime Minister to its salaried voters in the House of Commons is tainted with degeneracy, guilty of the betrayal of the deepest national interests, and more dangerous to the future of the nation than any outside enemy.

Except the British nation be born again, it will not long retain its Kingdom upon earth. A people of skulkers, *fainçants* and helpless indifferentists, torn by faction and exploited by political adventurers, can never hold the hegemony of a worldwide Empire.

BOY LABOUR AND EDUCATION.

Mr. Waldorf Astor in his article "Boy Labour and Education" in the April number of the *National Review* says that the evils of boy labour can be traced to the divorce of working life and education. In the last days of apprenticeship, work and education

went hand in hand. The great expansion of English trade during the eighteenth century and the new conditions with the growth of machinery and of the factory system were fatal to apprenticeship. Boy labour and education now became completely separated.

It is true that universal education was started in the nineteenth century, but education was made a department of its own and was not brought into any systematic relation with a boy's working life. The education given in the elementary schools is not a satisfactory preparation for adult working life. The evils of boy labour are indeed patent; they have been investigated and exposed during the last few years, not only by expert dealing with the subject from special points of vantage but by a great variety of official reports on every aspect of the question.

The Government have promised an Education Bill. Is it to be merely a party sop; or is it to be a genuine effort to make the coming generation more fitted to play its part in a democratic state and to face the increasing competition of an industrial world? All authorities are agreed that the remedy is to be found in further and better juvenile training, moral, mental and physical. Boy labour and education must go hand in hand—that boy labour should be regarded not as an end in itself, but only as a preparation for the life-work of the man.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY & AFTER.

(APRIL 1913.)

Principal contents :—1. How can England be prepared for Defence against possible Attack? (His Eminence Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster). 2. The Promised Land (L. H. Atherby Jones, K.C., M.P.). 3. France and her Algerian Problem (Phillippe Millet). 4. The Future of Aviators (Harold F. Wyatt). 5. Arctic Exploration in Shakespeare's Era (Sidney Lee). 6. What Shakespeare saw in Nature (Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart.). 7. The Social Data of Radicalism (W. H. Mallock). 8. More light on Cromwell at Draghella (J. B. Williams). 9. The two Thomas Carlyles (Mrs. John Hall). 10. Federal Home Rule and the Government of Ireland Bill (The Right Hon. Lord Charnwood). 11. The Present Position of Christianity (Edwin Bevan). 12. General Wolfe and Gray's "Eligy" (Beckles Wilson). 13. Gitanjali (Ernest Rhys). 14. Internal Condition of Great Britain in Time of War (Major Stewart K. Murray).

THE SOCIAL DATA OF RADICALISM.

Mr. W. H. Mallock in discussing the merits of Mr. Masterman's work "The Condition of England" says that Mr. Masterman's general thesis is this :—

The structure of English society at the beginning of the nineteenth century was comparatively sound and simple. For the rich and poor alike, it was mainly founded on agriculture, and the spirit of England was the spirit of the country-side. But with the dawn of the nineteenth century a change began to reveal itself. The bulk of the rural population has, by this time, crowded into towns and has there been transmuted into a population of classes practically new,—a nation of urban artisans, a middle class urban or sub-urban; underneath these a nation of broken poor and overall a cosmopolitan plutocracy whose super-wealth piled up in ever-increasing aggregations, is a weariness to themselves, distracts others with envy, and is threatening by its mere weight to destroy the equilibrium of the entire society.

Of all those born in the country during the last three generations, nine families out of every ten have fled into the cities, deserting the fields forever; and life to those left behind has been going from bad to worse. In those days any able bodied Englishman bred on the land might cherish the hope of becoming a small landowner himself or the tenant of some landlord who had not a personal interest in his degradation. What has become of the multitude who form to-day the great bulk of the population the refugees from the country? Here Mr. Masterman at once strikes a new note. However deplorable the flight from the fields to the towns may be he represents the fugitives as having benefited very greatly by the exchange. The majority are in regular labour summer and winter. But even here like a true Radical Mr. Masterman detects the presence of two ominous evils. One a mental evil: the other an economic. The life of the multitude despite its comforts is 'drab' partly because it does not promise any escape from itself, partly because it is lived in an atmosphere thoroughly depressing. Whatever may be the comfort which it enjoys from day to day, it is separated from poverty by nothing but its own daily exertions. It is therefore a "poverty population" in its essence. When however we turn from the "multitude" to the new middle class we encounter conditions wholly favourable. Indeed in this class, more than in any other, he declares, we discover promise of a brighter future for England. In respect of the line by which Mr. Masterman divides the "middle class" from the "super-wealthy" he is not very consistent. Sometimes he employs certain amount of income as the test for judging the "super-wealthy" and at other times he thinks that the income of the super-wealthy differ from those of others in the fact that they receive their income without doing anything towards producing them.

The fact however that the "super-wealthy" do not produce their wealth is of minor importance in comparison with the effects that result from the possession of it. So far as they themselves are concerned it leads to an expenditure on luxuries which are wasteful; whilst the spectacle of glitter and movement it exhibits to the rest of the nation makes all classes hungry for a life which can never be made general and poisons what once was competence, with a sense of imaginary privation. Sometimes again the "super-wealth" becomes directly aggressive for the sake of its own amusement.

Finally apart from indirect results like these, the aggregate income of the "super-wealthy" has by this time become so vast that it seriously diminishes the income of other classes alike and finds its particular counterpart in that miserable and appalling body which Mr. Masterman describes as the "broken poor" or the prisoners.

With regard to these last Mr. Masterman's principal propositions are as follows:—

(1) That this residuum of the wretched, though it has never been entirely absent, is something entirely novel in respect of its present proportions; (2) that its increase is the direct result of the increase of modern super-wealth; (3) and that in proportion as super-wealth becomes master and more concentrated so does misery deepen and become more widely extended.

Such is Mr. Masterman's case, as the spokesman of contemporary Radicalism. But of the facts which he parades as grievances characteristic of modern England, the most important and representative is the fact that the "multitude" however great may be its *and-to-mouth* prosperity, is only "goaded" to work by fear—by fear of the grim and implacable forces of hunger and cold. But if this fact is a grievance at all, the fault does not lie with anything peculiar to any age or any country. No human being would ever have delved or spun except for the "grim fear" or rather for the common piece of knowledge that he would also have no bread for his stomach and no coat for his back.

Again if Mr. Masterman is right in regarding the "decline of rural population as of the main social dangers by which English society is now threatened, such connection as is traceable between this decline and free trade must be accurately measured and studied in all its bearings before the problem pressing for a solution can be so much intelligibly studied.

Mr. Masterman's elaborate indictment of "super-wealth" on the ground that so much of it comes from shares in companies and that every predominant partner in a great business company is a drone, is another example of the way in which the Radical agitator distorts nearly every situation before asking for a popular verdict.

What is essential to the construction of any sound social policy is not knowledge of social facts taken separately, but a knowledge of the proportion which each bears to the rest.

THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF GREAT BRITAIN IN TIME OF WAR.

Major Stuart L. Murray in the above article in the April Number of the *Nineteen Century and After 1913*, says that in judging what is best for England in time of war, no considerations of purely peace conditions should be put aside as not relevant. When there is still a doubt as to whether the downfall of the Turkish Empire in Europe will lead to general European war or not, it seems opportune to take up the question of the internal situation in Great Britain should such a war come upon the British people. It is now days irresponsible popular passion that we have to dread. "The passions which break in war must be latent in the people." And then no statesman can prevent it.

The internal situation of a country on the eve of a great war are roughly grouped under four headings :-

- (A) Financial confusion, breakdown of the international credit system.
- (B) Normal poverty *plus* unpreventable war poverty (in loss of hostile markets).
- (C) Preventable war poverty, *i.e.*, loss of neutral markets.
- (D) The anti-war tendencies of socialistic labour organisations.

The inadequacy of the gold reserve in Great Britain to meet a really monetary crisis of late years attracted much attention. Much has been said and written but no remedial has been done. So much for the situation of the capitalistic classes. The working classes will be affected by maritime war in a two-fold manner : firstly high war price of all food stuff ; and secondly by the diminished employment caused by dislocation of commerce due to the war.

There is one thing to be done and one only. Get rid of the fear, get rid of prohibitive war insurance rules. And the only way this can be done is through a scheme of state indemnity. Warned by wireless telegraphy, the actual captures or sinkings probably be comparatively few in number. It is only the fear of loss that is to be rid of on the part of the owners and captains and insurers. Consequently, the amount of indemnity paid by the state, though it might sound fairly large from a peacetime standpoint, would not be as ruinous as the partial stoppage of the trade would be. In war time the nation will be quite ready and willing, and even wildly anxious, to do whatever may be necessary to preserve the trade, war and food. It will be money out to the best advantage.

One thing must be borne in mind that defeat means, at least, and certainly, enormous war indemnity which will hopelessly cripple the nation's finance and trade.

ny war expense that enables a nation to avoid this huge war indemnity will be in reality the economy. Any apparent war economy that may lead in the end to the nation's having to pay a far greater sum as war indemnity will be in reality the wildest extravagance.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

(APRIL 1913)

Contents :—1. Liberalism and the Land (Sir W. Ryland D. Atkins, M.P.). 2. Seven years of Liberal Government (Phillip Morrell, M.P.). 3. The Royal Commission on the Indian Public Service (Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Bart.). 4. The Fairy Tale in Education (G. Emille Macdonald, M.P.). 5. Matterlinck—the Revolutionary (J. Harley). 6. Some Aspects of the Persian Question (Mr. Philips Price). 7. The Educational Policy of the Government of India (Sir H. L. Fraser, K.C.S.I.). 8. The Making of Australasia (Edward Jinks). 9. Modern Psychology and the Christian Faith (Prof. Senllard, D.D.). 10. The Optimism of Islam (Edwin Bjorkman). 11. Polar Exploration : A Retrospect (V. Livingstone-Learmouth). 12. A Manchu Heroine (A. Georgette Bowden-nith). 13. Foreign Affairs (Dr. E. I. Dillon).

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE INDIAN PUBLIC SERVICE.

The writer begins by saying that Mr. John Stuart Mill in his essay *Representative Government* took a somewhat hopeless view of British rule in India as "real good government is not compatible with the conditions of the country." Since that time prospects have much improved, we are now harvesting the fruits of a wise educational policy, and educated India at the opening of the new century is both able and willing to co-operate effectively in the great work of progress and good government.

British rule in India is made up of two parts : (a) The agency employed for administration in India ; and (b) the machinery in England by which that agency is controlled. As at present constituted, the (a) agency may be described as a highly centralised bureaucracy—a privileged class of foreigners. (b) The control in England is exercised by a Secretary of State for India who is a member of the British Cabinet. To govern a country under the "responsibility to the people of that country" and to govern one country under "responsibility to the people of another" are two very different things. It may seem strange, as regards both the administrative agency and the machinery of control, that a system has been adopted so manifestly opposed to sound principles of government. The quarrel is not with the individual but with the system, which repudiates the canons of good government as accepted by the British people and is no longer suited to the practical requirements of the Indian administration.

The system is wrong in principle and mischievous in practice. In resisting the claims of Indians to high office, the Covenanted Civil Service has been

accustomed to rely on considerations : (1) an "irreducible minimum" of European agency politically necessary to maintain British supremacy ; and (2) a monopoly of the higher appointments that has been guaranteed to the existing service, as the prize in the open competition for the Civil Service. With regard to the first point, it is to be observed that the argument of "British supremacy" has been disallowed by a despatch from the Court of Directors.

By the terms of the Imperial Act of 1833 Indians were placed on a footing of equal citizenship with European British subjects and were made eligible for every office in India for which they were qualified by ability and integrity. In the Minority Report (paras 79 and 80) it is pointed out that if a minimum of European agency is required to secure British interests, so also there should be a minimum, out of regard for Indian interests.

Undoubtedly the public service will greatly gain in efficiency from a large infusion of the best Indian elements. But Indian reformers must not overlook the corresponding drawbacks—the consolidation of bureaucratic authority and the grave loss to the popular cause from Congress leaders being drawn away, & absorbed in the official body. They should remember that in Russia the despotism which crushes the Russian people is exercised by the Russians.

There remain to be considered the methods by which the News of India is ascertained :—the Parliamentary Committees and Royal Commissions. In the case of a Parliamentary Committee, the persons are all Members of Parliament it is thus directly representative of all shades of opinion in the House and cannot be packed to suit the convenience of the Government. These valuable qualifications are all wanting in the case of a Royal Commission.

The restoration by Statute of the periodical Parliamentary Committees on Indian affairs should be the insistent demand of all those who wish well to India and to the British Empire.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

(APRIL 1913.)

Contents :—1. Is Our Civilization Dying ? (Mr. Sidney Low). 2. The Military Conspiracy II (Islander). 3. The Armament Race and its Latest Developments (Mr. J. Ellis Barker). 4. Turkey's Asiatic Problem (Mr. Herbert Vivian). 5. George Borrow in Scotland (Mr. Clement Shorter). 6. Alfred de Vigny (and some English poets) on Nature (Mr. Maurice A. Gerethwohl). 7. Isabella II's first Revolution (Mr. Francis Gribble). 8. Richard Strauss and the Operatic Problem (E. A. Banghams). 9. The Future of Futurism (Horace Samuel). 10. The Press in Wartime (By a Journalist). 11. The Elizabethan Spirit (G. H. Powell). 12. Oxford and the Working Man (F. C. S. Schiller). 13. Glimpses of the Moon (E. V. Heward). 14. At the Fair (Rabindra Nath Tagore). 15. The Soul of a Suffragette (Walter Lennard). 16. The Joy of

TURKEY'S ASIATIC PROBLEM.

Mr. Herbert Vivian in the above article says that :—For some occult reason, Europe has always been afraid of the Turks. They (the Europeans) regarded Mr. Gladstone's bag-and-baggage policy as little more than a fanatic's dream. The spell of Turkey no longer acted through the Osmanlis sword, but through the fears which Christian countries entertained for one another.

This artificial equilibrium might have continued to this day, nay for centuries longer, had not Turkey voluntarily surrendered her old order. Ask any typical Turk, and he will confess that the Revolution signed the death-warrant of his Empire.

The Turks are regarded as Asiatics : but is there any future for them in Asia ? Are they not doomed to disappear like Trojans or Carthaginians ? It is certainly clear that with their present methods and their present leaders their day of rule is done. After all there is no reason why a fresh Asiatic Moslem Empire should not rise out of Ottoman ashes. The Turk's only excuse was military prowess : but now-a-days the solution of most political problems is to be found in finance. We may talk for ever about national ideals, yearnings for liberty, glorious traditions and all the rhymers' stock-in-trade, but alas ! all these fine sentiments become the play things of men who spend their lives in gathering gold. Remembering how German compensations were shuttlecocked after the Agatis incident, we may anticipate a big long game of bluff over the settlement of Asia.

The German Emperor has long aspired to play some Messianic part : he was subtle and supple enough to love Abdul Hamid and then to bless Abdul Hamid's betrayers : but his prestige has been severely strained. Yet the steady obstinate activity of his subjects in Syria has been organised during the last ten years in a very businesslike way. Now we may find, almost any fine day, that the Germans have eclipsed both nations (the English and the French) in power, activity and prosperity. In any case, Syria cannot remain for many generations a province of a moribund Turkey. The modern Greeks are already displaying Asiatic aspirations. Their demand for all the island of the Aegean, shows their hand more clearly than any of the manifestos or campaigns. These dangers are well understood at the Porte where diplomatic craft is by no means yet extinct.

The simplest solution of all Turkey's impending problems in Asia would be an informal British Protectorate. Traditional sentiments would concur, for though professional politicians may come and go, the typical Turkish peasant, nature's chivalrous, grateful great-hearted gentleman, still regards Britain as his ancient ally.

THE BIJOYA.

A Bengali Monthly for Baisakh 1320.

Principal contents :—1. Autonomy and Social Reprobation (Sj. Panchecorry Bannerjee). 2. Bankim Chandra and the Bengali Stage (Sj. Sachis Chandra Chatterjee). 3. Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa (Sj. Sris Chandra Matilal). 4. The Utility of Nitrogen in the Economy of Nature (Sj. Tarini Charan Chowdhury). 5. The Uriah Wayfarer (Sj. Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta). 6. Bengali Literary Re-union at Chittagong (Sj. Ambica Charan Deb). 7. The Table of Fortune (Sj. Chandi Charan Banerjee). 8. The Literary Doctor Pandit Ambicadatta Vyasa (Sj. Rasik Lal Ray). 9. Topical Notes (Sj. Bipin Chandra Pal). 10. The Wild Child of Srihatta—Sri Gouranga—(Sj. Padma Nath Bhattacharjee). 11. The Broken Plate (Sj. Manaranjan Guha-Thakurta).

THE URIAH WAYFARER.

The writer of this article goes on to say that he with a friend had gone to Puri for a change during the Pujah vacation, and while going to the Chilka side of the country on a sight-seeing he and his friend met with two poor Uriah wayfarers and with the elder of them “in various talk the instructive hours they passed”; and such was the depth of thought of this man that the writer was led to contemplate on the difference of the states of the moral atmosphere of Europe and India. Europe with her vaunted civilisation is the land of brutish barbarity, and India, the land of the fallen, is yet the land of beatitude.

BANKIM CHANDRA AND THE BENGALIEE STAGE.

Bankim Babu like his countrymen of his time had a great attraction for the stage from his youth. It is now three quarters of a century past, when there was only one stage about Calcutta and it was a European stage. Most of the European elites of the town acted on the platform of the “Sans Soci” and Dr. Richardson of the Hindu College was one of the number. The passion spread from the teacher to his pupils. The students of Calcutta soon got a stage of their own; as no suitable Bengali play could be had at the time, they began with playing the English plays, mostly of Shakespeare; this would not satisfy their want; they took to the playing of the Bengali translations of the Sanskrit plays. At last a Bengali drama—Ratnabali—was composed by Pandit Ram Narain Tarkaratna, at the request of Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore and Babu Kali Prasanna Sinha. Not only the students but the whole Indian public of Calcutta had begun to take interest in the matter. The new play was acted with great pomp and march at the garden house of the Maharaja. This was the first regular start in affair in the country; since then many other amateur troupes have been formed here and there over the country culminating in the establishment of

the professional parties and stages which we now see in Calcutta and its thereabouts. Bankim Babu though never joined any of the amateur parties in his youth, he kept up the fire for the stage to his last. He was its staunch friend and firm supporter. He had a great liking for the "*Kirtan*" songs but he disliked the "*yatra*" performances. The principal reason for his dislike was the want of stage decorum among their actors, who took the licence of a green-room on the stage ground of their acting.

THE JAHNAVI

A Bengali Monthly for Baisakh 1320.

Principal contents:—1. The Laying of the New Age (Sj. Amadini Ghosh). 2. The Overthrow (Sj. Anurupa Debi). 3. Dissertations on the Vedas (Sj. Benode Behary Roy). 4. The Godlessness of Modern European Literature—Whether a fact (Sj. Probhat Chandra Gangopadhyaya).

THE LAYING OF THE NEW AGE.

When a new awakening comes upon a dormant people or an inert society, it comes like a flood over a country, overflowing its fields, uprooting trees and destroying its long-standing buildings. It seems like a flood of calamities, destroying long-cherished institutions and immutable customs, leaving little room or time to the people to think over, if it was a destroyer or a true benefactor—a creator of nobler institutions and leveller of moribund prejudices—to them. When the tide is past and the flood subsides, they see that in spite of the damages, the flood has been a worker of real good, fertilizing their barren fields and thus raising their hopes of richer harvests in future. Such has been the tide of events which has raced over India in the last century. It has pulled down many cherished institutions but at the same time it has bestowed two most precious boons to our people—spirit of self-realization and of self-awakening.

THE MANASI.

A Bengali Monthly for Baisakh 1320.

Principal contents:—1. A Book about Moinamathi (Mr. Abdul Karim, B.A.). It is a formal discourse on an old poetical narrative of Rani Moinamathi Tripura. There is still a place of the name of Moinamathi in the district of Tiparrah called after the saintly Rani. The place is now famous for its printed cloths and black parrots. 2. A Word about a Poem—A critical ovation to the last work of the poet, late Rajani Kanta (Sj. Nalini Ranjan Pandit). 3. The Book Craft (Birbal). A humourous article by Birbal. It is an open secret that Birbal is the pen-name of Mr. Pramatha Nath Chaudhuri, Bar-at-law.

4. Mendicant Haranath (Sj. Jaladhar Sen). 5. Rudiments of Sankhya Phil (Sj. Gouri Nath Sastri, B.L.). 6. The Duties of an Editor (Sj. Pancherjee, B.A.). 7. The Isle of Gems—A story (Sj. Pravat Kumar Mukherjee).

THE NABYA BHARAT.

A Bengali Monthly for Baisakh 1320.

Principal contents :—1. Thirty Years After (Editor). 2. The River Vedic India (Sj. Bijoy Chandra Majumdar, B.L.). 3. Works of the I Samaj in connection with the Growth of the National Life in India (Sj. Dharendra Nath Chowdhury, M.A.). 4. Worship of Blissfulness (Sj. Narain Majumdar, M.A.). 5. Memorative Erections to the Memory of Poet Chandidas (Sj. Sibratan Mitra). 6. The Literary Reunion at Chit (Sj. Padma Nath Vidyabenole, M.A.). 7. Joydeb—Topical notes on (Sj. Sibratan Mukherjee, M.A.). 8. The Hindu Philosophy—A Review (Sj. Durga Nath Rakshit). 9. Madame Blavatsky's Life and Mission (Sj. Durga Nath). 10. Are the Brahmins Hindus? (Sj. Narendranath Chatterjee). 11. Vikramaditya (Sj. Kokileswar Bhattacharjee, M.A.).

RIVERS OF THE VEDIC INDIA.

In the above article in the Baisakh number of the *Nabya Bharat*, the writer mentions some twenty names of rivers which occur in the Vedas. Amitabha, Arjika, Apaya, Urnavati, Krumu, Ganga, Gomati, Parusni, Jayavyavati, Varunavati, Bitastu, Bipasa, Bivali, Sutudri, Sarayu, Saraswati, Suvastu, of which, according to the writer, no identity can be established first, second and the tenth with any of the living rivers of India. The Gomati is not the modern Gomati but another river of that name. Parusni and Jayavyavati are the different names of the same river, its modern name is Iravati. Varun is the same as the river Varuna, which gave occasion to the name "Varanasi" Benares. The Sarayu is not the same as the modern Sarayu in Ayodhya, Oudh. The Saraswati flowed by Thaneswar and is now lost in the desert. Suvastu is identified with the modern Swat.

THE ARCHANA.

A Bengali Monthly for Baisakh 1320.

Principal contents :—(1) The Laying of the First Railway Lines in India (Sj. Hari Mukherjee). 2. The Celebration of "Ramlila" in Monghyr (Sj. Phanindra Nath). 3. Works of Fiction—A Critique (Sj. Amarendra Nath Roy). 4. Diversities in India (Sj. Kesab Chandra Gupta, M.A., B.L.). 5. The Ancient Observatories of the Hindus (Sj. Sarat Chandra Ghosal, Saraswati, M.A., B.L.).

THE WORKS OF FICTION.

In the above article the writer says that :—The Works of Fiction, as works of imagination, are classed under the same head with those works, which we commonly know as poems. The principal scope of poetry is the delineation of human character. The complex nature of man as mixture of good and evil is the life of poetic creation. To render a true picture of a human character would be to point out of this complex nature of man. But here are writers who delineate one sided pictures—good or evil—of human character. Of these writers the name of Victor Hugo and Cervantes, as authors, are pre-eminently eminent among European writers, and of Teakchand Thakur (Pyari Chand Mitra), Hutum Bencha (Kali Prasanna Singha) and Indra Nath Bannerjee among the writer's own countrymen.

THE BANGA DARSANA.

A Bengali Monthly for Baisakh 1320.

Principal contents: 1. The Life and Character of Nimai (Sj. Taraek Chandra Roy, B.A.). 2. What is Life (Sj. Jagadnanda Roy). 3. The Chinese Republic (Sj. Ram Lal Sirkar). 4. The late Jagadish Nath Ray (Aon.). 5. Utpala—A Fiction (Sj. Bhabani Charan Ghosh). 6. Chandidas—A Critique (Sj. Jitendra Lal Basu, M.A., B.L.). 7. Ramavati—A Historical Discourse (Sj. Akshoy Coomar Moitra). 8. Rao Bahadur Sansar Chandra Sen (Aon.). 9. My Autobiography—A Review on the late Nabin Chandra Sen's Autobiography (Sj. Akshoy Coomar Sarkar). 10. The Pradip—A Critique on the Pradip (Sj. Suresh Chandra Majumdar). 11. A Short Insight into the Die Teachings (Sj. Jnanendra Lal Majumdar, M.A.). 12. The Colours (Sj. Bijoy Chandra Majumdar, B.L.). 13. Chandra Nath—A Trip to Chandra Nath (the late Nabin Chandra Sen). 14. Akshoy Chandra and the Literary Reunion (Sj. Bipin Chandra Pal). 15. Fasting and Fatigue (Prof. Nibaran Chandra Chatterjee). 16. Character Painting—Aswini Coomar Datta (Sj. Bipin Chandra Pal). 17. Theosophy (Sj. Hemendra Nath Datta). 18. Experiences in Europe (Sj. Bipin Chandra Pal). 19. Anecdotes of the Destitute (Translation of the *Le Misérable*).

THE CHINESE REPUBLIC.

The Chinese are one of the most conservative nations of the world. Their civilisation dates back to a period when most of the modern nations (the Anglo-Saxons, the ancestors of the modern English for instance) were savages and lived in woods. Ancient contemporaneous nations—the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans are now among the things of the past: the Chinese are among the living nations of the world, but they are not what they were before. Their power was once established on to the banks of the Danube and the sovereigns of Europe would be too glad to kneel before the plenipotentiaries of the celestial monarch in their act of receiving these deputies.

The Chinese are a frugal, intelligent and hard working race but in spite of all these good qualities they are indigently poor. This national indigence is ascribed to a social custom—a social sin—the compulsory marriage system among them. The poorest man, like a deaf and dumb beggar, must take a woman for his wife and thus help to the propagation of a beggarly race.

Through the short-sightedness and misrule of the Manchu rulers a revolution has been fought about among these most conservative people and their most ancient society has been shaken to its deepest foundations. China has declared herself a republic; the question naturally suggests to us whether she would live to see her former greatness restored.

her or would succumb to anarchy and be a final prey to European rapacity. China's steps have been too hasty in this, her path of progress, and it is doubtful whether she would be able to run on in her race without a fall. Japan in a similar march kept on well, but her rulers helped her in the matter. China has to do this in spite of her rulers.

THE GRIHASTHHA.

A Bengali Monthly for Baishakh 1320.

Principal contents : 1. The Village Volunteers (Sj. Radha Kamal Mukherjee, 2. Our Jagadish Chandra (Dr. Bose). 3. A New Force in the Political World of West (Sj. Nagendra Nath Ghosh). 4. Economic Agitation in Southern India (Sj. Surendra Nath Ghosh). 5. Zamindars of Bengal. 6. The Science of Criticism (Sj. Kumud Nath Lahiri).

Besides these, there is a large number of topical notes which form a special and interesting feature of this excellent Bengali monthly.

THE VILLAGE VOLUNTEERS

The writer's superscription to this article, that village is the centre of the civilisation, and town is the centre of western civilisation, reminds us of Cowper's known couplet God made the country, man made the town. Taking this as the basis of his subject, the writer goes on to say that Europe owes its civilisation to commerce and manufacture and so its principal centres are the towns where the tradespeople and working classes resort for business ; as a natural result of this, European civilisation spread from these centres of opulence to the distant corners of the country. India is an agricultural country, and as such its centres of life and action had, from remote times, been the different centres of agricultural life. Co-operative system had been the motive principle of this rural life and growth of India ; through the introduction of foreign influences, this vital principle of our nationality has almost been brought to a standstill. As a remedy to this, the writer suggests that a band of " rustic volunteer " should be raised. It should be the duty of these volunteers to help the village people, especially the cultivator classes, with supplying the necessaries of life not available at their villages, at reasonable prices ; and finally to train the people to grow such articles, as possible, in their own localities.

elements in its present life it is to suppress and which it is to develop; it merely declares that one characteristic of the right course—whatever of all possible courses that may be—is that it will be in harmony with the nation's essential genius, and that any course which has not this characteristic is therefore wrong. And I rather think that both in the case of the individual and the nation, self-consciousness is rather a hinderance in dealing with the concrete problems of thought and conduct. A man, for instance, confronted with a new idea, ought rather to ask—‘Is this true?’ than ‘Is it in conformity with my temperament for me to believe this?’ If he, so far as in him lies, believes what is true and does what is good, his individuality will take care of itself. If a nation pursues the true—the good, there will be no danger of its specific personality being lost, as when the distinctive individual note is lost in the work of an artist who strives to realize certain ideas with perhaps entire self-forgetfulness. This means that in practice, each problem of thought and conduct has to be treated on its own merits, — ‘Is it true?’ — ‘Is it good?’—and the individual and nation who answer these questions right will, in the very act, realize their best self, whether they do so consciously or not.”

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I am exceedingly thankful to my English friend for this criticism. The views expressed in it are held, I know, by a large body of educated people not only in his but in our country also. A discussion of the issues raised by him will therefore be helpful to the study of the philosophy of nationalism. And the first thing that occurs to me, on reading this note, is that my correspondent seems to think here really in the abstract. Both his truth and his good have an air of abstraction about them. For, practically, neither individuals nor nations, as a rule, deliberately refuse to accept that which they know and believe to be true. Acceptance of any truth is an act of the intellect; and it follows immediately we know it as true. Avowal or public confession of it is another thing. We may or may not avow what we believe to be true, but we cannot help believing it, when it satisfies our reason. To accept a thing as good is also an act of the intellect. Pursuing it practically, translating it into life and conduct, is, however, not an act of the intellect but of the will. And our will does not stand in isolation from our other faculties. Our will really follows the line resultant of all the various and complex forces, intellectual and emotional, that act and react upon one another, and struggle for mastery, immediately we are called upon to choose and select any particular course of action, out of a number of rival and competing courses. Individuals may, and often times do follow a wrong course, knowing it to be wrong. But I do not

I believe nations ever do it or, indeed, can do it. For real national movements are always automatic. The movements of masses whether of men or of matter are not really deliberative and conscious, like those of individuals, but are impulsive, automatic and unconscious. Social movements are due to the action and interactions of social forces, and not to the deliberate and considered choice of the individuals who compose the social whole. It is no doubt conceivable that when we shall reach the millenium, and men shall be moved always and only "by reason, and not by gold," social movements may be determined by the considered choice of the members of the society. But in our present state, at any rate, nations and communities act impulsively and unconsciously, by the collective force of their passing passions or fixed prejudices. Social activities are acts not of considered and deliberate choice, but really of what may be called unconscious cerebration. Society accepts that only as true which is in perfect consonance with the sum total of its intellectual, moral, economic, political, and spiritual life and experience. New truths and ideas seeking acceptance by any nation or community must fit themselves into the general scheme and philosophy of life of that nation or community. This is how Christianity spread in Europe. Before it could be acceptable to the Grecko-Roman culture which ruled the dominant nations of Europe then, it had to adopt, as part of its own theology the philosophy of Greece, and as part of its own ethics the legalism of Rome. Our own Hinduism had to do the same thing in propagating itself among the lower cultures of Ancient India. And in view of these facts how can we say that the value of nationalism is not positive, but rather negative? The warning-sign-board-position of nationalism would have been true to facts, if nations exercised conscious and considered choice in the determination of their courses of action. But they don't do it. They simply follow automatically the impulse of their own nature or personality: which means, in other words, the spirit of their nationalism, the genius of their social organism; and in so doing, automatically, preserves continuity with its own past. But my correspondent was perhaps thinking here not of the nation, but of its leaders, of those men of thought and action, who educate the nation's intellect, inspire the nation's ideals and emotions, and initiate, direct, and control the economic or political life of the nation by deliberately introducing new instruments, organisations and vehicles of that life. And the question before them should not be, what is in consonance with the past, but what is required for the present life of the nation. Quite so. These men should always, and above all, ask themselves in inculcating new ideas or initiating new organisations and activities,—'are the ideas true?'—'are the organisations and activities good?' But even here, whether the ideas which they believe to be true will be accepted as such by their nation,

will depend not on considerations of their abstract logic or reasonableness, but upon their affinities with the general intellectual life and traditions of their nation; and whether the nation will adopt their new organisations and activities, will be determined not by their abstract justice or general utility, but by the actual, inner needs of the social organism itself. That which the social organism needs for its own self-preservation it accepts irrespective of all considerations as to whether it is true or false, noble or ignoble. That which has no reference to this supreme need, it either indifferently brushes aside or violently throws out. No organism, neither animal or social, affects pure superfluities. These are commonplace observations. The real practical difficulty does not arise in those cases where there is a slow and gradual assimilation of a new and possibly higher thought or civilisation by a lower culture. It arises only when there is a conflict of competing thoughts and cultures, both occupying an advanced and developed stage of evolution. It is, evidently, cases like these that my correspondent has here in his mind. But even here, can we reasonably say that the value of nationalism, in practice, is more negative than positive?

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Take for instance, our own case in India. There is a very keen conflict of civilisations among us just now. On the one hand there is our own ancient culture with its special and specialised ideals and institutions. These ideals and institutions are the growth of ages. They

**A Practical
Question.**

are the fruits of our specific national genius or race-consciousness, stimulated and controlled by our natural environments, on the one side and our contacts and conflicts and associations with other nations and races during different epochs of our past history, on the other. These ideals and institutions aim at certain results which have been the special quest of all our social endeavours. On the other hand is the new culture, which the British rulers of the country have brought to us with them. That too is the growth of ages. That also aims at certain results which have been the quest of all their social endeavours for countless ages. But the character of these two cultures are different. In fact, it may even be said that the key-notes of these two civilisations are in more or less conflict with one another. Fellowship, for instance, as Bishop Carpenter pointed out many years ago, is the key-note of Hinduism. Legalism, on the other hand, is the key-note of Christianity. Collectivism or socialism in the widest sense of the term, is the key-note of our social organisation. Individualism is the key-note of modern European social economy. Co-operation is the key-note of our economic life. Competition is the key-note of that of Europe. The way of renunciation has been

Our eternal way. That of assertion and appropriation has been the way of Europe. The conflict between our civilisation and this new civilisation from Europe is undeniable. At the same time, it can hardly be denied that this new and imported culture is more attractive than our old indigenous culture. It appeals oftentimes to those instincts and impulses which our culture had noted as lower and had tried to keep under the strictest control, if not to altogether suppress. The temptation before us to go after this gilded god is very great. There are higher elements in European culture, I know. Christianity has developed, after its own manner, as high and superior types of manhood as have been developed after our own kind among us. I admit all this. But still we cannot ignore the fact that the immediate appeal of the civilisation of Europe is to man's instincts and appetites more than to his reason and his spiritual life. And if we succumb to the temptation, it will mean a complete annihilation of the specific character of our culture. And if we lose that character, our title to live as a nation among the other nations of the modern world will be gone. The question with us, as a nation is— are we to live or are we to die? It is not a question whether, as between our ideals and theirs, which is true and which is false, for neither is absolutely true nor absolutely false. Nor is it a question of which of these cultures is good and which evil, for neither is absolutely good nor absolutely evil. There is a mixture of truths, half-truths and fancies and falsehoods, as much in our thoughts, speculations, philosophies and religions, as well in those of Europe. Some institutions are good, some indifferent, some evil, some bad, here as well as there. The most vital question therefore is, how to save our own culture and civilisation from being swamped by the imported ideals and institutions of this new and forceful civilisation that has come to us with the present rulers of our country.

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Let us take a very concrete case to illustrate what I mean. In India, among the Hindus we have very rigid caste-divisions. **Hindu Caste and European Class** Apparently, these divisions, based entirely and absolutely upon mere accidents of birth, are unjust. They are a distinct violation of the highest spiritual truth that all men are made in the image of their maker, are children, so to say, of the same Father, and are therefore brothers. This brotherhood of man is a rudimentary principle of modern European social philosophy. To realise this universal fraternity is the ideal-end of every social, economic, or political endeavour in present-day Europe and America. This gospel appeals naturally to us, here in India. In the light of this ideal, we recognise the wrong and the ugliness of our ancient caste-divisions.

Our social reformers, from Keshub Chunder Sen downwards have entered their protest against these caste-divisions. We have openly repudiated them and broken away, consequently, from the old and orthodox community. But what is the result? With larger experience of life we find that social distinctions cannot be so easily and summarily eliminated from any conceivable social economy. There are these distinctions even in England and America, where there is nothing like our caste-system. Here in India, we have caste-distinctions; there in Europe and America they have class-distinctions. Neither here nor there have we any real social equality. The ideal of human brotherhood is as yet as much an unrealised ideal in caste-ridden Hindustan as it is in class-divided Christendom. Yet both the countries persistent attempts have been made from of old to realise it. The highest spirits both among Hindus and Christians have preached against these social inequalities, and have sought to override these distinctions in their own life and conduct. The Brahmin has sat at the feet of the Pariah and has acknowledged him as his Gurm. The Pandit has always been taught to look upon the "untouchable" chandāla and the "sacred" Brahmin with the same eye. But notwithstanding all this we have still these caste-divisions among us as they have their or class-divisions in Christendom. At one time we thought that because there was no caste in England or America, the ideal of human brotherhood had been fairly, if not fully, realised there. We felt the inconvenience of our caste-rules, which interfered with the freedom of our movement and social intercourse. They interfered even with our personal comfort. We could not drink water out of everybody's hands nor take food, however clean or inviting, that was not cooked by men of our own or of a superior caste. The Englishman or the American has not to suffer these inconveniences. They are not subject to these irksome restraints. They are absolutely free in the matter of eating and drinking. And all this at one time appeared very powerfully to us. All these personal comforts and conveniences, due to the absence of any strict social or socio-religious restrictions upon eating and drinking and even marriage, added, I am sure, a good deal, however unconsciously to us it may be, to our enthusiasm for this and similar social reforms. The ideal of human brotherhood undoubtedly, a very noble and lofty ideal; it is a great spiritual truth. But its real spiritual appeal could only touch those whose spiritual life had been truly developed. To us who were still living in the lower emotional plane, the appeal of this new gospel of human brotherhood and equality was not to our higher spiritual, but only to our lower animal nature. Food and sex-desire are declared by our sages and saints to be the strongest motives in all humans. Caste-restrictions interfered very seriously, and at every

with the free and unrestricted play and fulfilment of these two common human appetites. The immediate effect of the gospel of human equality, as preached by the European Illumination which our British rulers brought to us, was to proclaim and procure our freedom from the unnatural and irksome restraints imposed by our castes upon these two appetites—the strongest of all our appetites. We idealised a lot, undoubtedly. Our protest against caste, whatever its inner and unconscious psychology, was not altogether carnal. There was a very large element of youthful idealism at the back of it. But still we were striving after a social utopia. We were longing for a social equality which does not exist anywhere in the world. We broke through caste, broke away from the old and orthodox communion, in search of a social arrangement where there shall be no distinction between man and man except that which is due to each individual's personal character or intellectual and moral and spiritual acquisitions. Honestly speaking, we have not found it yet: we do not, indeed, expect to find it ever: not at any rate along the road we took in breaking away from our old society. In place of the old divisions of caste we have set up, even in our advanced and reformed community, new divisions of class, after the manner of England and America. Our old caste-divisions were based upon birth: these new class-distinctions are based upon money and official or professional rank. The man who had the blood of the Brahmin in him could claim special privileges in the old society, he could commit many wrongs with impunity. The person who owns a large balance in his bank can and does claim similar privileges and has his sins similarly condoned in the new and reformed community. Poverty was never a crime or disqualification in the social code in our own community, it is becoming—if it has not already become—so, in the new community. And when one calmly thinks over these actualities and their serious moral and spiritual implications, one cannot gather up enough courage to claim that our present "reformed" condition is intrinsically better, in any way, than our old state of social bondage: or that the new social economy and arrangement carry us nearer to the ideal of human brotherhood and human equality than the old and orthodox arrangement did.

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The fact of the matter really is that neither our caste-system nor their class-system is absolutely rational or good. My correspondent's questions—Is it true? Is it good?—cannot be answered without any reservation in the case of either of these two social systems. Nor is it easy to determine which of these is comparatively better. Neither our old theocratic social economy, nor their modern democratic

social economy embodies the highest social ideal. Both are equally imperfect. If one has some advantages in one direction, the other has similar advantages in another direction. Both are a mixture of truths and half-truths, good and evil. Both are merely tentative and distinctly experimental. At what is most significant of all, both have at their back the same ultimate ideal-end, namely, to help gradually to bring out the God in man. Consequently, there is neither room nor need for either borrowing or lending in organic social evolution. For Humanity is one. This Humanity is the whole. The different nations are limbs and parts of this whole. But it is not a numerical, but an organic whole. Humanity is an organism. The different nations are its organs. The whole is implied in the parts: the organism in its organs. Humanity is implicit, therefore, in every racial and national unit, as much as in every individual human. Racial and national evolution has only one end and meaning, namely, to make explicit in the life and thought of each race or nation, the ideal of Humanity that is already present and implicit in it. India has, therefore, no rational need to borrow anything from Europe, any more than Europe has any need to borrow a thing from India. There is really no exchange or barter, strictly speaking, as a result of the contact of one civilisation with another. What actually happens is that they each stimulate in the other those elements that are more developed in one and less developed in the other. The process is educative, not commercial. It is the universal process of all human improvement. The company of bad people do not inject their evil into me, I only draw out the evil that lay latent within myself. Association with good and noble men and women does not actually communicate their goodness or nobility to me, but simply and really stimulate and quicken the noble and diviner elements of my own life and character. Those who have the seeds of any particular evil in them never suffer, therefore, by being thrown into the company of people who have that particular evil fully developed in them. Similarly those who have not any particular type of goodness or virtue latent in them, remain absolutely unaffected by even the closest and most constant association with others who have that particular goodness or virtue fully developed in them. These are matters of common experience. And all these show that there is really neither room nor need of any borrowing or lending in organic social or individual evolution. And it follows, as a matter of course, therefore, that the questions "Is it true?" "Is it good?"—do not and cannot arise in the case of nations or races, forced by historic circumstances into any contact or conflict with other nations or races.

These questions very frequently arise, in the case of individuals standing face to face with any new thought or ideal. But we should not forget that the psychology of the individual human unit is not exactly the same as that of nations and communities. Individual members of a nation or community may, and do largely and even effectively, influence the course of evolution of their nation or community. But they do it not directly but indirectly, by the force of thought or habit which their individual thinking and living cumulatively produces in the community. A nation very rarely makes any deliberate choice and consciously wills to accept or reject any particular idea or course of action. National impulses like those of all complex organisms, are not the result of calm deliberation or considered selection, but are due to what may best be characterised as unconscious cerebration. A nation rarely or never weighs and balances the truth or untruth or the good or the evil of any thought or course that presents itself before it, but accepts or rejects it simply according to the law of its own inner affinities or repulsions: that which is in harmony with the sum total of its past and present life and experiences, and that which is most calculated to help it in its struggle for existence, it accepts readily and perhaps even greedily: that which is not of this character, it rejects automatically. This law of natural selection operates equally in social as in biological evolution. Individuals may and do influence the course of social evolution: but slowly, indirectly, by creating new conditions, stimulating new thoughts, communicating to their community new and nobler ideals. But even here, society uses its own selective powers. The collective social consciousness accepts and embraces only such of these new thoughts and ideas and ideals and institutions as are in consonance with its own inner spirit and character, and rejects those that cannot so fit in with that spirit and character. And the moment we consider these facts we find it impossible to accept my correspondent's position that the value of nationalism is more negative than positive.

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I can fully understand, however, my friend's position. In the first place, truth and right are to him absolute categories: what is true for one is, to him, true for all: what is true in one country must be true in every other country. And so also with right or goodness. This absolutism is the keynote of all credal systems. But with us, it is different. Truth, in the sense and of the class to which my correspondent refers, is a matter of intellectual conviction or what we call rational belief. And this truth

**Absolutism
and
Nationalism.**

is always relative. What is acceptable and convincing to one person is not necessarily acceptable to others. Our intellectual convictions are always regulated by our experience, training, and temperament. A thought or idea to be acceptable to me must fit in with the general scheme of my thinking and reasoning; must conform to the particular cast of my mind. It is, therefore, that what seems to be very good reason to one person, appears as utterly unreasonable to another. Faith really is not a matter of volition, but of cognition and emotion. And our faith always accommodates itself to the general scheme of our thought and the general habits and avocations of our life. Dogmas of ancient religions are progressively interpreted from age to age, and the injunctions of the prophets and teachers of the world have new meanings put upon them, with either additions or reservations, to accommodate them with the actual thought and life of their adherents and followers. The Gospel of Jesus Christ received, thus, new interpretations from the Greek and Roman converts to Christianity: and some of his best teachings are being dismissed and shelved today by the modern Christian, because they do not fit in with their social life and current ethical standards. "If a man take thy coat, let him have thy cloak also",—is an impossible, unpractical, harmful injunction to a competitive and individualistic civilisation and social economy, whose law is each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. We understand these diversities. We may vote a thing as lower, but cannot condemn it as sin. It is true and good for those who are in that particular stage of evolution: they must pass through it, must beat their music out, wear out the animal and the carnal that is still in them in this way. It is bad for those who stand on another plane, and are therefore under another law. Those who are in the law must be judged by the law: and not by another, either a higher or a lower law. This is the real ethics of evolution. This is what I have always understood by self-realisation as the ultimate and eternal ethical end. This self is neither an arithmetical combination, nor a mechanical compound; but is an organism, very complicated and complex, with many contradictions and competitions within itself, but all harmonised and reconciled in its own unity. The self is a unit. It is a unity. It is an organic unity, which realises itself through almost endless variations and changes. What we call good, and what we call evil, are both moments in the evolution of the self. Its evil is not absolute. Evil is only imperfect or misplaced good, or it is even, sometimes, only good in the making. Like shine and shadow, good and evil go together, set off each other, counterpoise each other, and work together to help the evolution of the self. For every good...

evil; and for every evil there is, somewhere, whether manifest or unmanifest, some compensating good, in the very make and being of every human individual. If, therefore, what another person regards as evil, be really acceptable to me, that is, if my nature takes it in, then I take it for granted that this so-called evil is a necessity of my real growth and evolution, and is good to me. For the real judge of what will and what will not truly do me harm is my nature,—the sum total of my life and being,—myself. And the self is as much subject to the law of natural selection, as any animal organism. What my self chooses for me is my highest and best choice. But in our present artificial state, this self is so overburdened with so many superimposed faiths and ordinances, customs and conventions, and is subjected constantly to so much outside temptations and fears, that it rarely can know its own mind and make its own true and honest choice. This is why we see, as my friend points out, the conflicts of so many competing selves in us. And here our duty is to free our self, first and foremost of all, of these outer bonds. This is Carlyle's Eternal Nay: Accept nothing, believe in nothing, submit to nothing,—that comes from without, whether Church or Society. Make your mind, so far as may be, a clean slate. Shake off these outer shackles. Be free of all *sanskara* (संस्कार) or prepossessions, social, ethical, religious. This is the first step, in the knowledge of the self. The self that is revealed then to you, may not be very pure or noble or good, but it will at least be true and real; and once that truth and reality is found, and it is established upon its own proper state, then its self-evolution from lower to higher and higher stages will follow as a matter of course, and will be uninterrupted. "To thine own self be true: and thou canst not be false to others":—is the utterance of the highest wisdom.

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As it is with individuals, so also with nations. Every nation must, first and foremost of all, be true to its own self. Its self may not be very pure or refined or noble. But whatever its state of progress, or stage of evolution, it must above all things, be true to the special laws of that state or stage. For upon its faithful fulfilment of that law only will depend every chance and possibility of its ascent to the next higher state or stage. "Faithful in few things, I shall make the ruler over many things:"—this is the law here also. And this is true nationalism. It is the loyalty of a nation to its own genius, its own nature, its own proper and true self. Individuals, nations too are sometimes, if not frequently, tempted to be swayed by foreign influences when a nation comes in contact with a different culture and

**The Practical
Value of Nationalism
in India.**

civilisation, which, if accepted, may place them in a position of greater earthly vantage. These temptations have come to us, for instance, in India now. The whole structure of the civilisation of our rulers is based, as Lockey says, "upon the belief that it is a good thing to cultivate intellectual and material capacities even at the cost of certain moral evils which we are able to accurately foresee." The preference of material and intellectual ends over moral and spiritual ends, constitutes a prominent feature of the present phase of this civilisation with which our nation stands confronted today. The representatives of this new civilisation hold political sovereignty over us. It is always natural for the subjects to follow their sovereign. We adopted many foreign things in imitation of our Moslem rulers. We are doing the same today. This is very natural. In the next place, the natural leaning of our common carnal appetites is to give preference to material over moral and spiritual good. The genius of our old civilisation was very different. It gave preference to moral and spiritual acquisitions over earthly powers and enjoyments. Ours was the straight way. That of the new culture imported into our country now is much broader and easier and more tempting. Nationalism has, therefore, a very positive value to us. Loyalty to our national ideals and institutions means really our only chance of living as a distinct and individual nation. It constitutes our only title to live as an individual nation among the nations of the modern world. It is a supremely practical problem to us. Its value is positive and not negative.

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**Nationalism
and
Traditionalism.**

I think, however, that the kindly criticisms of my esteemed English correspondent are based upon a very common misconception. To a good many people, even among us, and especially in the ranks of our social and religious reformers, nationalism means only rank and hidebound conservatism. This unreasonable and rigid conservatism has often masqueraded as real nationalism; and the note of sober and rational progress has frequently been stifled in its name. The apprehensions of my correspondent and those who think and feel like him, are not entirely fanciful or unreal. But my complaint is that they do not seem to take due note of the fundamental difference between mere conservatism and real nationalism. Hidebound conservatism is, really, as different from true nationalism, as rampant jingoism is, for instance, different from real imperialism.

In fact, the entire philosophy of nationalism, as I have been taught to understand it, is based upon the Theory or Law of Evolution. And this nationalism cannot, therefore, be in any way identified with hidebound conservatism. This conservatism is averse to all change:

**Nationalism
and
Evolution.**

But change is the very soul of the Law of Evolution. Indeed, this law offers the only rational synthesis between conservatism and advance, between order and progress. It cancels the fancied conflict between what was, and what is, and what must be. It works present changes without breaking continuity with the past. In truth, change has no meaning unless it works and appears in an object whose continuity is maintained unbroken through whatever changes it may pass through. To get ill, to be placed in bed and under proper treatment, to get convalescent and well, and to resume, with returning health and strength, the ordinary avocations of life, — all these are characterised as changes only when they follow one another *in* the same individual, but not when they represent so many different conditions of as many different peoples. I was a baby, I became a boy, I went to school, I became a man, I married and had children, I retired upon becoming old; — these are changes, because they have reference to one and the same individual, whose continuity is maintained unbroken through all these changes. They are all evolutions of one and the same person. This "I", this first person singular, this what we call "self" — persisted through all these changes. If with each one of these various changes, the continuity of my personal consciousness, — the sense that I am I — were destroyed, then they would not be parts of an evolutionary series. Thus we find that the fundamental fact in evolution is that it allows and effects almost endless changes in an object or organism, without breaking up its continuity or destroying its unity. The Law of Evolution cancels, thus, every conflict between change and permanence, between continuity and progress. Change and permanence are contradictions in formal and verbal logic. But Evolution cancels and reconciles these. And as the Philosophy of Nationalism is based upon this Law of Evolution, it leaves no room either for hidebound conservatism on the one hand or of rank revolution on the other. Both are at war with real national life and advancement.

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The postulates of the Law or Theory of Evolution are mainly two: first heredity, second environment. Its one aim is to maintain the individuality or distinctiveness of the type, in and through all the changes of forms and habits that it may undergo in its attempt to adapt itself to its changing environments. But even combination of different original

**The Postulates
of
Evolution.**

types to form a new type is neither impossible nor unknown. This is not possible, however, in all cases. It depends upon the affinities of the types that are sought to be crossed to produce a third type higher, perhaps, than both the parent types. But even in these hybrids the individuality of the original types are not entirely destroyed, but rather preserved, either accentuated or modified, in the new type produced from them. Nationalism does not, therefore, deny possibility of the birth of new national types, through the crossing, so to say, of two or more existing nationalities. But this crossing can be fruitful in the case of such national organisms only as have sufficient affinities between them, both in their original race-consciousness, and in their present stage of culture and civilisation. Where these affinities are absent, there any attempt at "crossing" either biologically by indiscriminate intermarriage, or sociologically by the enforced or imitative introduction of the organs and institutions of a higher religion or civilisation among a lower race, will be bound to lead to atavism and degeneration. And the nationalist principle that "a nation ought to be true to its own personality," and should seek always to "preserve continuity with its past," is based upon the need and desire of avoiding these evils: and is not meant really, to maintain its absolute isolation from the other nations of the world.

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The Birth and Growth of New Nations.

Such isolation is neither possible nor desirable. It is not possible because of the inevitable movement of populations from thickly populated to sparsely populated territories, under pressure of economic needs, and the consequent irruption of the members of different nationalities upon their neighbouring countries. It had been so in the past when we had no nations really, but only tribes: and it is through these tribal and racial fusions and combinations that most of the great nations of our day originally grew. It is even so today, when conquest or commerce, or both, have been leading to colonisation of distant tracts and territories by the more aggressive and expansive nations of the world. These colonisations always lead more or less to international crossing and combination. These are strongly resisted by the members of a higher civilisation when they are placed in intimate physical and geographical contact with those of a lower culture, and especially of a different colour; as we find in Africa, which is being increasingly colonised by the European peoples. But in all these new settlements free and unrestricted miscegenation is allowed among the members of the different white nationalities. These racial mixtures tend to destroy national differentiation.

more developed perhaps, and surely more complex, than the older ones. We are thus seeing, before our very eyes, the birth and growth of new national types, with distinct individualities or personalities of their own, not only in the United States of America, but even in the British Dominions of Canada and South Africa. And the fact that these new combinations of the members of different nationalities with developed and distinctive notes and marks of their own, do not destroy national differentiations but rather create new national organisms, instead of seeking self-fulfilment in any shapeless and formless and undifferentiated cosmopolitanism or internationalism, proves the truth of the essential postulate of the Philosophy of Nationalism, namely, that every composite people either living together, in one common territory, under one common state, or inheritors and workers of a common culture and civilisation, whether primitive and simple or advanced and composite, from time immemorial, or thrown recently into one another's company, as members of the same state, have or develop a distinct personality of their own. International admixture does not destroy the personality of a new nation, but, on the contrary, develops it and gives it a new shape and form, in which the older types are not entirely obliterated, nor from which the older spirit is absolutely eliminated, but where these are simply transformed and transmuted. The law of conservation of energy and transmutability of force is not absent even from social evolution. And all these prove, it seems to me, the positive value of nationalism as a principle and law of social evolution.

II.

THE SUFFRAGETTE REVOLUTION.

I have said that all the troubles over the Suffragette agitation are caused by the sorry bungling of the present Liberal Government. I said this, naturally, with some confidence, for I could only judge from the outside. But even thoughtful Englishmen have commenced to complain of the "bewildering methods adopted by the authorities in dealing with the Women's Suffrage agitation." The *Christian Commonwealth*—the organ of the Rev. R. J. Campbell, so is, I think, the greatest living spiritual force in contemporary British mind and thought, accuses the Government of not adopting "strictly legal means in dealing with the disorder which the Suffragettes are causing." The Suffrage agitation is studded with

official blunders." And these "blunders" are evidently causing widespread discontent not only in the ranks of Laborites and Socialists, without whose support in Parliament, Mr. Asquith's Government cannot hold its position for long, but even among Radicals and Liberals. I quote *Commonwealth*.

For instance, several years ago we saw Mrs. Despard arrested for refusing to "go away" when denied admission to the House of Commons: since then many women have stood for hours together on the same spot without any attempt being made to turn them away. Worse blunders, as it seems to us, are now being made. We maintain that the police have no right to forbid the holding of meetings "in favour" of Women's Suffrage: what they should do is to arrest speakers who incite to violence or in any other way break the law. Similarly, we cannot understand their arresting the printers of a newspaper, and binding them over, as they have done in the case of the "Suffragette," without it having first been proved in a court of law that the matter printed is contrary to statute. We are informed on behalf of the I.L.P. that "every care was taken to refrain from printing anything in the nature of incitement to illegal action," and yesterday's "Daily Citizen" announced that Mr. J. R. MacDonald, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Party, "will, if necessary, become manager of the National Labour Press, and publish the 'Suffragette,' and stand by the consequences," and that Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., is prepared to act with Mr. MacDonald. Neither can we understand their raiding the premises of the Women's Social and Political Union, ejecting a number of people against whom no charge is preferred, carting away all the Union's papers and property, including uninscribed flags and banners: and then, after a few days, allowing the officials and employees were not arrested to return and by re-hoisting their flag to intimate that "business has been resumed." To our lay mind it seems that if the authorities had decided to "suppress" the W.S.P.U. and its organ, they should have begun by prescribing and proclaiming it an illegal organisation, a criminal conspiracy, and intimating the risks and penalties that would be incurred by any person associating themselves with it. But so far that has not been done: individuals only have been proceeded against. Whether a printed sheet describing itself as the "organ" of an association that had been adjudged illegal would itself be illegal irrespective of its contents we do not know; we doubt it. But even then the authorities must proceed in a constitutional and orderly manner.

they should not put the cart before the horse, and they should try to be consistent. If it be illegal to print the "Suffragette," surely it is illegal to sell it, yet it was hawked under the very noses of the police outside Bow Street at the time its printer was being charged! Again, Mr. Bodkin should not be allowed, or instructed, to threaten subscribers to the funds of the W.S.P.U. unless he or his superiors mean business: anything in the nature of bluffing, which is always a sign of weakness, would only further lower the prestige of an administration that has already suffered some damaging blows. We are not alone in our view of the matters to which we have referred. The "Daily News" and the "Manchester Guardian" have protested against the measures taken against the "Suffragette." In a restrained and reasoned article, the "New Statesman," referring to Mr. Bodkin's obiter dictum that the "Suffragette" "must put a stop to," contends that there is "no legal process by which a paper or any printed matter can be censored before it appears," Lord Chancellors having ruled that "the liberty of the Press consists in printing without any previous license." Similarly, the "New Statesman" questions the right of the police to act as they did in regard to the premises and property of the W.S.P.U. "The police had the right to arrest the persons for whose apprehension they held warrants. (There is no such thing as a general warrant in English law.) But by what law had they the right to eject persons against whom they made no charge?" In a rather more academic but not less serious tone the "Nation" deals with the same menace. "There is no greater danger to society," says this organ of Liberalism, "than a lawyer uncontrolled by the citizen who thinks he has behind him the terror or rage of the public."

— 3030 —

III.

LORD HARDINGE'S BIRTHDAY.

The is, I think, the first time that a Viceroy's birthday is going to be observed as a day of public rejoicings in this country. But the crisis through which Lord Hardinge has passed this year, fully justifies this public and truly national demonstration. The idea of this public celebration originated, no doubt, with Lady Hardinge, but even that very fact has a moral significance. It shows how deeply the Indian people during

**A National
Demonstration
with
Personal Initia-
tive.**

her recent troubles. She knows that on the next birthday of her illustrious and dearly-beloved husband, the people whose Administration and Stat Organisation he controls, will equally share with her, her joy. But if this absolute assurance her ladyship would never have admitted us all in the secrecy and sanctity of her personal feelings and sentiments. Nor do the fact that the idea originated with her in any way take away from the spontaneity of the demonstrations that are being organised for this occasion. For, how were the people to know of His Excellency's birthday, unless her ladyship published the date? And, how could she publish it without communicating the object of the announcement? But though the announcement came from her ladyship, the response that it has received from every section of the community, has unmistakeably been absolutely spontaneous. And it has, I think, a very great moral and political significance.

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And this significance comes from the peculiarity of the present situation in India. The assassin's hand had been raised against one other Indian Viceroy only, in the whole course of the history of British India, namely, Lord Mayo. Lord Mayo perished at the assassin's hand. But the incident, inhuman as it was, had really little or no political significance. That was neither an attack upon Lord Mayo's public policy, unless it can be traced to the Wahabee Movement which his lordship suppressed,—nor was it; even vicariously, an attack upon the authority of the British Government in India. But it is impossible to deny that the attack on Lord Hardinge was directed either against the one or the other or both of these. There are people in the country who are bitterly opposed to his lordship's Indian policy. The repeal of the Bengal Partition, and especially the transfer of the capital to Delhi, have given almost mortal offence to a section of the Anglo-Indian community. If there are any confirmed revolutionaries in the country, with a head-piece on his shoulders, they too may look upon his lordship's policy as a most subtle and, therefore, very dangerous enemy in the cause. It is notorious that there are insensate youths in the country who may be their numerical strength, who cherish the eggregious idea of making their country "independent" by a reckless campaign of wholesale assassinations. The cowardly and brutish miscreant who made the attack upon Lord Hardinge's life, must have come from one or other of these three classes. And his motive, whoever he be, was not personal, but unmistakeably public and political. But whether his dastardly attack was directed against Lord Hardinge's Indian policy, or generally against the presence of the British in the country, its effect, had he succeeded, would have been the same. The immediate effect of it would have been

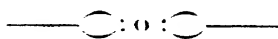
doing of all that Lord Hardinge's personality and policy had done. Those who had been calling for the "military law and no d—d nonsense"-policy would at last gain absolute ascendancy in the counsels of the Government; and what an Anglo-Indian scribe once described as "the tiger qualities of a British lion" would be fully brought out, completely devouring up its sub-qualities, to pursue his own mixed metaphor, in the administration of the country. It would mean a recrudescence of the rigours of the Minto regime, immensely increased and intensified, and with it a recrudescence of the old fearful unrest. The spirit of retribution would supplant the spirit of conciliation, and the prospects of a rational and peaceable settlement of the complicated political issues before us, would have been seriously diminished, in consequence of it. These are what the success of the Delhi tragedy would have meant for us and our country. The merciful intervention of Providence has, by saving the Viceroy's life, saved the Indian situation. By sparing the life of Lord Hardinge, God has spared us all a world of troubles and tribulations. The Indian Nationalist has special reasons to be grateful for this good fortune. For, Lord Hardinge, however cautiously and tentatively it may be, has offered him a line of least resistance for the pursuit of his legitimate nationalist ends, and has suggested certain terms of reasonable compromise or synthesis between Nationalism and Imperialism, such as had never before been offered by any Anglo-Indian administrator or British statesman.

And when we think of all these things, we realise how numerous and great are the reasons for our rejoicing with Lady Hardinge and her family, at the failure of the assassin's attempt upon the life of her illustrious husband. This is why we so sincerely rejoice at the fact that Lord Hardinge has been spared to celebrate his next birthday. Our sentiments are not personal: they could not be so. But they are, for that reason, neither unsponsored nor unreal, because there is present at their back a clear consciousness of our enlightened self-interest. We bless the Lord for this day. We pray to Him to spare Lord Hardinge to us and his people for many, many years yet to come; and to grant him strength and health, wisdom and inspiration, to help the realisation of the vision of a true Imperial Federation which seems to have been vouchsafed unto him,—a Federation not of various countries and peoples, or of different autonomous States only, but of the different world-cultures, which will purify national aspirations, lift national life, and simultaneously advance the course of national self-fulfilment and international amity and association.

Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furled,
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

CHARACTER SKETCH.

PAN-ISLAMISM.



An Erroneous Estimate.

It can no longer be denied that Pan-Islamism is gradually coming to be a very important factor in the social and political evolution, in any case of modern India, if not indeed, of the modern world. Yet neither friend nor foe seems so far to very clearly realise either the good or the evil that this new and growing force in modern world-politics may work in the coming centuries. In the consideration of all large world-problems, the English educated Hindu generally takes his cue from his European masters, and he is therefore not prepared to take this Pan-Islamic ideal very seriously. He thinks, with Europe, that the days of religious upheavals and fanatical outbursts of ignorant and undisciplined multitudes, as a compelling social or political force, are long gone by. The race now is not to those who command the wildest religious enthusiasm, or possess the highest personal courage, but only to those who own the most up-to-date scientific training and equipment. Japan has, practically, little or no deep religious enthusiasm. The Jap is perhaps the least religious animal in our civilisation unless we take his Bushido itself as a form of religion. He is prepared to accept and avow any creed that will be helpful to his earthly national ends. Yet this petty Island Kingdom, devoid of any living enthusiasm for any religious creed or cry, has within a few years won for itself a recognised place in modern world-politics. And it is entirely due to Japan's large scientific acquisitions and perfect military organisation. It will be long, very, very long indeed, before Islam will acquire these, and particularly the former. Islam may count upon her numerical strength, and the strategic advantage which, under certain conditions, the wide distribution of her populations may give her. But these will not ensure her success, and not even, they are afraid, her safety, in the event of any open and direct conflict between the forces of Pan-Europeanism on the one side, and those of Pan-Islamism on the other. Any outbursts of Moslem fanaticism, such as may very easily be fanned into flame by the Pan-Islamic propaganda, will only help to break up the strength of Islam instead of consolidating it. This is how the ordinary European publicists and politicians see it. Even how even many of our own educated Muslims see it. But the estimate of

If Pan-Islamism cherishes the wild dream of once more acting, in the coming centuries, the part that Islam played in the past in shaping the course of historic evolution in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe, it is foredoomed no doubt to absolute and ignominious disappointment. History has never been known to repeat itself in this fashion. Islam as an invincible military force has not the ghost of a chance in the modern world. Indeed, I do not believe that any sober and thoughtful Pan-Islamist ever cherishes any such wild idea himself. The inherent aggressive spirit of Islam will seek—in fact, it is already seeking—to realise itself in our age more through friendly proselytisation than through bloody conquests. And in peaceful propagandism Islam has, I think, far greater chance of success than any other great world-religion. Its simple creed has a appeal for primitive and unsophisticated humanity which neither Christianity nor any other system has. “There is no God except God, and Mahommed is His Prophet,” is a creed that even a child may grasp. There are no mysteries, no contradictions, no fathomless metaphysics, in this simple declaration of faith. Man’s spiritual experiences may rise to much loftier heights or descend to much deeper depths than what this simple creed connotes. Even Islam knows of these higher heights and deeper depths. The lives of Moslem saints bear ample testimony to these deeper notes of the spiritual life. But the rudimentary creed of the Qoran has reduced human religion to what may best be described as its least common multiple. There is no further simplifying it. And this magic simplicity of the the creed of Islam, is the secret of the success of Moslem propagandism in the modern world, especially among less advanced and less sophisticated tribes, whether in Asia or Africa.

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It seems, indeed, well nigh impossible to stem the tide of Moslem propagandism either in Asia or Africa. The only competitor in the field is Evangelical Christianity. But Christianity cannot reach primitive intelligence half so near as Islam can. Wherever the Christian missions

**Solidarity
of
Islam.**

have attained any large success, it has been due to their political associations and influences rather than to their direct religious message or spiritual ideals. But Islam wins, in any case in our time, without these extraneous helps. On the other hand, Christianity cannot, in our time, use its superior political power or military prowess to force people to accept it. It has to face and fight its rivals with only logic and reason. And so far as the this is a very great disadvantage to the this growing numerical strength of the

Moslem populations of the world, which constitutes the most serious aspect of the present Pan-Islamic propaganda. And this seriousness comes from the democratic character of Moslem social economy and the strange solidarity of the Moslem communities which it always works up. Islam is the only religious system in the world which has no regular priesthood. In the eye of Allâ every Musalman is absolutely equal to every other Musalman. And each individual member of the Islamic fraternity stands in a close, personal, and direct relation to it. And this is the secret of the strange solidarity of Islam. Nor is it a mere matter of subjective sentiment. There are outer and visible symbols. It is for nothing that Mahommed ordained it that every Moslem, to whatever country or race he might belong, must turn towards the Caaba every time he approaches his God. There is no parallel to it in any other religion or church. There can be no comparison, for instance, in this respect, between the position of Rome in the Catholic world, and of Mecca in Islam. The Rome of Islam, if the Caaba may be styled as such, knows no Pope. This Moslem institution exercises no kinds of temporal or even religious authority over the Moslem world. In fact, it is not an institution, but, strictly speaking, only an association, an ideal, a pure symbol. It works upon the Moslem populations of the world not by threats of punishment—not through fear but through love. It works really, not from without but from within. It leaves every man to pursue his own temporal ends in his own way, and it does not, therefore, prevent even one Moslem fighting another for wealth or woman, for worldly power or position, but simply binds every Moslem with every other Moslem, in one ever-present and indissoluble religious bond. In their relations to the Prophet, the Qoran, and the Caaba, all Moslems are eternally united. And one supreme obligation of this relation is that every fighting unit, which means every adult man, in Islam, must leave and dedicate his all, even unto his life, for the protection of the Caaba should it ever be threatened with destruction or pollution by the infidel. And it is just here that the importance and gravity of the Pan-Islamic propaganda lie.

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**Pan-Islamism
and
World-Peace.**

The success of this Pan-Islamism will never mean another Mussulman irruption upon the civilised world. It will not mean any aggressive movement for the conquest of either Europe or Asia. But it will mean a most determined and united stand of the Moslem populations of the world against the aggressions of Christendom. These populations are scattered over more than two continents. Practically the whole of Northern and Central Africa, the whole of Western and Central Asia,

India, and the North-Eastern Provinces of Mongolia are comprised within this Moslem zone. Within this extensive tract we have a huge Moslem population, ignorant and semi-barbarous for the most part no doubt, yet capable of seriously interfering, indirectly, with the peace and progress of the world. The problem of European Peace, for instance, is no longer a mere European problem but is a huge and complex world-problem. Mr. Norman Angel has completely demonstrated it that modern industrialism has practically removed the ancient motives of international wars among the different European countries. The present Turko-Bulgarian War is the last war of strictly European origin. And even this can hardly be said to have had a truly economic origin. It was moved on the part of the Balkan Allies, at any rate, by a desire for national independence. Neither the Bulgarians nor the Servians nor any other of the smaller States that rose up in arms against the Ottoman Power, could forget the wrong that Turkish sovereignty had inflicted upon them. In this respect, this latest war was of the old-world type, when nations fought more or less entirely upon sentimental grounds. The modern wars are different. The main motive power in these is economic rather than purely political or patriotic. This motive no longer exists in Europe. The present rivalry between the different European Powers is really of non-European origin. If there is any general European war in our time, it will be caused by the scramble of the European Powers over Asiatic and African carcasses. The present incapacity, for purposes of self-defence and self-rule, of the Asiatic and African peoples, constitutes, thus, a very real and serious danger not only to their own independence, but, what is far more serious, even to the general peace and progress of the larger and more advanced humanity of our time. Every Asiatic or African people or country which is striving for its own freedom and consolidation and self-organisation, is, whether consciously or unconsciously, fighting therefore equally for the future peace and progress of the world.

From this point of view, the Pan-Islamic movement is a movement that really makes not for disturbing, but rather for ensuring and advancing the peace of the world. No statesman with any vision of the future, can, therefore, refuse to sympathise with this movement and wish it godspeed. Those whose imagination cannot soar higher than the vision of a federation of the world, dominated everywhere by the White races only, will naturally smell danger and disaster in the progress of this Pan-Islamic propaganda. And the narrow and selfish vision of these people constitutes, I think, the real danger of this Pan-Islamic movement. With the kindly help and sympathetic direction of the world powers, Pan-Islamism may very easily be a power for good even in the modern world.

requires very delicate handling. Above all it requires a frank and honest recognition of the legitimate claims of Islam to readjust itself to the needs of the modern thought and life and organise itself as a self-controlled and autonomous Federation of the Musulman States of the world. The independence and integrity of Persia, Afghanistan, and the Moslem Principalities of Africa, as well as of the Ottoman Empire as it will be reconstructed by the terms of the peace between Turkey and the Balkan Allies, must be maintained. This is the first condition for winning the confidence of Islam, without which this Pan-Islamic force will never be guided and controlled by the leaders of the modern world-politics. The European Concert has silently worked for a similar end in Europe. As a result, the independence and integrity of the different European States, both small and large, have been fully assured. In their own self-interest the greater Powers have had to do this. In the interest of European peace itself, a similar assurance is needed for the larger and smaller States of Asia and Africa also. These States must be fully modernised and consolidated and strengthened; for upon their strength and advancement will ultimately depend the peace and progress even of Europe itself.

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Those who think that the recent defeat of Turkey in Europe, has killed the backbone of Pan-Islamism, seem to me, to lack a thorough grasp of the psychology of this movement. In fact, all the recent troubles of the Ottoman Empire have been a veritable god-send to the Pan-Islamist.

**Pan-Islamism
in India.**

He has exploited the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Moslem populations on behalf of Turkey, in the interest of his pet idea. In one sense, the present Pan-Islamic movement may be said to have originated in India. Thirty years ago, Jelaluddin came from Cabul to India, inspired with the vision of an All-World Confederacy of the Princes and Peoples of Islam, that will rejuvenate it and give back to it the position that it once had as a moving and shaping force in human history and civilisation. He passed through India, inoculating many a leader of Mahomedan thought in Calcutta and Bombay and other cities, with this new virus. As a messenger of this gospel, Jelaluddin went from India to Egypt and Turkey. But the seed that he had sown among us grew in secret for over a quarter of a century. Its only outer manifestation was seen in a new self-consciousness of our Moslem neighbours, a new conceit of separate communal interests, and a new desire to revive, in the name of purity, the old iconoclastic spirit of the Islamic faith and thereby to work a new religious cleavage between the Mahomedans and their Hindu neighbours. The political conflicts between educated Moslems and Hindus were attributed to the natural jealousy of

rival aspirants to office and rank, and the religious feuds to a desire to revive the original ideals of Islam and re-organise the old propagandist activities of that faith. But nobody ever suspected these as the slow and silent development of the seed that Jelahuddin had sown in his confidential conferences with the Moslem intellectuals of Calcutta and other places. Mr. Blunt refers to some of these conferences, especially to those held in Calcutta, at most of which the Right Hon. Syed Amirâli, then a member of the Calcutta Bar, was present, — in his last work **INDIA UNDER RUPON**.

Things, however, commenced to move apace both in and outside India, which soon brought this Pan-Islamic idea to the public view. In India the Indian National Congress at first, and the more virile Swadeshi Movement later on, quickened a self-consciousness in the country, and especially among the Hindu populations. The Swadeshi propaganda developed a particularly pronounced Hindu ideal, which was naturally interpreted by some at least of the Mahomedan leaders in the country, as a distinct and real menace to their own political future. Had they thrown themselves heart and soul into this new Nationalist Movement in India, this excessive Hindu emphasis might have been very easily removed. For then, the Swadeshi Movement would have developed into a purely economic and political propaganda, fully representative of the composite Indian people. But they held aloof. Many of them even set themselves up openly against this movement. The result was that the Hindu influences became predominant and the Hindu note the most pronounced in this new upheaval. It was, perhaps, well that this should have been so. For this Hindu Nationalism will gradually help the evolution of a real Federal Nationalism among us, which seems clearly to be the ideal-end and the ultimate aim of modern historic evolution in India. For this Federal Ideal of Nationalism, it is necessary that the different Indian communities, representing different world-cultures, must evolve in their own way, along their own line, preserving and developing to the full their respective personalities, be autonomous social units themselves, and then join the others, as members of a real Federation, which will present to the world a new and far more advanced and complex type of Nationality than what the world has so far known. I have always read this as one eternal aim of historic evolution in India. I do not, therefore, regret this Hindu emphasis of what in the nature of things was bound to be practically a Hindu Movement. I do not regret that our Mahomedan friends practically kept away from it. But what I regret is their spirit of antagonism. What the situation really required of them was the initiation of a real Moslem National Movement, **going parallel lines, moved by the same spirit, working for the same ultimate**

end, but organised in Islamic forms, with the symbols and sacraments familiar to higher Islamic thought and culture. But the Mahomedan leaders already bewitched by the vision of an All-World Islamic Confederacy which Pan-Islamism held out to their view, not only refused to do what was really needed as much in their as in our interest, but secretly commenced to exploit the unrest in the interest of this Pan-Islamism. Lord Minto did not see through the game, and therefore easily played into the hands of the Moslem League worked by the Rt. Hon. Syed Amirâli.

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**Pan-Islamism
not Religious
But Political.**

The Turko-Italian conflict of 1911-12 while giving a new impetus to Pan-Islamism, particularly in India, helped also to bring out its true motive and character before all the world. Encouraged by the success of his game of bluff in the matter of the Indian Council Reforms, Syed Amirâli now almost openly avowed his allegiance to Pan-Islamism; while his following commenced to exploit the natural sympathy of the Indian Mussalman with the Ottoman Government in their conflict with Italy, in the interest of this propaganda. The bond that binds the followers of Mahommed together is not a political, but absolutely and exclusively a religious and spiritual bond. One Moslem prince or community may fight another Moslem prince or community without doing outrage to the Islamic fraternity. In any case they have frequently done so in the past, in this country and elsewhere. Even the Ottoman throne itself is reared upon such a fratricidal feud. If the power of the Mogul had lasted till our day, and Delhi had become the seat of one of the great world-powers, there would have been no religious bar against its declaring war against the Emperor of Turkey himself. The Indian Mussalman was, strictly speaking, under no religious obligation whatever to side with Turkey, as against India in the last war. The religious obligation would come not merely to side with Turkey, but even to fight for Turkey, unto death itself, if the Holy Places of Islam were threatened with possession by the Kaffir, and Turkey stood up for their defence. Neither Tunis nor Tripoli, neither Adrianople nor Stamboul were counted as the Holy Places of Islam. No Mussalman is bound by his religion to defend and keep these temporal and profane cities in the possession of any Moslem potentate. The appeal to the Indian Mussalman both during the Tripoli and the Balkan war, on behalf of Turkey, was not, therefore, really based on religious but only on purely secular and political grounds. And the politics that worked at the back of these agitations were really Pan-Islamic.

That I am not misinterpreting the aims and scope of Pan-Islamism is proved by the public confession of faith of a staunch Pan-Islamist, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor of the *Zamindar*, who has contributed an article on "Indian Mussalmans and Pan-Islamism" to Mr. Jalal Nuri's recent book — "Ittihad-i-Islam" where it appears as a separate chapter. Says Mr. Khan:—

**Out of their
Own Mouth.**

The talented author of this elegant work has invited me to contribute to it a few pages descriptive of the so-called Pan-Islamic movement from an Indian Moslem's point of view. The invitation, coming as it does from a publicist of such versatile genius as Jalal Nuri, is an honour of which I am deeply sensible; and in the following lines I propose to discuss "Pan-Islamism" as it is understood by the Moslems of India who are destined to exercise a great influence on the future of Islam.

Etymologically the expression Pan-Islamism claims a comparatively recent origin. It was coined by Christian diplomacy to serve as a scurvy pretext for the spoliation of the fast decaying Moslem States. To the man in the street Pan-Islamism was synonymous with a gigantic union of the Moslems of the world having for its cherished object the extermination of Christianity as a living political force. As long as a Morocco, a Tripoli, a Persia, or a Macedonia had to be grabbed, the bogey of Pan-Islamism was a most useful adjunct. It helped the stalwarts of Christendom to constantly confront their fanatical dupes with an imaginary peril, the bare possibility of which was to be removed by depriving the Moslem of his hearth and home. With the dismemberment, absorption or annexation of almost all the independent Moslem States by the Powers of Europe and with the poor remnants of the integrity of Turkey and Afghanistan trembling in the balance, Christian thinkers have not at present much to say about this over-exploited theme. The time, however, is not far distant when the new life given to the Moslem communities of the world by the terrible events of the past few years may actuate the political theorists of Christian Europe to saddle the Moslems with the revival of the old plot to blow up Europe. Nowhere have these events been followed by an outburst of feeling so genuine in its manifestation and so universal in its character as in India; and it is no exaggeration to say that the bombardment of Meshed by the Russians, the descent of Italy on Tripoli, the onslaught of the Balkan Allies on Turkey, with all their attendant horrors, have made the Moslems of India a changed people. They are not what they were two years ago.

Debased of the mischievous conception in which Western Machiavellism has clothed it and used it as a convenient mode of expression,

Pan-Islamism is not a new force, but is as old as Islam itself. The first lesson of Pan-Islamism was given by the Quran when it said :

Verily all Moslems are brethren unto each other.

The Prophet's definition of Pan-Islamism will never grow old. "A Moslem's relation to another Moslem," exclaimed the Sarwar-i-Kainat, "may be likened to that of the two hands which wash each other." The universal brotherhood founded by Islam is a moral binding force which has no equal. Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism and many other "isms" of that ilk are only ethnic ebullitions of a territorial character. The brotherhood of Islam, or Pan-Islamism if you will, transcends all considerations of race and class and is of an extra-territorial type in which all the Moslem populations of the world merge their geographical identity and become one nation. During the two months that I have been in Constantinople it has been one of my studied endeavours to bring this cardinal fact home to all the men of light and leading with whom I have come in contact, and it gives me great satisfaction to realise that the 600 years' intercourse with European civilization failed to produce any appreciable change in Turkey's conception of Moslem nationality. Just as the Indian Moslems think that they are Moslems first and Indians afterwards, so the scores of Mussalmans of all grades and sections with whom I had occasion to talk on the subject assured me that they were Moslems first and Ottomans afterwards. It is in this conception of the universality of the Moslem brotherhood that lies the chief strength of the Pan-Islamic movement, and the Moslems of India are among the foremost to realize it.

The object of Pan-Islamism, for aught that Christian writers may yet have to say to the contrary, is not to cherish projects of an aggressive nature against Christendom in spite of all that it has done to exterminate Islam, but to act purely on the defensive and to protect what little remains to the Moslems of their once splendid Empire against further encroachments. In this work of defence Turkey has hitherto been single-handed, but such will no longer be the case. The combined attack of Christian Europe against the integrity of Islam and the covert and overt designs of the Western Powers against the remnant of Turkey have made too deep an impression upon the mind of the Moslems to be easily effaced. They have accordingly made up their mind to stand by Turkey through thick and thin, and mindful of the saying of their blessed Prophet who declared :—"A Moslem is unto another Moslem as a wall which is propped up by its various parts,"—they will do all that they can to co-operate with Turkey whose political extinction means their own annihilation. This co-operation need not upset the Christian alarmists. It has nothing in common with the alleged triple alliance negotiated between Japan

China and Siam, which necessitates, according to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, a probable proposal in the near future on the part of the Russian Czar, to form a European combination strong enough to crush the yellow races and ensure the perpetual supremacy of the Western Powers in Asia. The co-operation of the Moslems of the world with the Caliphate which has now come to be recognized throughout the Islamic world as a revived moral force essential to the maintenance of the *status quo* of Islam, will be intellectual and economic in its bearings. Islam is destined to play a great part yet in the political evolution of the world, and those who can think have arrived at the conclusion that the revival of Islam is to be heralded not by the thunder of guns and the flashing of bayonets, but by the creation of Universities and the establishment of Banks. This is to be the Pan-Islamism of the future and, Inshaallah it will achieve its object.

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It is impossible to read this frank declaration of faith of the Pan-Islamist without being impressed by its essentially political character. The religious reference is feeble and flimsy compared to its pronounced political aims and ends.

What Does It Mean?

We all know that it is not merely, "the brotherhood of Islam" but every religious fraternity in the world, that transcends all "considerations of race and colour." It is the same with Christian brotherhood as with Moslem brotherhood. All Christians religiously and spiritually are no less brothers to one another than are all Mussalmans. But though an extra-territorial character may be legitimately claimed for Christian brotherhood as for Moslem brotherhood, it betrays a very sad confusion of thought to claim it for any *nation*, whether Christian or Moslem. The Moslem populations of the world were never, after the first few years of the Caliphate spent in Medina and its neighbourhood, *one* nation. Unity of State-life, based upon unity of territorial possessions, constitutes the very soul and essence of the nation-idea. Even a federal nation fulfils this elementary condition. An Imperial Federation may transcend territorial limitations and be extra-territorial; but even then it must be built and worked upon some unity of State-life and State-organisation. A nation indeed, is not a term of the purely religious life. There is such a thing as Christian or Moslem or Buddhistic or Hindu fraternity, but nothing as a Christian or a Moslem or Buddhist nation meaning *all* Christians or Moslems or Buddhists. There may be such a thing as a Hindu nation, because all Hindus of our time have *one* common territorial abode and are subject to *one* common State-authority and belong to one State-organisation. Had China and Japan and Australia and South America been peopled by Hindus,

In fact, even an "aggressive propaganda against Christendom" which the Pan-Islamist is so anxious to disclaim, might have been interpreted in a purely religious sense. To convert the Kafir is as much a duty of the Moslem as to convert the heathen is recognised to be a duty of the Christian. And the Moslemic communities of the world may, with absolute right and justice, combine to build up an inter-national and all-world organisation for this purpose. They may do so for the protection of the socio-religious ideals of the Islamic Church and Moslem culture, against the onslaughts of a dominant and all-conquering Christian ethical and social and economic system. Pan-Islamism may very legitimately pursue these ethical and cultural ends. Islam is not an altogether dead force in the world. It is pregnant with large possibilities. The full and free development of these possibilities would be a distinct gain to modern humanity; and perhaps to none would this gain be greater than to Christendom itself. The spirit of Islam is essentially democratic, and its economy fundamentally socialistic. Islam is, I believe, the only religion which yet has ever advocated monastic ideals or monkish disciplines, but it has always striven to reach a very lofty attitude of mental and spiritual detachment towards the things of this world. The religious programme is crowded with noble examples of men and women who agitated the flesh nor renounced the world on the one side, nor clung to the things of this earth, either to wealth or woman, or to rank or position, even to family and friends, with the infidel tenacity of the ordinary man of the world, on the other. All these are the most precious legacies of Islam. The modern world needs them very badly, for its own salvation. In a view to share her glorious moral and spiritual inheritances with other communities of the world, Islam must be raised out of her present helpless and dependent position. She must first be able to look the modern world horizontally into the face. The preservation of the autonomy and sovereign independence of the existing Mahomedan States, whether in Europe or Asia or Africa, is one of the essential conditions of this. This is the first condition. And the next is the modernisation of these independent Moslem States. Popular freedom and democratic politics

stitutions, both of which are in such perfect accord with the spirit of the things of the Prophet, must be helped to grow in these free Moslem countries, and they must be equipped, in the fullest possible measure, with every kind of modern knowledge and organisation and scientific appliances for their military protection and economic prosperity. All these are needed as much in the larger interests of Islam itself as in the interests of the better life of modern humanity. All these are not only absolutely legitimate but exceedingly laudable objects for which all the Islamic communities of the world may, and indeed, should unite. With this moral and spiritual Pan-Islamic propaganda, every one with a correct appreciation of the course of modern historic evolution, and a vision of that Universal Federation towards which all countries and nations are unmistakably moving—must fully sympathise. They may even be prepared to actively co-operate with Islam in the promotion of these objects, so far as such co-operation may be helpful or practicable. The unity of Islam is based upon the distinctive character of the socio-religious ideals presented by the Prophet. It is a cultural, which means a moral and spiritual, bond. The true conception of the universal brotherhood of Islam is not merely "extra-territorial," as the present writer contends, but it is also extra-political as well.

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But the ideal of Pan-Islamism presented here is clearly political. Its avowed object is, we are told, "to act on the defensive to protect what little remains to the Moslems of their once splendid Empire." In the earlier centuries of the Hijra political sovereignty and ascendancy were to some extent essential conditions of the very self-preservation of Islam even as a religious culture and community. It may even be held that in some countries at least, political expansion was forced upon the Moslems by outer circumstances which they neither deliberately sought nor could absolutely control. But that necessity does not exist at all in our time. And to speak of a "splendid Empire" of the Moslems, in the singular number, betrays pardonable forgetfulness or ignorance. It may serve the ends of the political Pan-Islamist and for that very reason, this false suggestion is exceedingly mischievous. Except in the very infancy of the Caliphate the Moslems were never under any one single political authority. The Moslem sovereigns never recognised any fraternal obligations with their Moslem neighbours or rivals in fighting them whenever they wanted or needed to do so. They did these things very freely even in the hey day of **at this writer calls "their once splendid Empire."** This old earth has **no other splendid empires, both ancient and mediæval, than that of the Moslems. The Hellenes and the Romans or Italians, and even our own**

Parsis had splendid empires of their own in the ancient times. The French, and the Moguls in India, had their splendid empires in the middle ages. And what a menace would it be to world-peace and our present world-civilisation if the scattered remnants of these ancient races or nations now merged peacefully into the various modern nationalities of the world were to start so many different Pan-Imperial propaganda, for reviving, by their combined effort, the lost glories of their "once splendid Empires"? And this is exactly the irresistible logic of a political Pan-Islamic propaganda such as is preached here. This political Pan-Islamism is a distinct challenge to every non-Moslem State-authority holding sway over any Moslem population. It is a standing menace to the peace of every people composed partly of non-Moslem and partly of Moslem populations.

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**The Logic of
Political Pan-Islam-
ism.**

Nor is it easy to see how this Pan-Islamism can hope to secure this end without very seriously weakening the legitimate and natural allegiance of every Pan-Islamist to the non-Moslem Governments under which they may be living, whether in India or Egypt. It is all very well to say that this Pan-Islamism seeks to realise its ends by purely peaceful methods, through the organisation of universities and industries, but we all know that empires are neither built up nor preserved by these innocent weapons. Universities may initiate the Mussalman into the secrets of science, and industries may help them to the acquisition of wealth, but these, of themselves, will not equip them with the modern implements of war or organise them into invincible armies, the two things which still determine the fates of empires and kingdoms. The only possible line of work for this political Pan-Islamism must lie, therefore, (i) in creating a Pan-Islamic sentiment among the Moslem populations of the world, by appealing to their religious passions; (ii) in helping them to the acquisition of modern scientific knowledge both for economic and military ends; (iii) in helping the organisation of the modern army and the modern navy fully equipped with all the most advanced instruments and methods of modern warfare with the knowledge and wealth thus acquired, in those independent Moslem States where this can be done safely and freely; (iv) in helping to preserve the independence and integrity of these States until they are fully equipped and organised, by securing on their behalf the moral support of the immense Moslem populations that are subject for the time being to the political authority of non-Moslem Governments and peoples; and (v) in the event of any conflict between these latter and any Moslem State or States, in embarrassing these non-Moslem Governments by organised passive resistance or open revolt of their Moslem subjects and

ultimately even at their complete overthrow. These are the only conceivable means by which this political Pan-Islamism can hope to "keep to the Moslems the remnants of their once glorious Empire." All these, from the organisation of universities and industries to the incitement of revolts, are parts of an organic whole. By themselves, working separately, none of these have any appreciable worth so far as the object of Pan-Islamism as enunciated here is concerned. And the moment we subject it to any sound analysis, we find what a serious menace this political Pan-Islamism, as distinguished from what may be called religious or cultural Pan-Islamism, is to the peace and progress of modern humanity in general and of those countries in particular where there is, as in India, a mixed population of Moslems and non-Moslems.

**The Pan-Islamic
Propaganda in
India.**

Nor so far at least as India is concerned, is this menace either very imaginary or very distant. It seems to me that if one were to construct a chronological story of the present cleavage between the Mahomedans and the Hindus and subject the facts and dates thus collected to a critical psychological analysis, it would be found that this Pan-Islamism in one shape or another has been partly responsible for it. Indian Islam had developed a spirit of toleration of other faiths and practices than those of the Quran, owing to its long contact with Hinduism, such as was and is unknown to Islam in perhaps any other part of the world. The Mahomedan masses, especially in Bengal, even associated themselves, so far as may be, with the current ceremonialism of their Hindu neighbours. They frequently made pujas to the Hindu's Gods and Goddesses through Hindu priests in Hindu houses, even as Hindus went and made offerings with due faith and reverence, to Moslem Pirs at Moslem dorgas or musoleums. And all these had practically killed every possibility of any religious feuds between the two communities. But the missionaries of a new Purist Movement in Indian Islam, soon revived the old iconoclastic spirit of the Moslem faith, and thus worked up first a religious cleavage, and gradually as this new enthusiasm grew, a new religious antagonism between these two sections of the Indian community. How far this new Purist Movement in the Mahomedan community in India was inspired, either partly or wholly or directly or indirectly by Pan-Islamism, cannot be said, and perhaps will never be known. But that this propaganda became very active since the early eighties of the last century, is well-known. Jelaluddin passed through India, early in the eighties, and the attitude of aloofness of the educated Mahomedans of India from the political activities of their Hindu fellow countrymen was, I think, openly and avowedly taken up gradually immediately after his visit. I still remember the memorable

utterance of Sir Syed Ahmed at a reception held in his honour at the house of Babus Pyari Mohan and Hari Mohan Ray, in Ahmerst Street, when the Syed was on a visit to Calcutta in 1876 or 1877, in which he compared the Hindus and the Mahomedans of Hindusthan, to the two eyes and two hands of a man. It was really the same metaphor which Mahommed had himself used in speaking of the Islamic brotherhood. It is notorious how rapidly this spirit and attitude was changed and the revered Syed openly set himself up as an antagonist to the Indian Nationalist movement, then represented by the Indian National Congress. We attributed it at the time to the influence of the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy. That influence was no doubt at work, but though it may explain something it cannot explain every thing in the history of this conflict between the educated Hindus and educated Mahomedans which grew along with the Congress agitation. The Pan-Islamic spirit was at least partly responsible for it.

**Pan-Islamism in
India and Indian
Nationalism.**

The sinister logic of this political Pan-Islamism comes out most prominently, however, in its attitude towards Nationalism. In purely Moslem countries, like for instance, Persia or Turkey or even Egypt, —though perhaps in a lesser degree,—Nationalism is practically identical in its ultimate ends and objects with this Pan-Islamism. In fact, so far as these “remnants of the once glorious Empire” of Islam, as Mr. Zafar Ali Khan puts it here, are concerned, perhaps their only chance of life lies in the support that they may get from Pan-Islamism. Both Turkish and Persian Nationalists may naturally think that their only hope of safety lies in the timely development of a world-wide confederacy of the followers of the Prophet, the moral pressure of which, if not its physical strength, might be brought to bear on the policy of their enemies. But in India, Islam, as a political force, stands upon an altogether different footing. Not merely in point of numbers, but equally also in intelligence, education and wealth, the Indian Mahomedans are behind the larger Hindu populations of the country. Nationalism in India, even if it works upon its legitimate composite character and constitution, and makes the fullest possible accommodation for the free play and fulfilment of the special character of Islamic culture, as an organic element of Indian, as distinguished from Hindu, Nationalism,—would never mean for the followers of Islam what Nationalism means in Persia or Turkey for their Persian or Turkish co-religionists. In Persia or Turkey the Mussalmans represent the whole nation or State. In India they can never represent more than a part of it. And this fact hurts the conceit of the Moslem leaders of India. The Pan-Islamic idea, wet-nursed, unconsciously, by the short-sighted policy of the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy, and, more particularly, by that of the late Mr.

Indian Viceroys, has developed the unhealthy habit in the leaders of the Mahomedan community of India, of nursing in their hearts the memories of their lost political position in the country. They have been distinctly encouraged by foolish Anglo-Indian officials and scribes to cherish the delusion that the supreme political authority in India passed from the Mogul directly on to those of the British. They have been led to completely ignore the fact that the insignia of Imperial Rule in India had already slipped away from the enfeebled hands of the Mogul and the Pathan to those of the Shiks on the one side, and of the Mahrattas on the other. But for the Providential advent and intervention of the British, the supreme political authority in this country would have been held today either by the Shiks, or by the Mahrattas, or it would have been divided between these two Hindu Powers. But all this is very conveniently forgotten. And by openly encouraging the Indian Mahomedans to forget or ignore these things, and by pandering to the vanity of the Moslem leaders by giving them preferential treatment in the constitution of the recently Reformed Councils, the Government have unwittingly helped to strengthen the Pan-Islamic sentiment in this country. And all these have aided the Pan-Islamic propaganda in India to openly set itself up as an enemy of Indian Nationalism.

Nor can the Indian Nationalists absolutely absolve themselves of all responsibility for this unfortunate state of things. If the Moslem leaders tried to wipe out the memories of the Shiks and the Mahrattas, the Hindu Nationalist leaders also sought to revive them. It was no doubt a supreme psychological need of the Nationalist propaganda; and so far as these memories were revived to recreate the self-confidence of a people suffering from a state of hopeless and listless inertia, they did only good and no harm. But the effect of this revival did not stop here. It gradually awoke, at least in a section of the Nationalists, the foolish and suicidal ambition of once more re-establishing either a single Hindu State or a confederacy of Hindu States, in India. Some people, thus, secretly interpreted Swaraj as a Hindu Raj. And this folly is also to some extent responsible for the antagonism in any case, of the soberer section of our Moslem fellow countrymen towards our Nationalist ideals and activities; and thus it lent, unconsciously, considerable support to the Pan-Islamic propaganda among almost all classes of educated Mahomedans.

But whatever its historic origin or its psychological justification, the sinister logic of this Pan-Islamism cannot be disguised. It is a confusion of thought, — and should not be ignored. These implications are very clearly brought out in the very statement regarding the aims and scope of Pan-Islamism, as pre-

sented here by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan. And what is most important in this connection is that Mr. Khan here repeats what accredited leaders of the movement like the Rt. Hon. Syed Amir Ali and others have frequently said. I refer to the dictum that the Indian Mussalman is first a Moslem and then an Indian. Either it betrays a most woeful confusion of thought, unworthy of the intellectual leaders of a great world-movement, or it has a very sinister meaning behind it. The term Indian is either a geographical or a political term. It connotes either the place of birth or living of the human who calls himself by this name : or it connotes his political-or-State-life and relations. As an Indian, a person is either a native of India, or a subject of the Government of India or both. This is all that the word Indian means, and absolutely nothing else, neither his race nor his caste nor his creed. On the other hand, the term Mahomedan is a term that connotes only a religious fact, that the person calling himself such, belongs to a particular religious communion. It does not connote his geographical habitat or his political associations and obligations. And when a person says, therefore, that he is a Mahomedan first and an Indian next, all that he can mean by it is that his religious associations and obligations must have absolute precedence over his political associations and obligations. In other words, his allegiance to the non-Moslem State of which he may be a subject or a citizen, must give way to his allegiance to the Moslem peoples and princes of the world, when these two come into conflict with each other. This is the necessary logic of that political Pan-Islamism which is evidently represented by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and Syed Amir Ali and the Moslem League. And as such it is the common enemy of Indian Nationalism in its truest and broadest sense, as well as to the present Government in India.

THE LIFE OF NITYANANDA.

(BY THE LATE BABU BULLORAM MULLICK, B.A.)

I.

THE EDITOR'S FOREWORD.

I am beholden to the heirs of the late Babu Bulloram Mullick for this **The Author and His Subject.** Life of Nityānanda which I propose to publish as a serial in these pages. The Babu Bulloram Mullick was a well-known figure in Calcutta Society.

He was born in 1843, and received his first English education in the Free Church Institution at Chinsura. In 1856 he passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University, and joined the Duff College in Calcutta, whence he took his B. A. degree in due time. Imme-

diately after taking his degree Bulloram joined the teaching staff of the Hindu College, Calcutta, and simultaneously kept his terms in the Law Classes. In 1868 he took his law-degree and joined the bar at Hooghly. A few months later he entered the Subordinate Judicial Service, where he rose to the highest rank.

Almost from his early youth, Bullo-



ram developed marked literary aptitudes. He was a voracious reader, and kept himself fully abreast of the progressive literature of his times, both in English and his own Vernacular. He was a frequent and valued contributor to the two English Reviews of his day, published in this country, namely the Calcutta Review, and the National

The Late Bulloram Mullick.

Magazine. He wrote, among others, "Home Life in Bengal," "Land-Marks of Ethics" and "Model Huzoor." His "Krishna and Krishnaism" was, perhaps, the first systematic attempt at a scholarly and historical study of Sree Krishna, in the English language. He followed, in this work, to a very large extent, Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Upadhaya Gour Govinda Ray, whose Bengalee works on the subject continue still to be the most authoritative biography of Sree Krishna. He next applied him self to write a life of Nityananda. It was completed in December 1901 and on 4th January 1902, the author passed away from the field of his earthly labours, at the age of 59.

The manuscripts before me represent, thus, the last literary venture of the author. And here he works in a virgin field. The subject of this memoir was, in some sense, the most prominent figure in the Bengal or Gaudiya Vaishnava movement of the sixteenth century. The head of that movement was Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, known also as Sree Gaurāṅga. The late Babu Sisir Kumar Ghosh, of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, has presented to the English-reading public a charming pen-portrait of this divine personality, in his "Lord Gaurāṅga." Nityānanda, the subject of the present serial, was Sree Gaurāṅga's right hand man. In one sense it may be said that what St. John was to the movement of Jesus, that was Nityānanda to the movement of Sree Gaurāṅga. If Gaurāṅga was the Avatār or incarnation of Love, Nityānanda was the first and greatest apostle of that Love. We read in the Beatitudes of Jesus—"If a man strike thee on thy left cheek, turn to him thy right cheek also." The modern Christian, with his ideals of Roman legalism and his notions of retributive justice, hardly takes this seriously. But this Bengalee mendicant—for Nityānanda was a real mendicant in the earlier part of his life—actually did it. I simply mention it here, to show how worthy is his life and character of the serious and reverent study of every person who really cares for the highest ethical and spiritual life.

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**The Place of
Nityānanda in the
Socio-Religious
Life of Bengal.**

This is, I think, the very first attempt to present a connected life of this great saint and devotee. For so far as I can remember, there is not a decent biography of Nityānanda even in our own Vernacular. For though there are ample materials on the subject, scattered through the mass of Bengalee works, most of them containing contemporary records,—dealing with the movement of Sree Gaurāṅga Mahaprabhu, these have not as yet been carefully and critically collected and collated. This work, however, could not be neglected any longer. We need, even for the very work that lies before the present generation in Bengal, a serious and sustained and, if possible, an organised attempt, for collecting and collating all these valuable materials relating to what must be characterised as the most important epoch in the life-story of the Bengalee people. They are of exceeding value, not merely from the view-point of the student of religion, but even from that of sociology. They have a supreme practical value even to the man of affairs called upon to solve the complex social and political problems of our time. Nityānanda has profoundly influenced the evolution of both the religious and the social life of our people, especially of the so-called lower castes and classes, for the last four hundred years. Numerous religious sects and sub-sects, disciplines and

adhans,—some good, some even apparently bad and detestable—have radually grown during these centuries, out of the life and teachings of this great saint and devotee. The study of his life and teachings will, therefore, not only be interesting reading, but will also, I think, be highly profitable, especially to those who have been called to help the reconstruction of our social life and ideals, in the light of what is usually called the modern thought. The lower classes in Bengal are almost entirely all of them Vaishnavas, and the followers of Nityānanda count, I think, the largest number among them. The marked difference that one observes in the status of these lower classes or castes in Bengal, as compared to that of the same classes or castes in Bombay or Madras is, I think, very largely due to the influence of Vaishnavism, particularly of those denominations of Vaishnavas who are directly attached to Nityānanda. The social message of Sree Gouranga Mahāprabhu was given out to the world especially through him. A man of great learning and very superior culture, Sree Chaitanya's work lay especially among pandits and princes, among sages, seers, and saints. Sree Chaitanya Mahāprabhu's direct converts came from the Vedantic school-men of Benares, and the keen-witted philosophers of the South. Even in his own native province of Bengal, Mahāprabhu's earliest and most intimate associates—with the exception of Haridas who had been a Mohammedan, and Rupa and Sanātana, who, whether of Moslem origin or not, were undoubtedly outside the pale of the Brahminical aristocracy of the country,—came from the three highest castes,—Brahmins, or Vaidyas, or Kayasthas; and some of them were representatives, like himself, of the superior learning and culture of the renowned University of Nadiya. Nityananda was unknown to this great seat of learning. He was known among Mahāprabhu's personal friends and disciples, as an *abadhuta*—a roving and lawless mendicant, a sannyasin whose antecedents are rarely mentioned. Yet in Nityananda the spirit of Mahāprabhu's Religion of Love became more fully manifest than it was, perhaps, in any other of his associates and disciples. Nitai—the familiar form of Nityananda—was the first, as he was also the greatest, of the Apostles of Sree Gouranga or Sree Chaitanya Mahāprabhu. In many a song of rural Bengal, the Vaishnava communion is therefore described as "The Fair of Love of Nitai-Chand."

This is the person whose life-story is related in the manuscripts before me, by the late Babu Bulloram Mullick. It is an interesting life, intelligently treated, with full knowledge and great reverence, by the author. These manuscripts were completed, I find from the author's preface, on the 7th December 1901. It is a pity that Babu Bulloram was not spared to see his "*magnum opus*"—for such it must be called among his literary endeavours—through the press. But though not published by him, I think,

its presentation to the English-reading public of this country now is more opportune than it would have been twelve years ago. For, these twelve years have considerably increased both our knowledge and our appreciation of the Vaishnava Movement of Bengal with which Nityananda was so intimately associated.

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Vaishnavism is pan-Indian. There are Vaishnava sects in every Indian province. Nimbarkacharya, Madhacharya, Ramānujācharya, Bellavācharya, and many others of lesser note are all universally acknowledged as the Fathers of this Pan-Indian Vaishnavism. But while the other schools are noted for their philosophy, the Bengal school of Vaishnavism may be said to be especially distinguished for its emotional culture. And the whole system of our Vaishnavic culture has grown, I think in a very peculiar sense, around the cult of Rādhā-Krishna. The story of the evolution of this cult in Bengal would be a most fascinating study, not merely to the student of religion, but equally also to the student of what may be called the psychology of art and aesthetics. The so-called "amours" of Rādhā and Krishna as depicted by the poets of Bengal, from Jayadeva downwards, have no parallel, neither in the beauty and grandeur of their realistic-idealism, nor in the sublimity and thoroughness of their psychological analyses of the Divine Passion. The Love-lyrics of Jayadeva, Vidyāpati, Chandidās, Govindadās, Jnānadev and other Vaishnava poets of Bengal stand unsurpassed in their beauty and sweetness as well as in their profound spirituality, in the whole literature of the world, ancient or modern. Here we have a spiritualisation of the flesh and a materialisation of the spiritual, unknown to any other literature. And the secret of these is to be found in the peculiar temperament of the Bengalee people. And even as these exquisite love lyrics are the expression of our race-spirit, so the Gaudiya or the Bengal School of Vaishnavism, also the highest efflorescence and fruition of the soul of our people. We know not Bengal Vaishnavism does not know the Bengalee people. We understand not or cannot appreciate the cult and culture of Śrī Chaitanya Mahāprabhu, cannot understand and will never be able to truly appraise and appreciate the inner character of the Bengalee nation.

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| <p>Śrī Krishna in Bengal Vaishnavism.</p> | <p>Like Vaishnavism, the Krishna-cult is also pan-Indian or pan-Hindu. Śrī Krishna is worshipped as an Incarnation by every Vaishnava sect, all over Hindu India. But Bengal has developed a Krishna Philosophy which is more or less unknown to the rest of India. To the Bengalee</p> |
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Vaishnava, Sree Krishna is not an Incarnation among many Incarnations, but He is the Supreme, the Universal, the Absolute Itself. He is the Absolute Person, and as such He differs from and is fuller than the Absolute of the Upanishads, otherwise called Brahman, in Sanskrit.

बदन्तितत्तत्तुविदः तत्तं यद् ज्ञानमद्वयं ।

ब्रह्मेति परमात्मति भगवानिति श्रुवते ॥

Those who really know the *Tatva* or the Truth, speak of that One-and-Undivided-and-Indivisible Consciousness, as such, which is called Brahman (as in the Upanishads), Paramatman or the Over-Soul (as by the Yogees), and Bhagavan or the Absolute Person (as in the Bhâgavata).

This Bhagavan is the Perfect Person. All things have come from Him, live in Him, move towards Him. The so-called Incarnations are *His* Incarnations, but He stands above and behind them all. He is not *avatâr* but *avatâree*. As the agent is greater than his act, the thinker than his thought, the lover than his own love, even so the *Avatâree*, he who causes the *Avatâr* or Incarnation or more correctly speaking,—the descent,—is greater than the Avatâr, than that which is incarnated or which *descends*. Sree Krishna is Bhagavan Himself.

कृष्णस्तु, भगवान् स्वयं ।

He stands, therefore, above his own Incarnations.

यद्वदतं ब्रह्मीएनिषदि तदस्य तनुभाः ।

That which is called Advaita-Brahma—the One Brahman-without-a-Second, in the Upanishads, is a mere effulgence of His Body. This is what Bengal Vaishnavism says. In plain English it means that the Brahman of the Upanishads is an abstraction, a logic of thought, but not a concrete and complete Reality. That Reality is Bhagavan. Brahman is Impersonal. Bhagavan is, in Sanskrit, what Personal God is in English. But the Personality of Bhagavan in no way breaks up his Unity, but rather fulfils and perfects it. For, to the Vaishnavas, the ultimate Reality is not an undifferentiated, but only a self-differentiated Unity. It is—"Inconceivable Unity in Difference, and Inconceivable Difference in Unity." The Sanskrit term for this mystery is

अचिन्त्या भेदभेदवादः ।

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This philosophy is almost the universal logic of all the different Schools of Vaishnavism. But the Bengal School has carried this conception of Sree Krishna as Bhagavan or the Supreme Person, to its logical conclusion more thoroughly than, perhaps, any other school. Bhagavan or Sree Krishna is, as I have said, not an undifferentiated, but only a self-differentiated Unity. He is really Two in One and One in Two. In one of these dual aspects the same Undivided Reality is Purusha, in the other Prakriti. Purusha is the Subject, Prakriti is His Object. Purusha is the Enjoyer, Prakriti is the Object of His Enjoyment. To quote a Hegelian formula,—“In every act of knowledge the self separates itself from itself, to return to itself, to be itself.” This process is an eternal process in the Absolute Person or Bhagavan. In Christian theology this process of the eternal self-differentiation of the Absolute is called the Eternal Generation of Christ. It is also sometimes conceived as the Eternal Colloquy between the Father and the Son. In Vaishnava terminology the same truth is called the Eternal Sport or the Nitya or the Transcendental or Turiya—Leelâ of the Lord.

And Râdhâ is the Differentiated Self of the Absolute or Bhagavan. Râdhâ is the Eternal and Perfect Object of both the thought and the emotions of Sree Krishna. Sree Krishna is, at the same time, both the form and the norm of Sree Râdhâ's thought and emotions. As the Father and the Son in the Christian Trinity, so in our Vaishnavism these two mutually supplement each other. In this transcendental and eternal reciprocity of the mutual thought and love of Radha Krishna, the Bengalee Vaishnava finds the ultimate meaning and purpose of the world process.

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But these were more or less unfamiliar even to us twelve years ago. The generation to which Babu Bulloram Mullick **Neo Vaishnavism.** belonged had hardly any deep understanding or appreciation of these. Even Bunkim Chunder himself, though he had done a lot to rehabilitate Sree Krishna in the eyes of his English-educated countrymen, seems to have had a very feeble grasp of the fundamental philosophy of Bengal Vaishnavism. It was well, therefore, that Babu Bulloram Mullick's *Life of Nityâmanda* was not published earlier. These twelve years have slowly prepared the ground for a better understanding of it than what could have been expected then. The present generation of educated Bengalees have got, perhaps, a deeper hold of both the fundamental philosophy of Vaishnavism and the profound spiritual significance of the

Vaishnavic disciplines and cultures, than what the earlier generations had. To large and increasing numbers even of English-educated Bengalees, Râdhâ and Krishna are no longer mere fancy-figures, the subject of the most exquisite love-lyrics to be found in any known language or literature of the world,—but are intense realities or spiritual *tatavas*. [I use this Sanskrit term deliberately and do not make any attempt to give any English rendering of it. This *tatava* is an untranslatable word. A *tatava* means a reality, the ultimate Spiritual Ground and Condition of experience. But even this explanation hardly explains it. The Christian Trinity is a *tatava*. The three Persons of the Trinity, one in ousia but different in hypostatis, would be called *tatavas* in our language. The Trinity is not a Principle. It is not an Idea. It is not a mere Logic of Thought. There is no adjective by which we can explain it. It is a Reality—recognised, in the Self by the Self. The the so-called three Persons of the Trinity are not Persons, in the sense in which we call ourselves persons. Three are One and One is Three is an arithmetical impossibility, a logical contradiction. Modern Rationalism has, therefore, dismissed the thing as a figment of the fancy. Ancient superstition, miscalled faith, accepted it as a mystery, un-understood and un-understandable. The only member of this mystery which it understood, was the Son, the Man-God and the God Man. The Alexandrian Gnostics and the Catholic mystics are the only class of people who understood the Trinity and realised it in their own transcendent spiritual consciousness. To these the Trinity is what we call a *tatava*: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—are all *tatavas*. Such are Râdhâ-Krishna to the truly illumined Vaishnava. They are One yet Two: Two in One and One in Two. One in ousia, different in hypostatis, to use a familiar but little understood, Christian terminology. The relation between Râdhâ and Krishna is described, as I have already said, as *achintyabhedâbheda*—inconceivable unity-in-difference and difference-in-unity. It is, thus, the key of all reason and all love. It is the master-key of the universe, the interpretation of all experience. All the love-lyrics of our literature, relating to Râdhâ and Krishna are an interpretation and elucidation of this *tatava*. This is how the present-day Bengalee Vaishnava, not of the old and orthodox class only, but of the modern-educated classes also, look upon the Krishna-Râdhâ legend and the various representations in poetry or painting of these—as *tatavas*. These are, however, recent developments in the thoughts and ideals of the present generation of our English-educated countrymen. The generation to which the late Bahu Bulloram Mullick belonged had hardly any appreciation of these. But this is not the place, nor is this the occasion to consider his presentation

of the life and teachings of Nityananda in the light of these deeper philosophies and experiences. That work, if it has to be done at all, must be left for a future date, when after these manuscripts have been printed and finished, it may be legitimate to present a critical estimate of the work of our author in an epilogue. For the present, I place before the reader the picture of this great Bengalee apostle of love, just as Babu Bulloram Mullick has left it. My duty as editor has been conscientiously restricted simply to see these manuscripts through the press, making here and there such necessary verbal alterations as the author himself might have, perhaps made if he had been spared to re-read or re-write his book.

II.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

In presenting this account of the life and teachings of Nityananda, I am fully conscious of its many shortcomings. It is a pity that we have such scant materials of the secular life of this great Vaishnava teacher and cannot therefore construct an exhaustive biography of him. The Vaishnava books give only the religious aspect of his life and but a very faint idea of the secular part of it. A great deal of Jesus's life is yet unknown to the world. The same is the case with Nitai also. Man fails to discern a Mahâpurusa in his infancy and little notice is taken of what he did in his boyhood and young age. Thakurs Lochan Das and Brindaban Das have left for us excellent portraits of Nityananda and while reading their books we are often reminded of Boswell, Basil, Montague and other hero-worshippers. But Johnson and Bacon were after all men. I have endeavoured to give in the following pages a condensed account of the life of Nityananda. The Vaishnava literature on the subject is voluminous, teeming with tiresome repetitions. Life is short, man's occupation is various, and what people want is to know things and avoid voluminous reading.

I must apologise for writing in English. The writings of Lochan Das, and Brindaban Das in Bengalee, read like Chaucer and Spencer and my Bengalee pen refuses to move at the sight of their beautiful simplicity; which, for the life of me, I am unable to imitate. Another reason is that Babu Shisir Kumar Ghose's life of Gauranga in English has been the means of making the Avatâr of Nadiya familiar to the English and American reader; and I am tempted to follow in that author's footsteps.

The spirit of Nitai lives in India. Should it not live in those continents as well?

III.

INTRODUCTION.

Man's history is a long record of the strife between order and progress, and the strife seems to be everlasting. Order connotes stability. Progress connotes change. Order implies a disposition on the part of society to acquiesce in the existing order of things. Progress, on the other hand, implies a contrary disposition, namely, that what is, is not the best and therefore should not be, but something must be done to improve it. Nowhere this strife seems to be more pronounced than in the domain of religion. If in our own country Vedantism evolved out of the old religion of the Vedas, elsewhere in the West the New-Testament-religion evolved out of the Old Testament. Vedantism was a standing protest against Vedic ritualism. The New Testament was a similar protest against the lifeless formalism of the Rabbinical cult. The great Reformation in Europe was the outcome of a corrupt Catholicism. Islam grew out of a corrupt Christianity. In our own motherland the same process of evolution is seen. The Purāṇas represent a superb attempt to symbolise the Unknown and the Unknowable of the Vedānta. But with the efflux of time it degenerated into mere superstition. Priestly vices in India became as intolerable as they did in Romish Europe. The condition of the non-priestly classes was lamentable. They were excluded, for no other sin except that of their birth in non-priestly families, from reading the Vedas and the other scriptures. The rigour of the ecclesiastical law put down all normal and healthy development of the so-called lower classes.

When things were converging to a crisis, it pleased the All-Merciful to raise Lord Buddha to save this priest-ridden and ritual-overwhelmed humanity. Buddha's mission was to save the lost, to raise the low, to uplift the downtrodden, and to free the intellect and conscience of man from the trammels of un-understood and meaningless formalism and ritualism. He taught mankind that —

Naught from the helpless gods by gift and hymn,
Nor bribe with blood, nor feed with fruits and cakes ;
Within yourselves deliverance must be sought ;
Each man his prison makes.

(EDWIN ARNOLD.)

The religion founded by Sree Gaurāṅga and wet-nursed by Nityananda, popularly called Nitai, was also an emphatic protest against the popular religion of their time. The stronghold of that religion in Bengal was, in

those days, Navadvipa or Nadiya. In the University of Navadvipa two branches of learning were especially taught with much zeal. One was Nyaya or Logic, and the other, Smriti or Law. The original seat of Nyaya Philosophy was Mithila (in the present District of Durbhanga); and Basudeva Sarbbabhauma is said to have first opened a class for Nyaya in Nadiya. This new science thrived wonderfully in the intellectual soil of Navadipa, and in a short time, this Bengalee University produced logicians of such breadth of learning and originality of thinking that it soon became renowned all over the country as quite the equal of the University of Mithila. The three most noted figures in Navadvipa at this time were Raghunath, Raghunandan, and Krishnananda. Raghunath is the founder of the new school of Logic, called Navya Nyaya. Raghunandan's interpretations of the old Smritis or Laws still rule Hindu Bengal. As in Mediaeval Europe Aristotle ruled kings and statesman, so in Bengal it was these three Pundits who practically dominated the thoughts and activities of their people. Like Raghunandan, Krishnananda was also an expounder of our old canonical laws. And as ecclesiastical and canonical laws proved a curse to the people in mediaeval Europe so they did here among us also in Lower Bengal, four hundred years ago. According to that law, the Brahmin was supreme in every walk of life. He was, practically, above all law. With his pride and arrogance he lorded it over all the other castes. The political authority in the country had, no doubt, passed away from the Hindus. It was ruled by Mahomedan Emperors and Nabobs. But the Hindu society was, in a sense, still autonomous, was ruled by its own old laws, administered by its elders. The Brahmin was free to think as he pleased, freedom of thought was his special privilege. This is how Raghunandan worked almost a revolution in our sacramental and social life by his Vyavasthas, and the least divergences from these, even when they were in consonance with the ancient laws and customs, were not tolerated in the common people. The Brahmin was equally free to act as he liked.

Breaches of the canonical law committed by non-Brahmins were visited with condign punishments, while Brahmin-offenders were allowed to go unpunished, or were very leniently dealt with. And to crown all, a debased form of the Tantric cults, in which all sorts of immoralities and even certain horrible kinds of inhumanities, found a place, as parts of religious exercises and spiritual disciplines, became the prevailing creed and practice of the so-called upper classes of society.

The Tantric cult was originally a very noble one. From of old the course of religious evolution in India had run along two parallel lines. One

was the way of renunciation, the other the way of regulated enjoyment. The ultimate end of both was to free the soul from the trammels of the flesh and all earthly and self-regarding desires. The religion of the Tantra originally represented this latter way. Our desires may be killed in two ways: one is the way of absolute abstinence and starvation, the other is the way of satiation. We can either starve out our appetites, or we may also get complete mastery over them through the regulated and legalised use and fulfilment of all our senses. Monkish monasticism with its torture of the flesh and its suppression of the natural cravings of our nature, carried the law of renunciation to irrational and abnormal excesses. Tantricism was, in its worst forms, only a natural and inevitable reaction against these excesses. This is how Tantric worship came to be associated with all sorts of hideous orgies, in which both wine and women played a very prominent part. The *Pancha Mkars* the five kinds of objects of Tantric worship, — namely meat, fish, wine, women, and mudra — were, really, not what their names ordinarily imply. These were not material things, such as the ignorant took them to be, but were stern esoteric realities, known only to the inner spiritual experience of the Yogee. But in the degenerate times of which we are speaking, these esoteric meanings had been lost, and the noble Tantric faith had become a plea for all sorts of debaucheries and inhumanities.

The Kula-cult, which is only another name for Tantricism, ruled the upper classes of the Bengalee society four hundred years ago. It is also known as the cult of Shakti. It is an essentially *râjasik* cult. The acquisition of power, especially power over all elementals, which comes through Yoga, is the keynote of this cult. But all roads in religion, ultimately, lead to one and the same goal. So in Shakti-cult also we find the growth of real Bhakti or Love. But the ordinary Shakti-worshipper seeks only earthly power and possessions. "Give me wealth, give me male-progeny, give me fame, give me beauty and strength, and conquer mine enemies" — this is the universal prayer of the Shakti-worshipper. His religion is essentially self-regarding. Animal sacrifices, whatever their "esoteric" or "symbolic" meaning and significance, — are an essential element of this religion. It helps, therefore, to develop the sterner side of human nature, far more than the softer side. It is, therefore, the popular cult of the warrior, more than of the man of peace, whose love extends to all the world and embraces both man and beast. Shakti, therefore, became almost an antithesis of Bhakti. In the highest saints and devotees, the two are reconciled and synthetised, no doubt; as we found in men like **Ram Prasad** for instance, or more recently in Paramhansa Sree **Ramkrishna**. Ordinarily, however, Kali and Krishna stand for two opposite

ideals. Four hundred years ago Kali was the most popular object of worship in Bengal. The worship of Sree Krishna had fallen into disuse. The Bhagavata was swamped by the Tantras. The religion of Bhakti or Love had become practically unknown. The land groaned under the hideous nightmare of debased Tantric worships and rituals. The few who still followed the way of the Bhagavata, and chanted the name of Hari, and worshipped Sree Krishna, were despised and persecuted by the followers of the Tantric orgies. And in the agony of their soul, they had commenced, as a final resource, to call upon Sree Krishna to descend once more among mortals and revive and save the dying and decadent Dharma, and teach men the divine way of selfless Love or pure Bhakti.

It was at this juncture, and as every devout Vaishnava in Bengal believes, in response to this soul-cry of the lowly and persecuted Vaishnavas, that Sree Gauranga Mahaprabhu with all his instruments and organs and associates, among whom Sree Nityananda Prabhu was one of the most important, came down to earth and was born in Nadiya.

The Vaishnavas of Bengal look upon both Sree Gauranga Mahaprabhu and Sree Nityananda Prabhu as avatars or incarnations. But to understand their position, we shall have to study, briefly, the whole Philosophy of Incarnation, as it has developed gradually from very ancient times, among the Hindus. We shall enter into this study in the next chapter.

LETTERS ON HINDUISM.

II

MISSIONARY HINDUISM.

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The Peculiarity of Hindu Propagandism.

In my last letter, I told you something about what appears to the outsider, as the strange tolerance of the Hindu religion. It is due, as I have already explained, to two reasons: first its absolutely non-credal, and second, its essentially psychological and cultural character. But because Hinduism does not accept proselytes from other religions now, it would not be true to think that it never propagated itself in the past, or does not do so even now. Hinduism too is and has been a missionary religion, that is, it did spread itself among people who were not originally Hindus, but its missionary methods were fundamentally different from those of Christianity or Islam. These religions propagate themselves by preaching their special creed. Hinduism propagated and still propagates itself by promulgating its special culture.

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Hindu and Christian Culture.

I do not forget that both Christianity and Islam are not mere creeds but have a special culture of their own as well. There is, however, a fundamental difference between Christian and Moslem culture on the one side, and Hindu culture on the other. In the first place, the propagation of the creed must precede the promulgation of the special culture that is to reduce the creed into actual living character, in both Christianity and Islam. In Hinduism, there is no creed, but only a culture; and even that culture is radically different in its form as well as in its norm, from both Christianity and Islam. Christian and even Moslem culture, so far as the religious life is concerned, is fundamentally instructive; Hindu culture is essentially constructive. The former starts with the attempt to purify people's intellect, their motions, and their will. The latter starts with the attempt to purify their bodies first. And, I think, the modern thought, even in Christendom, will admit that in this the Hindu's method is more scientific than that of the Christian, and specially of the Protestant Christian churches.

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The Hindu view of man has always been more complete and scientific than the Christian or the Hebrew view and necessarily, therefore, than the general Moslem view also. For, the latter is based almost entirely upon the former, being a natural evolution of the Hebrew thought, and following it even Christian thought, created wide and almost unreconcilable antithesis between man's body and spirit. There never was any such antithesis between these in Hindu thought. The organic unity between these had been fully recognised by it ages and ages ago. It never ignored, therefore, the physiologic basis and reference of psychology, or the psychological basis and reference of philosophy and religion. Neither philosophy nor religion was therefore a matter of mere speculation with us. The most abstruse Hindu metaphysics is, therefore, essentially practical, in the sense that its generalisations are not based upon mere inference or logic, but upon actual spiritual experience and realisation. The Brahman of the Hindu Vedant is, thus, not a mere generalisation, like the Absolute of European philosophy, but something which is "seen" in the self, the Self. Students of Hindu philosophy, when it was a living study among us, did not drink wine and eat meat and dance attendance upon women of sorts in theatres and at balls or suppers, and between while attend lectures on Kant or Hegel. The object of all true philosophy is to discover the basal unity of all experience. Freedom from all kind of distraction is, therefore, an absolute condition precedent of the right pursuit of it. There are almost endless causes of distraction in our ordinary life. At the root of all these lie, however, our body and its limbs and organs. Heat and cold, hunger and thirst, lust and avarice,—all these are almost constant causes of our mental distraction. The study of philosophy and pursuit of the highest spiritual religion must inevitably be fruitless unless and until these causes are entirely removed. And these cannot be removed without submitting to a strict course of purely physical or psychophysical disciplines. For the root of all these lies imbedded in our physical and physiological constitution and habits.

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Hinduism does not seek, like Christianity or Islam, to impose any particular beliefs or dogmas upon any person from the outside, but wants every individual to discover his God and work out his own salvation himself.

The function of the Hindu teacher is really not to impose his own beliefs upon his disciples, but to help them to discover their own.

them to find out the truth each one for himself. This method is beautifully illustrated in the Bhrigu-Baruni episode of the Taittiriya Upanishad. Bhrigu, the son of the sage Baruna, went to his father and said,—“Teach me about the Brahman, thou revered one.” Baruna said,—“By meditation, seek thou to know him.” And with a view to help him in his meditation he cited this text :—“That from which all objects have come to being, That by which, after coming to being, all objects continue to be, That towards which all objects move and into which all objects enter at the final dissolution,—that is Brahman. Seek to know that Brahman.” Thus Baruna simply set a problem before his son, and asked him to solve it himself. The problem was to find out the real value of this unknown quantity—“That.” The first conclusion of Bhrigu was that Matter, what he called—*annam*, अन्नम्, literally food—was Brahman. Even in our own day, there are people who hold this view. It is really the verdict of the physico-chemical group of the sciences. It is at once the oldest and the newest material explanation of the universe. It explains some things, but does not and cannot explain all things. Baruna asked Bhrigu to go and meditate again. He did so, and discovered that not *annam* or food or matter was the final explanation of the universe, but life. So he came and told his father that Life is Brahman. From the purely physical plane, he thus rose to the biological plane. This explained, no doubt, a lot more than what his first physical and material explanation of the universe had done ; but yet even biology does not explain everything. Bhrigu went and meditated again, and discovered that the Sensorium—or *manas* as it is called in Sanskrit, is Brahman. This is the explanation of psychology. But even psychology does not and cannot explain everything. So Bhrigu, in the next step, ascended from psychology to philosophy, and discovered that *Bignanam*, or the Unity of Self-Consciousness which is the quest and goal of true philosophy, is Brahman. But even this was not final. The unity of self-consciousness explains our physical and our mental experiences, but does not and cannot explain the experience of pleasure and pain—cannot explain our æsthetic consciousness, our sense of the beautiful. So Bhrigu finally arrived at the conclusion that *Anandam* or Bliss or Joy, by whatever term we may seek to translate this untranslatable concept,—is Brahman. I cite this interesting episode to point out to you the real Hindu method of religious and spiritual instruction. It imposes nothing upon any one from the outside but ~~requires each person to beat his or her own music out himself or herself.~~ ~~Each person must find out his own God and Good itself.~~ What the Churches

offer is not really our own God, but some body else's teacher's teacher's God. The God of the creeds is always so.

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But Hinduism could not be satisfied with a borrowed God like this. From of old it had been possessed with a passion for the Unseen that could not be satisfied unless it could "see" and "hear" and enter into direct communion with that Unseen. I am not aware that any other system enjoins upon its votaries that they should strive to "see" God. This Brahman should be seen, heard, and constantly meditated upon—is an old injunction of the Upanishads. Now Brahman should be "seen" and "heard" and meditated upon has been the eternal problem of our spiritual and mental life, and our sages and saints have completely solved this problem. We have countless testimonies coming from the most ancient down to even our own day, from holy men of all denominations, regarding this God-vision. Indeed, we do not really count any person as a true saint, who has not "seen" God. But of this I cannot speak to-day. You would not understand it, in fact, even if I did. But I would only say this much here that every true Guru leads his qualified disciple on to this beatific experience, so that he too may realise in and for himself the truth of this ultimate reality of the true spiritual life. It is not the special privilege of select souls, but is the common heritage of all humans, only those who qualify themselves by long and laborious courses of discipline, extending often over many successive births, come, however, into this common inheritance. It is, with us, as much a demonstrated and demonstrable truth as any fact of the physical or the biological sciences, with this difference, that the methods of this demonstration differ from those of the ordinary sciences. But nothing is wanted to be taken on mere trust, except the testimony of the teacher, that the experience is perfectly attainable by the disciple only if he follows his directions with loyalty and diligence. And this much, you will have to admit, must be taken on trust by every student who enters upon a course of practical scientific training. And it is for this reason, my child, that the religion of the Hindus is an intensely personal religion. Indeed, it seems that Hinduism is the only one of the great world-religions, which declares with such absolute logical consistency that each person's religion must be his or her own personal matter, built upon his or her own personal experience. It, therefore, never sought to impose one man's God upon another; but left

each person, and collectively each community or tribe or each ethnic group, to find out their God for themselves. Not that the Hindus never took any interest in the life and evolution of other neighbouring human groups. They did always care for them,—were, indeed, ever ready to give them their own culture and civilisation, which meant their religion also. But their method, as I have already said, was different. They knew that the religious and spiritual life of people was always a matter of growth and not one of gift. They knew that each person or community can pursue with profit that religion only which was the expression of their own highest thoughts and ideals. These thoughts and ideals, again, are the sum total of their inner experiences and outer activities. They grow, in course of natural evolution, out of their original nature on the one side, and the particular physical and social environments in which they live on the other. And the fundamental thing in real religious and spiritual propagandism is to pursue such methods as will gradually alter both the original constitution and temperament and the outer environments of the people sought to be converted simultaneously. Indeed, unless the original nature be absolutely unfitted for the assimilation of the new ideas and ideals, the more vital thing is to alter the outer environments of a people in seeking to impart to them a new and higher culture. This is exactly what Hinduism tried always to do, in propagating itself among peoples who were outside its own pale.

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**The Origin of
Temperamental
Differences.**

And in doing this it adopted, I think, an absolutely scientific method. The Hindus had of old clearly recognised the intimate physical and physiological reference of psychology. Our mental and psychic constitution and temperament very largely depend upon our physical and physiological constitution. We all have certain intellectual prepossessions. You must have observed, among your own acquaintances for instances, that certain types of thoughts and certain classes of sentiments come naturally to some people; yet they are most difficult to understand or feel inspired with, by other people. Spiritual truths come easy to some, as scepticism comes to others. Some quite naturally can resign themselves to whatever calamity may befall them; others are born rebels, and fret and fume at the least failure or disappointment. These differences are temperamental. And if you can analyse the inner constitution of these different people you will often-

times discover that the origin of these temperamental variations and peculiarities are always partly physical, partly social,—due partly to their physical constitution and partly to their early training, which means, really, their domestic associations and social or economic environments. And if you want to educate these people into any new ideas or ideals, you will have, therefore, to work upon these two root-causes that created their present temperament. The propaganda of Hinduism, when it did seek to spread itself among neighbouring non-Hindu tribes or races, took note of these facts, and followed a method that was, at once, physical and physiological, as well as ethical and social.

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The basis of our life is physical and physiological. Our psychological or intellectual life grows out of our physical and physiological make and temper. The action of food upon our physical health and constitution is universally recognised. Certain kinds of food are conducive to health and certain other kinds to disease. But what we eat and drink have also an equally vital reference to our mind also. That strong alcoholic drinks and narcotics affect our mind is well-known. But it is not as yet generally understood or recognised that even our food has a similar effect upon our intellectual and moral life. Meat, for instance, excites always our animal appetites, while a purely vegetable or milk-and-vegetable diet has a contrary effect. These are demonstrated and demonstrable facts. Some vegetarians may be, indeed are, ferocious, full of animalism and sensuality. Some meat-eaters may be, indeed are, mild and full of humanity. We cannot deny these facts. But they prove, really, nothing, one way or the other. To test the truth of my contention, you must make the experiment upon the same individual; and that individual must represent a developed type of humanity. For to lower types meat is the most suitable, and, therefore, the most proper diet. By simply rearing them up on vegetable or milk will produce little or no result. But if you test it upon susceptible subjects, you will find, I am sure, what a world of difference their food makes in their mental temperament or spiritual capacities.

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The Hindu knew and understood these things. In propagating his religion among other peoples, he, therefore, started with a course of purely physical and physiological, or more correctly speaking, psycho-physical discipline. He did not, however, remain

**The Method of
Hindu
Propagandism.**

creed upon them. He did not ask them to give up their old faiths. All that he wanted was that they must give up their old habits of life, must not eat forbidden foods nor drink forbidden drinks. In short, they were asked to adopt the Hindu's mode of life, his *achara*—**आचार**—or disciplinary laws and regulations. Discrimination in food and drink is the soul of these disciplines. The non-Hindu eats whenever he is hungry, eats whatever edibles he finds handy, eats wherever he gets the food he desires, out of any dish or platter that may be placed before him. There is no discrimination here in the matter of eating, between what is pure and what is not pure. This lack of discrimination is a sign of mere animality: the lower animals eat likewise. The barbarian does the same. The higher we rise in civilisation, we commence to be more and more punctillious in these matters. The unwashed workingman, the dirty sot, sits down to his meals whenever he is hungry and is called to eat. The "gentleman," however, must wash himself before he goes down to lunch or dinner. To do otherwise is considered bad breeding. It causes, frequently, considerable physical discomfort. All these are familiar experiences to you, my child. But your people scarcely think that these habits have a distinct reference to their mental and moral life; that, in the first place, quite unconsciously it may be,—these habits have a restraining influence upon their animal nature. They have to control their longing for food, out of regard for personal cleanliness and health and the conventions of genteel society. And this restraint has a refining influence upon them. The action is physical. Its direct result is hygienic and physiological. But indirectly its abiding influence upon life is positively ethical. As in the matter of food and drink, so in the use and enjoyment of the other animal appetites also, the Hindu always made a similar discrimination. Even the system of caste, bad from some points of view as it undoubtedly is, especially in the form in which it exists to-day,—by interdicting promiscuous interdining and intermarriages, acted as a powerful check upon unrestricted play of our animal desires. These regulations were practically unknown to the neighbouring non-Hindu tribes and communities. And Hinduism, in seeking to spread itself over them, started by introducing these socio-religious laws and regulations among them. Thus the outer orderings of their life were first Hinduised; and gradually, the ground being prepared for the culture of the higher ethical and spiritual ideals among them, these grew naturally, in course of their own mental and spiritual evolution, from within these peoples, and had

not to be orally taught or outwardly imposed upon them like the creeds and dogmas of the so-called missionary religions of the world. By adopting the mode of life peculiar to the Hindus, the non-Hindus became Hinduised in the past; and by the same way, Hinduism is spreading itself slowly even in our own time, among the semi-barbarous aborigines of our hill-tracts. You will thus see that Hinduism is also as much a missionary religion as Christianity or Islam, but its propagandist methods are different from those of these credal religions.

These missionary methods can, however, work only upon more or less primitive and fluid cultures. They cannot be applied to fully developed societies or religions, having definite creeds and crystallised customs and rituals, conventions and sacraments of their own. We can give them our ideas. We can help them with our experiences. We can even interpret their highest spiritual doctrines and dogmas with the help of our larger and deeper spiritual experiences. We may do this for them, giving them what they perhaps lack. They may do similarly for us, help us with their knowledge and experience, and give us what we possibly lack. But we cannot impose or introduce our disciplines and our socio-religious economy upon or among them, without a needless and violent, and, therefore, harmful, disturbance of their natural course of mental and social and spiritual evolution, any more than they may impose upon us their creed and their culture without a similar disturbance of our outer and inner life. We fully realise the evils of this kind of proselitisation. We, therefore, never seek it; though ours too is and has always been as much a missionary religion as either Christianity or Islam.

MILK AND TUBERCULOSIS.

[BY DR. KHAGENDRA NATH GHOSH, M.B., CH.B.]

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Very few of us are conscious of the fact that milk plays an important rôle in the spread of the disease—Tuberculosis. In Western countries Governments and Municipalities have realized this important fact and have made and been still making laws to safeguard the people against it. It is time that the authorities in our country took some steps in this matter.

In this article I shall endeavour to show how milk plays this important rôle and what preventive measures we can adopt in relation to it, in the hope that abler men both in and outside our profession will come forward to exert their influence on the proper authorities to give due consideration to this subject.



Dr. Khagendra Nath Ghosh, M.B., Ch.B.

Tuberculosis is not only common in the human subject but it affects domestic animals also, and amongst the latter it is commonest in the cattle. In towns these animals are kept day and night in unclean and ill-ventilated stalls, are often ill-fed, and are perpetually being drained of large quantities of milk. It is no wonder that with this prolonged drainage of milk and living in insanitary surroundings cows succumb to this disease. In animals the lungs not only are most affected but the pleura, peritoneum and abdominal organs are also affected. The udder is also affected in a small percentage of cases.

As milk forms the chief article of diet for children and also enters greatly into the diet of adults, we are naturally led to enquire whether there is any relation between the disease in man and that in the cattle. The bacilli isolated from both the *human* and *bovine tuberculosis* are morphologically identical although the disease shows anatomical differences in man and cattle. Results of experiments lead us to presume that the differences are due to the difference of the soil in the human and bovine tissues. Koch, who discovered the *tubercle bacillus*, stated before the Tuberculosis Congress of 1901, that human and bovine tuberculosis were practically distinct and that man was rarely, if ever, susceptible to bovine tuberculosis. This led to the appointment of Royal Commissions in different countries. The conclusion arrived at by the British Royal Commission, appointed to enquire into the relationship of human and bovine tuberculosis, are given in the Second Interim Report (1907) as follows:—"There can be no doubt but that in a certain number of cases the tuberculosis occurring in the human subject, specially in children, is the direct result of the introduction into the human body of the bacillus of bovine tuberculosis, and there also can be no doubt that in the majority at least of these cases the bacillus is introduced through cow's milk. Cow's milk containing bovine tubercle bacilli is clearly a cause of tuberculosis and of fatal tuberculosis in man."

So far as is at present known, the milk of tuberculous cows rarely contains the tubercle bacilli unless the glands of the udder are affected with the disease. Apparently this lessens the danger of widespread infection, but when we enquire into the mode of milk supply in towns we find how enormously this very limited source of infection is multiplied. In every town-dairy of any size there will probably be some tuberculous cows and a few of them may have tuberculosis of the udder. This, with the fact that *Goalas* generally mix up the milk of different cows before sending it out for sale, shows how the tuberculous milk of a few cows, nay even of one cow, is widely distributed in the market. And the distribution of the tuberculous milk is not limited to the market.

spread when *Goalas* in the bazar buy milk from each other to make up occasional shortages or meet extra demands.

It is a noteworthy fact that *the incidence of tuberculosis in children occurs at the age when milk is the staple food for them*. We also notice some similarity in the anatomical structure of the tubercle nodules in *tabes mesenterica*—abdominal tuberculosis—of children and that in cow with the additional similarity in the chronicity of the disease. The Royal Commission found the bovine type of bacilli in 14 out of 60 cases of human tuberculosis and in all these, with one exception, the bacilli were isolated either from cervical (neck) glands or primary abdominal tuberculosis which showed that the infection took place through the alimentary canal.

The result of the investigation of the Royal Commission and other eminent Bacteriologists leaves no doubt as to the transmissibility of the bovine tuberculosis to human subject. The result may be briefly stated as follows :—The bacilli obtained from the bovine tuberculosis is always of the bovine type. The bacilli obtained from the human tuberculosis are, in the majority of cases, of the human type, but in certain proportion of cases they are of the bovine type. Those cases from which the bovine type had been isolated were almost all children and where infection had occurred through the alimentary canal. It is now held as an established fact that milk is a great source of tuberculous infection to man.

Before considering preventive measures, I shall state here how the tubercle bacillus is affected by germicidal and antiseptic agents. The organism retains its vitality outside the body in various conditions for a considerable length of time. It resists dying for several months. It resists putrefaction. It also resists the action of gastric juice. It resists a temperature of 100° C. for one hour in a dry condition. It is killed by 5% solution of carbolic acid in 30 seconds : it is killed by 1 in 1,000 solution of perchloride of mercury in ten minutes : it is readily killed by a temperature of 100°C. moist heat. A temperature of 68°—78°C. moist heat kills it in twenty minutes. The organism quickly dies when exposed to direct sunlight.

I believe the Local Sanitary Authorities have some laws to prevent the sale of impure milk. But as far as we can see these are not properly enforced. The existing laws ought to be strictly enforced on all *goalas* and milk vendors.

The sanitary authorities should also make special regulation for the prevention of the sale of tuberculous milk. In regard to this a ~~regulation~~ ^{regulation} ~~should~~ ^{should} not be out of place.

The sanitary authorities should enforce registration of all goâlâs and milk vendors.

They should appoint efficient Veterinary Inspectors to inspect the cows. These Inspectors should be well paid, as it is obvious that insufficient remuneration may tempt them to accept illegal gratification.

The inspection of cows should be done periodically and at intervals of at least three weeks. Should the Veterinary Inspector suspect any cow to be suffering from tuberculosis, he should be empowered to have the animal tested with *tuberculin*. If the animal shows a positive reaction to tuberculin, it should be removed to any humane institution for diseased and disabled animals such as the Pinjrapole.

The sale of milk of cows affected with tuberculosis should be prohibited under the penalty of a heavy fine.

There should be efficient sanitary supervision of dairy-farms, cow-sheds and milk-shops. Strict adherence to sanitary conditions—laid down by the authorities—in the construction of dairy-farms, cow-sheds and milk-shops should be insisted upon.

The sanitary authorities through their health officers should educate the public as to the nature of the disease, its seriousness, its mode of spread and the precautions which should be taken in order to prevent its spread.

For this purpose leaflets in vernacular languages should be distributed amongst the rate-payers. Here I should mention that it is also the duty of the local medical practitioners to diffuse the knowledge amongst the public.

For the purpose of education the sanitary authorities should set up model dairy-farms and milk-shops.

To help the goâlâs to give plenty of fresh air and exercise to their cattle, public pastures should be created. Apropos of the subject I should mention that the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarti in the Bengal Legislative Council for the allotment of money for public pastures deserves public support and the pressure of public opinion should be brought to bear upon the Government to carry it out.

People who keep cows for their own milk supply should not think that they are outside the realm of the infection through milk unless they strictly observe the hygienic principles for the animals. They should keep the animals in spacious, well-ventilated and well-lighted sheds. The walls and floors of the stalls should be impervious and properly drained. They should give each animal a separate stall.

The animals should be sent out to pastures for a certain period of the day for fresh air and exercise. If any animal suffers from cough for a prolonged period or wastes away, it should be tested by tuberculin by a competent veterinary surgeon. I may mention here that subjection of the animal to tuberculin reaction does no harm to the animal if the animal is non-tuberculous. The procedure of the test is very simple and may be briefly described as follows :—

The tuberculin which is used for diagnosis of tuberculosis in cattle is called—*Koch's Old Tuberculin*. Roughly speaking it is a culture of tubercle bacilli in glycerine-broth which has been concentrated and the bacilli in it have been killed by heat.

The animal is kept in the stall for twenty-four hours and the temperature is taken every three hours, from four hours before the injection till twenty-four hours after. The average temperature in the cattle is 102.2°F . About 30 cent. grammes of tuberculin is injected subcutaneously. If the animal be tuberculous, there will be a rise of temperature from 2 to 3 F. in eight to twelve hours.

The domestic preventive measure against the infection is to *sterilize the milk* by boiling. Boiling alters the constituents of milk and makes it difficult of digestion for children, but that is of no great importance when we consider the advantage gained by it.

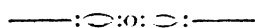
Pasteurization of milk also kills the tubercle bacilli and almost all pathogenic organisms. It is done by heating milk from 68° — 70°C . for twenty to thirty minutes. It may not be convenient for every one to pasteurize milk. But to some it may be and they can easily improvise an apparatus for the purpose. The apparatus should be an imitation of the waterbath, *i.e.*, it should consist of an outer vessel which would contain water and inside that there should be another vessel—the receptacle for milk. An ordinary pint glass bottle as used by the dairy farms in their milk supply would do for the inner vessel. A centigrade bath-thermometer could be inserted into it through a rubber stopper to indicate the temperature of the milk. For the outer vessel an ordinary milk pan or a cauldron would do.

To pasteurize milk in this improvised apparatus—put the milk in the bottle, cork the bottle and insert the thermometer, which should dip into the milk into the bottle through the cork. Then place the bottle in the milk pan containing sufficient water.

* The whole apparatus is then put on a spirit lamp. When the temperature of the milk rises to 68° — 70°C ., it can be kept at that point for the required length of time by regulating the flame of the spirit lamp.

HINDU EUGENICS.

* [BY PROFESSOR SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJEE, M.A., B.Sc.]



Now that Eugenics is being gradually recognised as an important factor in the discussion of European social systems, it would be interesting to examine the Hindu social system in the light of this new science.

The word Eugenics is of Greek origin, and it means the science which regulates good breeding. Many years ago, before Galton laid the foundations of this new science in England, it was also called Homoculture. Its practical end is to improve the human breed. But though a new science in Europe, the principles underlying it were well-known to the Aryans of India. We find ample evidences of it in our *Sranta* and *Grihya* Sutras. Indeed, it may perhaps be held that the whole of the social economy of the Hindus has been largely dominated by the same considerations that have of late commenced to weigh with the modern Eugenists of Europe.

The form of the Hindu society has undergone a gradual change, from the Vedic times up till now. In order to simplify matters, the system of *varnas* and *ashrams* (that is, that of the castes, and the four stages of a man's life) as given in *Manu-Samhita*, will be first taken up for consideration. For there is no doubt that this system represents the pith of the Hindu social structure and with more or less modifications to suit the altered conditions of different times, it has continued to be the accepted social form from the remote antiquities. In the present essay I shall confine myself to the biological aspects of the rules of *Manu*, and the treatment of the later changes in the Hindu society is reserved for future occasions.

It appears from *Manu* that the Hindu society of that time contained two distinct races—the Aryans consisting of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and the Non-Aryans or the Sudras. Evidently the Aryans were the conquering race who had advanced steadily from the Punjab and the Sudras were the subjugated Non-Aryans.

Now, elaborate rules and regulations are found in *Manu's* book to prevent intermarriage between the Aryans and the Non-Aryans. It was very necessary also, for the Non-Aryans were a very much inferior race to the Aryans—there could, indeed, be no comparison between the two. There were the widest differences between the two.

Then among the Aryans, with the development of division of labour, there arose three distinct classes—the Brahmins, who were engaged in cultivation of knowledge, the Kshatriyas, who were engaged in protecting and administering the country and the Vaisyas, the majority of the people engaged in agriculture, arts and commerce. Afterwards intermarriages between these classes were gradually restricted and finally almost prohibited. Thus they became three castes.

(1) The laws of heredity were pretty well-known by the Hindu Law-givers of those times. Manu says, in one place,—“ The non-Aryan characteristics in a man, namely,—tendency to cruelty, murder and to neglect the due observance of the law show that he has sprung from a low origin. Such a man has either the character of his father or that of his mother or has the character of both the parents. He can, by no means, keep his low origin concealed. If there is some admixture of inferior blood in the birth of a man born of a high family, he has the character of his low-born parent to a greater or less extent.”*

(2) No one lost caste for changing his labour for a more lucrative one under stress of circumstances. If a Brahman cannot earn his livelihood by his own specified work, then he can take up the employment meant for a Kshatriya and failing in that he can take up the labours fit for a Vaisya. Similarly a Kshatriya can engage himself in any occupation reserved for a Vaisya.† A man was declared an outcast only when he betrayed some serious moral and (in some cases) intellectual disabilities. From this it appears

अथैतानि चतसृणि पुन्यसमाप्त कृत्वा स्तिवसुहसि—वसिष्ठ संहिता Chap. I.

that race-culture, and not the division of labour, was the most important consideration in the caste system.

As a result of this system, the purity of the Aryan blood was *in the main* preserved from mixture with that of the Non-Aryan; and of the three Aryan castes, the quiet scholarly qualities of the Brahmins, the military and political aptitudes of the Kshatriyas, the artistic and commercial instincts of the Vaisyas were developed to a remarkable degree.

Here it is necessary to say a few words about a prevalent misconception, *viz.*, that a low caste remained low for ever and that there was no possibility of its rising in the social scale and on the other hand a high caste though degenerated continued to occupy its exalted position. But the laws of Manu, as well as many historical traditions prove that such was not the case. According to Manu, "low castes," in the course of time, rise in the social scale on account of their *tapasya* (*i.e.*, meritorious deeds) and also on account of the introduction of better germ-plasm (on the father's side); similarly castes fall in the social scale for want of *tapasya* and the introduction of inferior germ-plasm. Following this rule many sub-divisions of the Kshatriya caste by the non-performance of the duties of their caste have gradually become Sudras. If the daughter of a Sudra mother and Brahman father is married to a Brahman and if her daughter again is married by a Brahman and if in this way there are mixtures of Brahman blood for seven generations, then this mixed caste will become Brahman. And just as in this way a Sudra can be a Brahman, so a Brahman will become a Sudra on the introduction of the germ-plasm of a Sudra. The same rule holds good in the case of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.*

(2) Let us now direct our attention to another important aspect of Hindu eugenics, namely, within the same caste, culture of the fittest citizens through selection in marriage. There is no doubt that this is the only practical form in which eugenics can be applied for the improvement of the human breed in any society, for the Spartan method of killing the weak children is too monstrous to be thought of in this connection, in the present advanced state of our society. The main points here may be briefly indicated under the following heads :—

* Manu X, 42-43 and 64-65.

The necessity of having offspring.—The chief event of the second stage of life, *garhasthya*, was marriage and the object of marriage was offspring. No one was allowed to enter into the third stage of life, the life of a recluse, until he had discharged the three debts he owed to the gods, to his ancestors, and to the sages. The debt to one's ancestors was paid back when a man gave birth to sons in his turn.* It is easy to see that this rule was highly useful for society, for the best men were obliged to leave their progeny behind them on their death. Now-a-days many great scholars and other able men of Europe die childless, after living a bachelor life. The Hindu law of the *asramas* or orders, provided against this loss to society in respect of its talented men. It will be shown, in the next paper, how with the decline of the Varna and Asram system, due mainly to the rise of Buddhism, this sound sociological principle was disregarded and most of the flower society began to lead bachelor lives.

There was another good result of this truly biological conception of Hindu marriage, namely, that the preservation and perfection of the race became the main object of marriage among this people. This essentially moral end of marriage has been largely lost sight of in modern Europe, and many people, whether from æsthetic and "romantic" or economic considerations, seek to avoid the responsibilities of parenthood. A Zola has, therefore, to put in a plea for 'fecundity' in his novels, and a Roosevelt has to preach against 'race-suicide.' This sad state of things was unknown in our country, thanks to the ancient law-givers. But European eugenists are gradually coming to recognise the value of our ancient ideals, in this matter. "The first requisite, then" says Dr. Saleeby "for mothers of the future, the elements of physical health being assumed, is that they should be motherly. They may or may not, in addition, be worthy of such exquisite title as 'the female Shakespeare of America' but they must have motherliness to begin with."† But Tolstoi came nearest to our sages, it seems to me, when he declared that "God made one law for man—the law of labour: and another for woman—the law of maternity."

Unimpaired fecundity.—Spencer, in his *Principles of Biology*, has shown that the fecundity of the intellectual classes is less than that of the labouring classes. Later researches have connected this lessened fecundity of the intellectual classes to their luxurious mode of

living. As the Hindu Institutes imposed a most abstemious life upon the householder, the fecundity of the intellectual classes—the Brahmins and Kshattriyas, remained unimpaired. “Dr. Ireland points to the significant fact that some of the high castes of India (Brahmins and Rajputs) who are most exclusive in their marriages do not show the usual dwindling tendency, which may be correlated with the circumstances that they are mostly poor and abstemious.”*

Outcasting a criminal.—According to the old Hindu Law, a habitual criminal, over and above the punishment meted out to him, was declared an outcast, thereby effectively checking the possibility of his marriage and hence of his begetting children. Now that modern biologists have demonstrated the importance of germ-plasm in the formation of individual character quite apart from any consideration of environments, suggestions are being made to prevent the criminally disposed people from marrying. It may be interesting to these eugenicists to know that in ancient India such a course was actually followed.

Against alcohol.—The Hindu *sastras* are very severe on men addicted to alcohol. They have classified the drinking habit as a mortal sin, ranking it with murder and theft of gold, and violation of the bed of one's Guru. Even the man who associates with a drunkard is condemned as a sinner. These all became outcasts and were thus prevented from procreating children tainted by blastophthoria† and other criminal instincts.

Selection of the bride and bridegroom.—Manu is particularly anxious that a girl may not be married to a worthless man. “If you get a qualified and beautiful bridegroom of the same social position as yours” says Manu “you can unite your daughter to him, even though the daughter has not attained her marriageable age. It is better that the daughter after her puberty remains unmarried in your house, than that she is married to a worthless husband.”‡ There are also detailed directions for selecting a proper bride. Not only was the bride to be a healthy and lovely girl, but due attention must be paid to her family history. To avoid the evil consequences of close interbreeding, Manu has laid down the rule that a man should marry a girl who is not a close blood-relation of his father or mother and who does not belong to

* Prof. Thomson's Heredity, p. 535.

† The habit of using narcotic poisons, especially alcohol, leads to the physical and mental degeneration of men, a degeneration, which not only affects the individuals concerned, but also their germinal cells and consequently their offspring. I have designated this degeneration by the term blastophthoria—Forel's Sexual Question, p. 503.

‡ Manu IX, 83-89, et seq.

the *gotra* (or clan, most probably descended from the same ancestor) of his father.* No matrimonial connection should be entered into with the following families, even though they are respectable and rich,—the families with hereditary diseases like consumption, leprosy, epilepsy, etc., the family where there is no educated man for generations (so presumably, an intellectually deficient family), the family notorious for bad deeds (*i.e.*, immoral) and the family, in which for generations there is an overwhelming preponderance of female births to male births निष्पुरुष.† I may here refer the reader to the synopsis of a paper read by me before the Scientific Section of the Bengal Literary Conference this year, where an attempt is made to show that one important factor in the determination of sex of offspring is heredity. It is added to this paper as an appendix.

Kulinism.—In the present paper I shall deal with Kulinism (or respect paid to good families) as it is found in Manu Samhita, reserving for a future occasion the treatment of Kulinism as it developed in Bengal under the Musalmans. Now in selecting a bride or bridegroom a man takes two other things into consideration, besides the personal qualifications of the bride or bridegroom, namely, his or her money and genealogy. In many countries money is given the precedence of the two. But it is easy to see that there is no inseparable connection between money and its owner—frequently money comes to man by some good chance, and not by any good qualities inherent in him. So, it is unfair, biologically speaking, to classify men according to their money; and the modern sociologists have demonstrated how societies degenerate by improper selection in marriage due to the influence of money. Many fit persons cannot marry if they happen to be poor, whereas unfit persons, if rich, marry and procreate children. But such is not the case with one's genealogy. Though Weissman has shown that acquired character is not inherited, there is no difference of opinion among biologists that the moral tendencies and the intellectual powers together with some diseases (or at any rate the predispositions to those diseases) are hereditary. As on the negative side of Hindu Eugenics we have observed the precautions against procreation by an undesirable person even though he might be rich, so on the positive side of it we have this Kulinism which made it easy for well-qualified though poor persons of good families to get married as the society was eager to see such persons

* The consequences of close interbreeding carried on for too long a time are, as is generally believed, loss of size, constitutional vigour, and fertility, sometimes accompanied by a tendency to mal-formation—DARWIN.

† Manu, III, 4-8.

settled as householders. But there is one thing that should not escape our notice. From Manu we find the position of the families were not settled once for all but even the highest families lost their position as Kulins, if they entered into undesirable marriages, or neglected their duties, gave up studies, and disregarded the Brahmans or from avarice took to more lucrative but low pursuits. But the family which is careful about the culture of knowledge is raised to the most eminent position among Kulins.*

Polygamy.—It is hardly worth writing that among ancient Hindus monogamy was the rule and polygamy an exception. Only when a wife was a drunkard, or of a loose character or inimical towards the husband or a confirmed invalid or criminally disposed or a spend-thrift, could a husband marry a second wife. A man had to wait sufficiently long to be sure that his first wife had no chance of having a son, before he could marry a second time. But the husband had to take the permission of marrying a second time from his diseased wife if she were a loving and virtuous lady: she was not to be disregarded in any way.†

And we know that if the childless husband and wife so desired they could adopt the child of a kinsman as their own son, instead of the husband bringing another wife into the family.

If it is desirable in the interests of society that the talented people should have children it is certainly not a bad thing for a man to marry a second time for offspring. And we know that many fathers will like to give away their daughters as second wives to childless and worthy men rather than unite them as first wives to worthless persons. "From the point of view of certain eugenists polygamy would be desirable in many cases, as extending the parental opportunities of the man of fine physique or intellectual distinction."‡

* Manu, III, 63-66. It may be argued that so long as there is no introduction of an inferior blood into a family by marriage, there is, properly speaking, no degeneration of the stock. But if we find that the scions of a good family have distinctly deteriorated as regards intellect and morality, there are strong grounds for supposing that some inferior germ-plasm has been introduced into the family somehow—either through undesirable marriage or otherwise. And those who laugh at the genealogical tables of the Hindu *ghatik* (or matchmakers) will be surprised to find what pains are now being taken to trace the genealogies of families by Western savants. See "Heredity and Eugenics" published by the Chicago University, 1912.

† Manu, IX, 80-82.

‡ Saleeby's *Parenthood and Race-culture*, p. 169.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Forel, an authority on the sexual question, writes—
"Our present religious (i.e., Christian) monogamy completed by the shameful promiscuity of prostitution, is both hypocritical and unhealthy. Till the contrary is proved, I consider the most advantageous form of marriage for the future is a kind of free monogamy (essentially polygamy), accompanied by obligations relative to the children procreated. [The Sexual Question, by Dr. Marshall, p. 182.]"

The marriageable ages of men and women.--A man used to marry ordinarily from twenty-four to thirty years of age. But a girl was generally married at the tender age of eight to twelve years. It must not be forgotten, however, that this meant only a kind of betrothal and exceptions to this rule seem to have been many from what we read of the marriages of princesses in the Mahabharata and other semi-historical books. From an eugenist's point of view, it is necessary that a girl should be married at a tender age, for otherwise it will be difficult for parents to control the marriages of their daughters. The chief objection to this rule, however, is that it increases the number of young widows in the society.

Then as regards the difference in age between the husband and wife, it is interesting to read what Dr. Forel has written. "The husband should be older than the wife, on the average from six to twelve years. This point is very important if a monogamous union is to be lasting. Woman matures earlier than man, both mentally and sexually; her personality becomes more rapidly adult than his; she ages more quickly and loses her faculty of procreating sooner than man."*

A Hindu used to give up the stage of householder's life after fifty when he became a recluse engaged in religious meditation. So old people did not procreate any children. "The age of the procreators should also be taken into account. Children born of parents advanced in years are generally feeble."†

Compulsory widowhood.--Judging only from the biologist's point of view, the rules of Manu, prohibiting the remarriage of young widows are harmful to society, for in that way, the parental possibilities of many-desirable persons were restricted. From Manu as well as the Mahabharata and other older books, it is seen that a modified form of widow-marriage (the system of *niyoga*) was in vogue in ancient times; but Manu set his face against the custom and it finally disappeared. But the biologist can see one good effect even in this prohibition of widow-marriage. It is a corollary of the highest conception of marriage which is responsible for the widely prevalent chastity of Hindu wives; and chastity is of great biological value inasmuch as it prevents the introduction of undesirable germ-plasm into a family.

* *Human Sexual Selection* (Eng. trans. by Marshall), p. 428.

† *Id.* p. 431.

II.

The causes of the greater number of male-children than that of female-children, in Hindu families.

[SYNOPSIS OF A PAPER READ BY PROF. S. C. MUKHERJEE, M.A., B.SC.,
IN THE BENGAL LITERARY CONFERENCE, 1913.]

In the Census Reports of India, one finds the remarkable fact that amongst Hindus the number of males is greater than that of females, whereas in England and other countries, and even among non-Hindu communities of India, the number of males is less. In order to account for this fact the superintendents of Census Reports of several provinces in India have adduced various causes, mostly imaginary and unsatisfactory. The best treatment of this subject is to be found in the Baroda Census Reports for 1911, drawn up by an able Hindu officer, Mr. Desai. He has shown that among the Hindus as well as non-Hindu communities of Baroda the births of male children are in excess of female children. But in non-Hindu communities, after 5 years of age the relation is reversed, there being more female children than male children of that age, whereas in the Hindu community though the proportion of male children to the female children is diminished, yet the number of the former remains slightly greater than that of the latter.

Mr. Desai has shown that this fact cannot be accounted for by the supposed greater-mortality of Hindu female children consequent upon the neglect by their parents.* The real cause is the greater vitality of male children among Hindus than among non-Hindus. In England, for example, we find the number of male births is greater than that of female births, but after a few years the proportion is reversed owing to the lesser vitality of the male children.

This peculiarity of the Hindus can only be satisfactorily explained with the help of the two following hypotheses :--

(1) That the proportion between the numbers of male and female children of a married couple depends partially, if not mainly, on their heredity.

(2) That the proportion depends partially on the relative ages of the parents, the greater number of the offsprings having a tendency to be of the same sex as their older parent.

These are the most important of the hypotheses, advanced by

* Baroda Census Reports, 1911, page 187.

modern biologists, to explain the causes determining the sex of the offspring.*

In order to collect further data necessary to substantiate the first hypothesis, the writer had issued the forms as given below to be filled up by ladies and gentlemen, who were willing to help him in this research work. Up till now some fifty forms have been returned duly filled up, and almost all of them corroborated the hypothesis.

Now, the Hindus seem to have developed a hereditary bias towards procreating male children,—probably in the following way. As the laws of heredity were well-known to the Hindus and as they were very anxious to get male issue, persons with hereditary bias towards procreating female progeny, were gradually eliminated by the operation of selection through marriage.

Again we should connect the second hypothesis with the peculiar custom of the Hindu society, where the age of the father is always greater than that of the mother—generally by six to twelve years. Thus this hypothesis which already commands the allegiance of many European biologists,† receives a corroboration from the study of the Hindu society.

FORM.

| | AGE OF DEATH OR WIDOWHOOD IN CASE OF FEMALES | NUMBER OF BROTHERS INCLUD- ING HIMSELF. | NUMBER OF SISTERS INCLUD- ING HERSELF. |
|-------------------------|--|---|--|
| Grand-father (paternal) | | | |
| Grand-father (maternal) | | | |
| Grand-mother (paternal) | | | |
| Grand-mother (maternal) | | | |
| Father | | | |
| Mother | | | |
| Himself or Herself | | | |

I am certain about the truth of the above statement. Doubtful figures have not been inserted and the corresponding places in the form have been left vacant.

Signature.....

Address.....

* Thomson's Heredity, page 505.

† See Westermarck's "History of Marriage, p. 469et seq."

OVER-EATING.

[BY PROFESSOR N. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.Sc.]

—: 0 :—

We all have had experience of over-eating at some time or other, though not to such an extent as I had an occasion for observing in the case of a Brahmin who ate so hard that he could neither move nor walk nor stand, and who had to be carried home on the shoulders of his companions to their great merriment.

I think it won't be difficult for you to recall the feelings or sensations or symptoms that are produced after over-eating. There is a feeling of extreme fatigue, lassitude and heaviness; the intellect becomes dull; no higher intellectual work either of thinking or even reading is then possible. Neither can one do any muscular work; there is difficulty in breathing, moving and walking, even the moral faculties become perverted for the time being. After some time a great feeling of warmth is produced in the body; thirst is intense; there is burning sensation on the palms of the hand and the sole of the feet and if the amount of food taken be considerable the burning sensation may be felt throughout the body. In some cases there is profuse sweating also. How pleasant is the act of eating! But why should it be accompanied by so many painful symptoms? This is the question which I shall try to answer in this paper.

The capacity for over-eating varies in different individuals. It may be due to individual peculiarity or to the quality of the food. I have seen country peasants eat huge quantities of rice and dāl, but they cannot eat half as much *luchi* as a gentleman; they say that after eating a few pieces of *luchi* they feel a sort of loathing for that particular kind of food. They are normally accustomed to digest dāl and rice and not plenty of fat as is found in *luchi*. As the secretion of increased amount of lipase cannot be instantaneous the protective mechanism of taste comes into play; it is for this reason that the peasant after eating a little of fatty food, feels satisfied and evinces no tendency to take more. By gradual training he will be able to eat as much *luchi* as an ordinary gentleman.

I have also seen that men who normally live on spare diet at times indulge in heavy meals consisting of *luchis* and sweets, and they are none the worse for the experiment. We must confess that in these individuals their constitutions must be so well developed that they are able to utilise the excess of food.

know the cause of this phenomena in detail, we shall find that the ability to utilise a large excess of food will depend on several factors :—

(i) *The extensibility of the stomach.*—The more extensible the stomach—the organ where the food is first stored, the greater will be the quantity of food that can be taken in. If the extensibility of the stomach be small, less would be the quantity of food taken in, any extra amount beyond a certain limit producing too uneasy a sensation to be neglected by the eater. This extensible property of the stomach can be increased by repeated training in over-eating.

(ii) Ability for over-eating will depend also on the *power of digestion and assimilation* of food.

(iii) A third factor in over-eating would be the ability or training of the various excretory organs of the body.

I have seen some persons who after eating overmuch vomit and thus get rid of everything. Others are not so fortunate ; they get a mild form of diarrhœa and the main part of their food comes out with the fæces undigested and unabsorbed. I have seen some dyspeptics who eat a great deal but who pass out most of the food undigested with their fæces.

Those who can eat, digest and absorb a good deal of food must have their liver, kidney, lungs and skin in proper order.

What becomes of the excess of food that enters the blood stream ? There is good provision for storing the fatty food inside the body. The provision for storing sugar is much more faulty. It must either be converted into fat or it must be stored in the liver cells after being converted into glycogen. But the capacity of the liver cells is not unlimited. After some time the liver cells will be filled with glycogen, and then the surplus sugar unable to be utilised in the body comes out of the kidney—thus producing temporary glycosuria.* That this abnormal excretion of sugar by the kidney must be harmful to that organ may be easily believed.

* It is a compound word. Glycose-sugar and uria-urine. It means a condition of the urine in which sugar is present. It differs from diabetes in fact that the appearance of sugar in the urine may not be permanent as in diabetes. In glycosuria, the mere abstinence from sugar-producing food will cause the disappearance of the sugar from the urine. In diabetes however the sugar is manufactured from the patient's tissues even when no sugar-producing food is taken.

There is absolutely no arrangement in the body for storing the protein* food. The excess of protein food is broken down in the liver into urea, uric acid, etc., products which must be excreted out of the body by the kidneys. Thus with excess of protein food not only the liver but the kidneys are also overworked without any compensating advantage to these organs. And if the quantity of protein injected be excessive the liver may fail in its work of breaking down protein food, with the result that albumen will pass out with the urine. There is another danger of eating too much protein; during the breakage of protein in the liver a considerable amount of heat is generated; in cold countries or in cold weather this heat may be utilised in keeping up the warmth of the body, but in a warm climate it will be a source of considerable trouble in the body to get rid of this surplus heat; the sweat gland will have to work hard and great thirst will be produced, necessitating a considerable amount of water-supply.

Let us try to find out what are the other discomforts that are produced by over-eating.

It is easy to understand why there should be difficulty in breathing when the whole of the stomach and part of the thoracic cavity is filled with food preventing the excursions of the diaphragm downwards.

But why the brain should be dull after over-eating is not so easy to determine. After taking food the heart beats quicker and the blood-pressure is raised. What is the cause of this increase of blood-pressure? Similar rise of blood pressure takes place when the muscles also work hard. This shows that the heart has got to do as much work for the digestion of a meal as for running a race. It is easy to understand that during the rise of blood-pressure more blood passes through the brain per unit of time. It is an additional proof for the theory that when the brain works all the blood in the brain collects in the abdominal region. When the abdomen is comparatively empty it can hold more blood than when it is full of food. Hence it is that during digestion the brain is not in the best state for doing higher work.

* Meat, fish, egg contain the largest percentage of protein. In our ordinary food-stuff, whole-meal flour contains a larger percentage of protein than the ordinary bazar flour and the finer kinds of rice, because protein is contained largely in the membranous coating as well as in the surface layer of all cereals.

SOME THOUGHTS ON PEACE AND WAR.

From Tolstoi downwards almost all the modern thinkers and philosophers of Europe have written volumes condemning war and its sins and miseries. Their chief argument against war has been based on purely humanitarian grounds. According to them it is a crime to kill fellow-beings, sin against the laws of Nature, and a distinct breach of the Sixth Commandment by those who call themselves Christians. But all their writings have been ineffective. The general tendencies of mankind are very selfish and it is their selfish ignorance that has kept the institutions of war and armaments. The prevalent belief is that although war causes much misery in the beginning the resultant benefits derived from war are much greater and weigh against the sufferings involved. And if the human race could be convinced of the utter futility of war from the economic point of view, think then, there will be fewer wars.

Let us first consider the arguments advanced in favour of war.

(1) It is said that in order to acquire colonies or new territories for some over-populated country, war is indispensable.

Students of sociology know that there is such a thing as peaceful migration. There are room and food enough under the sun for all of us, and there are many thousands of miles of uncultivated land in America and Africa where any one can earn his living and develop according to his own tradition and nationality without any outside interference. As a finest example I may just mention the United States of America where there are hundreds of thousands of foreigners living quite happily.

(2) For the expansion of trade, it is argued, war is necessary.

To refute this argument I cite the case of Switzerland. As the traders are aware it is a very small State but considering its area and population Switzerland has the largest market for its produce and manufacture, and to secure this she did not have to wage war against a neighbouring State or conquer any foreign territories.

(3) It is put forward that to save national prestige and honour war is inevitable.

In the primitive stage of human society men fought duels with each other for their prestige and honour but as society progressed and mankind became more civilised, such things died out, and if any one

were to fight duals to-day for his personal grievance against another, he would at once be condemned by society. And if this is possible amongst individuals, the same thing can be done where nations are concerned.

(4) It is urged that war is a fine school of heroism.

I don't see the logic of this argument. We need not have wars to show our courage and devotion to duty. The sailor on the merchant-man, the miner in the underground regions, the doctor and the nurse in the hospital, and the fireman surrounded by flames, each has occasion in turn to give proof of his or her courage and valour, and how much more noble are their spheres of activities than those of the soldiers? They willingly and gladly sacrifice their own comforts and even sometimes give their lives for others without killing.

Leaving aside all questions of pity and sin, the first thing against war is its cost. The cost of being prepared for war is the greatest of all national burdens. The war advocates say "if you wish peace be prepared for war." If this is taken for granted then Europe ought to have approached nearer the goal of peace long ago. If only one nation was prepared and if that nation sincerely wanted peace then that theory would perhaps be tenable. But when one nation arms itself, and others follow suit, the imaginary safety vanishes. Rivalry between nations ensue and preparations, so far from promoting peace, give way to suspicion and jealousy and hatred, and it needs only an opportunity, an excuse, to bring the nations in arms to conflict. It does not take long to draw the balance sheet of war, if we consider it justly from the economic point of view. The money spent every year by the nations of the world on armaments amount to nearly £500,000,000 and the economic advantage derived from it is the support that certain manufacturers of arms and ammunition get from the Government. These manufacturers live by war and they create war. The latest revelation of the Krupp scandal has shown us how unscrupulous they are and through what underhand means and clever wirepullings they foment hatred and malice between one nation and another by bribing the Jingo publicists and hired patriots in order to sell their manufactures in large quantities. There are many who advance the argument in favour of armaments by saying that armaments give employment to many, the money is spent in the country and that it is a premium to insure against possible invasions, but I may quote the utterance of no less an authority than Adam Smith to refute the truth of this argument. "Suppose" said Adam Smith "that a nation spent £1,000 worth of necessaries and amusements, and that the same money was spent on armaments, the nation would be no more secure, and the same number of people would be employed."

of idle folks around me and eat drink tear and wear till the whole is consumed. By this I not only reduce myself to want but certainly rob the public stock of a thousand pounds, as it is spent and nothing produced for it." In the same way it may be said that the money spent on war and armaments is wasted, because nothing is gained or produced by it. To prove my contention I will just give the readers some statistics showing the material advantages or rather disadvantages that have been derived by the victorious as well as the defeated nations in the three of the greatest wars of recent times.

(1) Take the Franco-German War of 1871. The war cost France, £169,000,000, and Germany £95,000,000. Two million men were engaged and the war lasted only 8 months. Besides however the direct cost of the war there was in France a loss of income of £150,000,000, and a loss in business of £112,000,000. Germany lost in business and in income the huge sum of £207,000,000. The total cost of the war then may be put at £733,000,000. Let us now examine the credit side of the Franco-Prussian War.

France did not gain anything. She lost all. Germany for her victories got the Province of Alsace-Lorraine, the capital value of which may be put at £60,000,000, and a war indemnity of £200,000,000, which sum, if added to the total cost of the war in money, would bring it up to the appalling figure of £933,000,000. Germany got £260,000,000 from France but she actually spent and lost in the war £302,000,000, so that even the province of Alsace-Lorraine and the indemnity left her a loser by £42,000,000.

(2) Next let us take the instance of the Boer War.

War is constantly being associated in various ways with empire. As I have already said, it is urged that by the acquisition of new territories, the conquerer secures material benefits. Perhaps this may be true of a certain section of the community, but it is absurd to suggest that a nation as a whole is benefited by the acquisition of new territories. What material advantage was gained by the British workman through the Boer War? The Boer War was the work of a few British mine owners and to defend their prestige and guard their selfish interests thousands of Englishmen were killed and millions of the British taxpayers' money were spent, as the following statistics will show:

The Boer War cost England £211,256,000 for a strength of about 100,000 men, or to put roughly £1 per man per day.

The loss in business and income are variously put at £250,000,000 to £300,000,000.

The actual cost of the Boer Republic is not available but it will be perfectly safe to estimate it at £85,000,000. It is very difficult to estimate the loss in business and income on the Boer side. In a round figure the Boer War cost between £552,000,000 to £600,000,000. As every body knows the British force came out victorious in the end for which England had to pay very dear in men and money, and the material benefit derived from that campaign is nil.

Lastly let us consider the Russo-Japanese War.

The total cost amounted to little over £450,000,000. Russia spent over £270,000,000 while Japan's share of the cost of the war reached £179,000,000. The loss in income and business may be safely estimated at another £300,000,000 at least.

The above figures give the actual cost and losses in money only. Now let us see what each of these nations spends in time of peace. The evils of war are not diminished in peace. Taxes grow heavier every day. A protectionist tariff is the immediate consequence of war and it makes life more expensive. It is a well-known fact that wherever there is a standing army it swallows up with the navy nearly or sometimes even more than, half of the financial resources of the country. Let us examine the expenditure of England for the year 1911-12 which was £178,545,099, of which £24,000,500 represented the interest and payment of the national debt, the sum of £70,507,000 went for the maintenance of the army and the navy, leaving £90,000,000 for the remainder of the expenses including civil service, post, telegraph, education, old age pension and insurance scheme. The national debt, I may add, means nothing else but the army expenditure of the former years and the interest to pay for the debt of the wars which the predecessors of the present generation waged but could not pay for. It may be reckoned that nearly half of the British taxpayer's money goes to pay off the expenses incurred by past wars and provide means for any future wars and emergencies. M. De Molinari calculated that the European workingman of the present day has to work in a whole month in a year to defray the cost of war and armaments, and in most countries he has to work a week or two longer to pay interest on national debts.

Another thing that people are apt to forget in connection with war and armaments is that every man who is taken from the ranks of the

SOME THOUGHTS ON PEACE AND WAR. 505

productive labour into the army or navy means a double loss to the nation. There is first the direct payment of his wages which are added to the army or navy estimates and secondly there is the loss of all the wealth he produces in the year, part of which goes into his own pocket as wages and part of which is returned to the investor of the capital as profit. So that through the enlistment of a young man in the army or in the navy the nation stands to lose doubly as long as he remains in the service.

The following statistics showing the revenue and the expenditure on armaments of the seven naval powers of the world may be of interest to the readers :—

| | | | Revenue. | Army. | Navy. |
|---------|-----|-----|-------------|------------|------------|
| | | | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria | ... | ... | ... | 19,621,792 | 2,900,000 |
| France | ... | ... | 179,933,288 | 37,526,469 | 16,657,225 |
| Germany | ... | ... | 142,672,683 | 44,609,556 | 36,419,275 |
| Japan | ... | ... | 50,259,719 | 7,679,043 | 6,081,571 |
| Italy | ... | ... | 101,695,304 | 16,201,638 | 9,800,095 |
| Russia | ... | ... | 289,651,900 | 49,293,342 | 15,944,597 |
| England | ... | ... | 178,545,019 | 27,860,000 | 44,393,000 |

If the money wasted in this manner in armaments and war are spent for the betterment of the people, for their education and for the amelioration of their wretched condition and poverty, what a blessing it would be for the nation.

According to many people war is closely analogous to business competition pushed to its full logical sense and consequence, and unrestrained by the action of any law other than that of might and expediency. In other words this may be termed as simply the Darwinian, Theory of "struggle for existence" transferred to the national plane. Hæckel, the famous German philosopher, is reported to have expressed the opinion that as in the struggle of individuals the one best fitted to its environments survives, so also with nations. He says when two nations are opposed to each other, it is the more virtuous, the more civilised, the more courageous, the better prepared that wins. In this way therefore war guarantees victory to the more advanced nation and so becomes in itself an instrument of progress.

This theory of survival of the fittest does not apply to wars between two civilised nations. In the first instance there are small states like Switzerland and Holland which would inevitably be annihi-

lated, if attacked by stronger nations, say, either by France or Germany.

In military power Germany and France may be greater than Holland or Switzerland, but in intellect, in courage, in morals the Swiss and the Dutch are not in any way inferior to the Germans or to the French. The victorious German or French may be the strongest in brute force, but that does not necessarily mean the best. This theory of survival of the fittest is merely an excuse, as a rule put forward by the aggressive conqueror for his brutality.

War is an evil, both from moral and economic points of view. Progress which runs parallel with morals may be defined as the elevation of the human race, or in other words it means less poverty, less disease and fewer tears. But has any war ever helped to do away with the poverty and sufferings of mankind? The answer must be in the negative. Civilisation consists eventually in the suppression of violence and outrage but according to the modern European practice civilisation may be said to have quite a different meaning. The more a nation can invent and manufacture deadly weapons for wholesale murder, the more it becomes civilised. As a proof of my assertion I may mention the case of the Japanese.

Before the Russo-Japanese War the Europeans used to sneer at the "yellow monkeys of the East" but as soon as Japan was clever and strong enough to use brute force, she at once became civilised according to the European sense of the word civilisation. In the infancy of civilisation individuals were governed by physical strength and brute force--the strong got what he wanted; and although one individual cannot use force now upon another without fear of punishment, the same tendency prevails among nations.

I have already tried to show that no material benefit is derived by war. Then why this useless expenditure, this slaughter at the battle field of hundreds nay, of thousands, cut down in the very prime of life, the agonising sufferings of the dying, the fathers weeping for their sons and wives weeping for their husbands?

Can universal peace be ever possible or will it always remain the dream of the poets and philosophers?

If we consider the gradual development and progress of human society, we must be forced to acknowledge that there is truth in the poet's dream of universal peace. If individuals in a society can have progressed so far as to submit themselves to the law and the common

of their society and State to secure their individual well-being, without flying at one another's throats, why should not nations be trained to act in the same way? If the law of might was to be the rule among the individuals, no society would be possible, the human race would be given over to pure anarchy, each individual following the guidance of his own impulse, crushing or being crushed according to whether he is stronger or weaker than the other.

To this extent civilisation has progressed with respect to the individual relation among the citizens of the same country. But men have remained barbarians as regards their international relations.

But the great part played by the working men of Germany during the Agadis affairs conclusively proves to the world at large that the workers of Europe are beginning to realise the follies of wars and armaments and through their efforts, international peace will, perhaps, be a settled fact. The more the masses become educated the more they will oppose war.

Education is the very factor of preserving peace, as education advances, all warlike policies will disappear, the sword will give place to brain and wars and armaments will disappear from the vocabulary of civilisation. The oppression of the weaker by the stronger and the dreadful thirst for blood will give way to something better. When each nation will be given its proper place in the councils of nations, when envy, hatred, malice and all such undesirable tendencies of human nature will give place to love and justice--then and then alone shall war cease in all the world and to this end a self-governing India will perhaps contribute most. For with her ancient culture and high philosophy and moral codes she will be of real assistance in the building up of the coming federation of the world.

LONDON
23, SANDWICH STREET, W. C. }
2nd May 1913.

SREE NIRANJAN PAL.

THE ENGLISH AND THE BENGALEE STAGE.

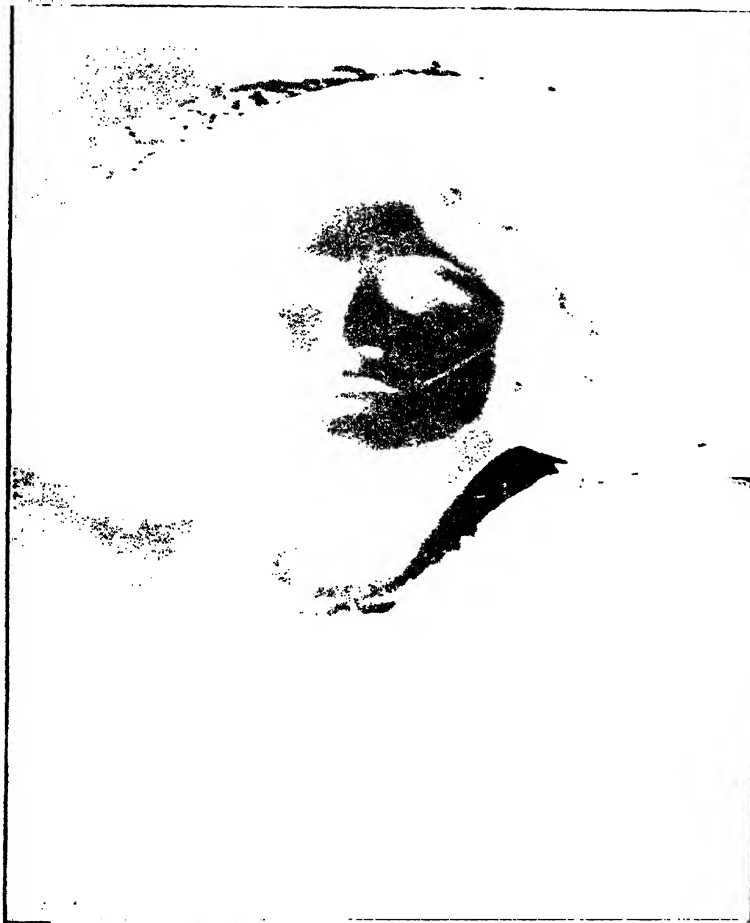
(BY SRJ. BIMAL CHANDRA GANGULI—LONDON.)



There are people who are opposed to the theatre for no other reason except that it is a theatre. There are others who look upon the stage as an outlandish innovation. But the theatre after all is not a modern institution. It existed at the time of Kalidasa and even long before him. In the Mahabharata and the Ramayana there is frequent mention of the "Nat" and "Nati" which certainly mean, "Actors" and "Actresses." Men need amusement. They have devised various means towards this end from almost the very beginnings of human society. Shows and *tamashas* have been almost as much a necessity for man as food and shelter. And we find these in the lowest savages as much as in the most advanced civilisations. And in all these, people have tried their best to represent in fanciful forms the actualities of their own life, personal and social both. And the reason of it is that we can never enjoy and be interested in anything half as much as in real presentations of our own life and culture. It is only natural that this should be so. For real things affect people far more than anything else. This is what the Drama and the Stage do most effectively. Moreover these serve a twofold object—(i) they amuse and (ii) they instruct us. In the West, the Stage has always played an important part in shaping public opinion and remedying social evils. Even in India, it must be admitted, that our stage, inspite of its many defects, its faulty organisation and management, has served a very useful purpose in the past; and I am confident that if properly conducted the Indian stage may be a powerful influence for good in our social life and evolution. I know many people are against it because we have "women of no character" on our stage; but what else can we do, when we cannot allow our own girls to join the stage? Some are of opinion that female parts in a play should be acted by boys, but I cannot support this view; for to have boys to act female parts would be to kill the power and beauty of a play. When we do a thing we should do it in the best possible way. We should try to make it perfect, for the sake of art itself, if not for anything else. A man, however clever, can never assume in his acting the same grace of movement, the same sweetness of tone, and above all, he can never *feel* his female part as a woman can, and consequently his acting the part, however sensational, must fail to stir his audience or leave a lasting effect on their minds. They can never give their utterances that touch of naturalness which a woman alone can. It is, indeed, absurd to expect it. And such being the case, we cannot do without women on our stage, and as we cannot have respectable women, we must necessarily keep those that we have at present. And why should we be so hard on these poor luckless people, and refuse to give them a chance of earning a decent living by honest means?

THE ENGLISH & THE BENGALEE STAGE. 509

During the past few months I have had some opportunity of studying the inner workings of English theatres, being myself connected with some Indian productions ; and in this article I want to give the readers only an outline of my English experiences, and what my opinion is as to how our theatres should be managed. I dare say my readers are aware of the fact that in the West



Miss Phyllis Neilson-Terry.

theatres and people connected with them are no longer looked down upon by society. Clever actors and actresses hold high social positions here. They are frequently decorated by the King ; and the ovation and applause they receive at the hands of their admirers may well be envied even by kings themselves ; while the salaries they earn would surprise our people. For who would believe that Madame Sarah Bernhardt has been engaged by an American theatrical syndicate for a salary of £2,000 (Rs. 30,000) a week ? Sir Herbert Tree and his company are engaged by the same syndicate for £1,000 per week, and there are hundreds of

actors and actresses who receive from £20 (Rs. 300) to £250 (Rs. 3,750) a week. This sounds like Arabian Nights tales, but it is nevertheless true. But alas! what a different treatment is accorded to people with theatrical connections in our country? There are clever artistes even among the limited number of Indian actors and actresses—some I think cleverer than the ordinary



Miss Phyllis Neilson-Terry as 'Queen Elizabeth in Drake.'

star artistes of Europe—but who recognises their talent? I have seen the acting of almost all the European actors and actresses of fame from "the divine" Sarah and the world renowned Ellen Terry downwards; but not one could impress me half as much as the Bengali actress Tara Sundari did by her acting of Reziya. The same may be said of the late Ardhendu Sekhar Mustafi also, who was certainly in no way inferior to the late Sir Henry Irving.

I am told when the late Girish Chandra Ghosh was mentioned by an English civilian as a fit recipient of the order of C.I.E. there was a general disposition

from our own people, at which the noble-hearted Mr. Skrine is said to have remarked "How little does the world know of its greatest men." And Girish Babu's was unquestionably a very superior genius. He was rightly called the "Garriek of India." He was perhaps greater than Garriek. Had these people been born anywhere in the West, they would have been worshipped and would



Mr. Beerbohm Tree as 'Paragot' in 'The Beloved Vagabond.'

have earned fabulous fortunes. But in India, they have to struggle and die at the end of their hard life "uncared, unhonoured and unsung." Can any one doubt that the late G. C. Ghosh and the late Ardhendu Sekhar Mustafi would have earned knighthoods for themselves had they been Englishmen? There are three actor-knights at present on the English stage; they are Sir Herbert Tree, Sir George Alexander and Sir Charles Wyndham, and the position of the late

G. C. Ghosh and A. S. Mustafi and some of our living actors, in their own profession, is in no way inferior to that of these English actors whose merits have justly received this high recognition from their King.

But to come to the point. In the past we have neglected our stage ; but how can we improve it now ? It is a very large question ; and I have a good deal to say about it. I may briefly say here that if our theatres are conducted more or



Mr. Beerbohm Tree in 'Van Dyck.'

less on the same lines as are followed in the West, all their present drawbacks may easily be removed. And the first thing to do is to conduct these on purely business lines, keeping their management in the hands of men of culture and character. Secondly, good wages should be paid to the artistes and the strictest possible discipline kept among them when they are in the theatre.

private rehearsals or for public acting. Thirdly, strict regulations should be enforced on the audience also for decent behaviour during a play. And fourthly, there ought to be a school of Dramatic Art to teach actors and actresses the art-value of dramas and theatres.

In England theatrical managers pay far more attention to the production and staging of a play than to the real literary and artistic value of the drama itself. Very often have I found dramas staged most elaborately at an enormous



Sir George Alexander and Miss Kate Cutler in 'The Ogre.'

although their literary value is insignificant. I think in this respect we are not fortunate. For our dramas are, as a rule, of a much higher order so far as their literary and literary merits are concerned than the pieces usually put on the English theatres. But in the art of staging these we are

woefully behind them. In producing a play our theatrical managers very seldom pay any heed to the correctness of the dresses and of furniture of the particular periods represented or to the make-up of the actors and actresses and even to scenery itself—things that matter much in play. In England very great stress is



"THE TURNING POINT."

Sir George Alexander as 'Lieut.-Col. Felt' & Miss Ethel Irving as 'Monique.'

laid on the production of a drama, while in India high class dramas are produced without any regard being paid as to how it is staged.

Some of the illustrations of this article will show what attention is paid here to the "making-up," which is indispensable for the perfect production of a play.

THE ENGLISH & THE BENGALEE STAGE. 515

The reader will notice this in each pair of the illustrations of this article. Who can recognise, for instance, Miss Phyllis Neilson-Terry, in her "make up" as Queen Elizabeth? Or who can say that the individual (Sir Beerbohm Tree) who played the part of "Paragot" in "The Beloved Vagabond" is the same who



Mr. Oscar Aschar as Atila.

stands in the next illustration from 'Van Dyck.' The reader will note the "make-up," of Sir George Alexander in the two illustrations here, first where he appears with Miss Kate in "The Ogre" and second with Miss Ethel Irving in "The Turning Point." And when compares these "make ups" with those of our Indian theatres, one sees what a world of difference is there between our

productions and those of the English stage. But even here things have been improving fast, I know, and what is required now is a little more training, a



Mr Oscar Aschar.

little more enterprise, and a little more organisation. Is there any reason why we should not have these ?

RIGHT MEDITATION.

[BY MR. PRAFULLA RANJAN DAS, BAR-AT-LAW.]

I.

I think that in the afternoon,
When light shall just begin to fail,
Someone shall call me soon, too soon,
Across the rhythmic calm to sail !
I think that I shall know the voice,
—But shall I sorrow or rejoice ?

II.

I know that earth shall seem her best,
And smile thro' every window chink,
Whilst all my soul shall strive for rest,
And all my senses ask for drink
That murmurs in the foaming cup
Before the world is withered up !

III.

There will be flowers in splendid blend,
And Heaven shall send a perfect ray,
And soul and senses shall contend
Whilst each aspires a different way,
—When on that waning afternoon,
Someone shall call me soon, too soon !

IV.

Earth shall attract me,—there's the sadness,
With splendours of a perfect sun !
Whilst all round me the hum of gladness
Shall speak to me of joys begun,
And I shall clamour for the sound
That has on earth a sense profound !

V.

I'll think no doubt of all the treasures
This earth abounds with in May-time,
When soul and senses caught the measures
That beat with grand sonorous rhyme,
—When all my soul unfurled arose,
And danced to joy and summer rose !

VI.

And summer ended,—soon, how soon !
 My soul had wallowed in the dust,
 Yet strove to build earth's perfect boon,
 With hisses of life's first distrust,
 —For man hath never built a house
 That crumbled not with first carouse !

VII.

And then what reveller dared conceive
 A joy that did not thirst for more ?
 What life long-sought-for hoped to live
 That never begged from door to door,
 And did not vanish with the day,
 —A thing built o'er with dust and clay !

VIII.

And if you will but strain your ear,
 You'll hear of mid-night souls in pain,
 Who strove to build their house of cheer,
 With phantoms of their daily gain !
 —Their dear delightful house of fire,
 That crumbled with each new desire !

IX.

For I, the dreamer, what am I,
 But myriad sparks of dust and clay,
 That rise eternal with some cry,
 And then eternal pass away,
 And move for ever round a flame,
 With vision never just the same !

X.

And think !—can you ascribe a name,
 To these life-sparks that come and go,
 Or else impute some end and aim
 To their unending ebb und flow,
 And say with truth that this was I,
 Whose voice you heard that day and now

XI.

And dare you say this heap of dust,
Which breaks and builds and breaks again,
And all the time aspires to burst
The boundary of wind and rain,
—This transient thing shall ought achieve,
And in some enterprise shall live ?

XII.

And then behold the dream I prize,
Which still attracts me to this earth,
Which called me to an enterprise
So fruitlessly from birth to birth,
—I clasp this dream with simple trust,
And what remains,—is it not dust ?

XIII.

And is it worth my life's sole aim
To chase this dream from life to life,
And clothe it with a wondrous name,
To glorify in hundred strife,
And then discover in its motion,
The infirmity of my emotion !

XIV.

I know that this apparent I
And this elusive dream I gather,
Shall play beneath some phantom sky
A game of hide-and-seek together,
And all the time some Power shall roll
And weave illusions for my soul !

XV.

And I shall never grasp the prize,
For transient is the thing called life !
From age to age my enterprise
Shall lead me on to endless strife !
—From age to age in every weather
My dream and I shall play together !

XVI.

Then what attracts me to this earth,
 Where nothing is, but all things seem ?
 What whirls me on from birth to birth,
 To find despair in every dream ?
 What doom compels the Will to live ?
 What Fates illusions round me weave ?

XVII.

And I have lived from age to age,
 And now I stand on close of time,
 And I have read from page to page,
 My lesson in life's mystic rhyme,
 And having lived on lap of fire,
 I say to you,—it is desire !

XVIII.

It is desire that leads and lures
 And whirls you on from birth to birth,
 That you may seek in world of yours
 Some transient joy,—apparent mirth,
 And then be hurled thro' mud and mire,
 To find despair in each desire !

XIX.

And this I know,—and this I say,
 That life is sorrow in the main,
 For never yet hath dawned a day
 When man hath not aspired in vain
 To summon with his breath of fire
 A world to throb in life's desire !

XX.

And all round you a world of changes
 Proclaims a ceaseless transient world
 Life moves around some flame and ra
 To clasp some mystic soul unfurled,
 —Life moves eternal, and, so now
 You came with sorrows on your brow

XXI.

And life is sorrow !—this was writ,
For nothing ever shall endure,
And all you venture pass in fit
Shall only serve to lead and lure
Your craving soul to other life,
—To other dreams, to other strife !

XXII.

Then is it worth your life's sole aim
Some phantom vision to pursue,
When all that ever named the name
Shall never come within your view,
—When all that lured you from afar
Shall wage with soul a bitter war !

XXIII.

And just consider !—ere you weave
Your fancies with some transient light,—
Desire being dead, the will to live
Shall pass you ever out of sight !
And you shall thereupon be free,
And taste the joy of liberty !

XXIV.

Then let me quench the flames to-night
And crush to-night my wild desire,
And let me wrest from passions flight
My soul that trembles in the fire !
And then when I shall wake to-morrow,
Shall I not then be free from sorrow ?

XXV.

And now that in the afternoon,
When light has just begun to fail,
And someone calls me,—soon, too soon—
Across the rhythmic calm to sail,
I know when I have heard the voice,
My soul with knowledge shall rejoice !

MODERN SCIENTIFIC TERMINOLOGY FOR INDIAN VERNACULARS.

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AN ANGLO-MARATHI DICTIONARY.

To

THE EDITOR, HINDU REVIEW.

SIR,

I read with great interest and admiration Dr. P. C. Ray's valuable contribution on 'Science in our Vernacular' that appeared in the last issue of your magazine. I am really happy to find that Dr. Ray who occupies a very front rank in the van of Bengal literary men holds the view that Vernaculars should be the media of instruction for Science in India. But in producing Scientific Works in the Vernaculars of this country, which may be either translations of the original English text-books on different Sciences and Arts, or which may be small original compositions on these subjects, the chief difficulty which confronts the writers is the want of suitable vernacular terms for corresponding technical terms in English. This difficulty has been to a great extent successfully solved by a reputed scholar on our side, Professor N. B. Rānade who has been tackling this subject of Terminology for the last thirteen years. This Terminology which he has published in his 'Twentieth Century English-Marathi Dictionary' is mostly of Sanskrit origin. Some of his terms are primitive Sanskrit words, others are Sanskrit compounds, or derivatives from Sanskrit primitives. For this reason this vernacular Terminology though intended primarily for the Marathi language will, in a great measure, become equally useful to all Sanskrit-derived languages such as Gujarathi, Bengalee, Hindi, etc. This Terminology, I am happy to mention, has made its way into the Presidency of Madras—a presidency of Dravidian languages. For the information of your readers, on the authority of the Telegu Translator to the Government of Madras, I may mention here that Telegu books on Science and Telegu newspapers have adopted the Terminology contained in Professor Rānade's Dictionary. This Dictionary is printed in the Devanagari character, and therefore all the vernacular writers on your side who must know Sanskrit and who can read the Devanagari character, can use this Dictionary with benefit in getting appropriate Sanskrit terms for corresponding terms in English. This is a more letter and therefore I do not wish to increase its conventional length by writing more on the subject of Vernacular Scientific Terminology. Yours very truly,

on this subject should write direct to Professor N. B. Ranade, Kurla Post, Thana District. So far as I know him, he will be very happy to receive such communications.

I enclose herewith the "Editor's Note" on this Dictionary from which your readers will be able to form some idea of his work.

Yours sincerely,
B. V. PHADAKE.

Editor's Note.

This work of the Twentieth Century English-Marathi Dictionary—Literary, Scientific, and Technical—was first taken in hand thirteen years ago and is intended to serve as an instrument for the purpose of bringing into Marathi, valuable stores of knowledge from the Western Sciences, Arts and Games for the benefit of those who cannot reach them in the original through the medium of the English language. It will consist of about twenty-one hundred pages of the super-royal octavo size, twelve hundred and seventy-eight pages having been published already. This has been done in ten numbers, each of about one hundred and twenty-eight pages. The whole work will be completed in about sixteen numbers, and will be in two volumes of about ten hundred and fifty pages each.

The lines, on which the Editor has proceeded in the preparation of his manuscript, are explained in the Introductory Note. The whole work, when completed, will be a result of fifteen years' patient labour, research and study. The manuscript was begun in 1898. The first number was brought out in 1903, the second in 1904, the third and the fourth in 1905, the fifth in 1906, the sixth in 1907, the seventh in 1908, the eighth in 1909, the ninth in 1910, and the tenth in May 1911. From this it should not be concluded that the next six numbers will take six years more. For various obvious reasons, the progress in the latter part of the work will be more rapid than that in the former.

After a careful perusal of the Introductory Note referred to above, it will become clear, as many linguists admit, that in respect of matter and method, the present English-Marathi Dictionary has many new features of its own. The Editor begs to state that the attempt to fix a Marathi Scientific Terminology forms a feature of special importance in this work. The first organised attempt in this direction was made by H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda, under the superintendence of Prof. T. K.

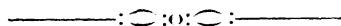
Gajjar, M.A.,⁷ B.Sc., F.C.S. But what became of it is not definitely known to the outside public. However all the honour of pioneership in this direction belongs to H. H. the Maharaja Gaikwar. The second attempt was made by the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* of Bengal, but it had to be given up for reasons not known to the Editor. The third attempt was made by the *Nagri Pracharini Sabha* of Benares. But it was confined to a few branches of Science only. The Editor of this work was on the Editorial Committee, the Revision Committee and the Special Committees appointed to fix a Hindi Scientific Terminology. On these committees, there were representatives from the Educational Departments of Bengal, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces. In this connection he had to study and make himself familiar with the materials for Scientific Terminology in the vernaculars of the Presidencies mentioned above. The feature of the Marathi Scientific Terminology in this Dictionary is the fourth attempt in this direction, and, therefore, perhaps an improvement upon its predecessors, more wide in scope and more up-to-date in results. In the humble opinion of the Editor, at least for twenty-five years more to come, there will be no need of a new English-Marathi Dictionary, till new materials accumulate, new needs arise and the results embodied in this work are carried into the main stream of the language of the people.

The portion of the work done till now has met with the approval of several educational authorities of the Bombay Government and other students of Marathi in this Presidency.

Though the work is primarily intended for the Marathi language, in respect of Scientific Terminology, it can never fail to become useful to such other Sanskrit-derived languages, as Bengalee, Gujarathi and Hindi. Such is the unanimous opinion of the Editorial Committee of the Hindi Scientific Glossary, nominated by the *Nagri Pracharini Sabha* of Benares for the purpose. For the information of the public, the Editor is glad to mention here on the authority of the Telegu Translator to the Government of Madras, Mr. G. Kanakraju, B.A., B.L., that Telegu books on science and Telegu newspapers have adopted the Scientific Terminology contained in this work. Mr. B. Ramrao, B.A., LL.B., the Canarese Translator to the Government of Madras, says that this is the very first dictionary which has succeeded in giving accurate vernacular equivalents for most of the scientific terms occurring in the different departments of modern Science. Both these high officials of the Government of Madras are of opinion that this Dictionary deserves a place in all the public libraries of the Madras Presidency for the Vernacular Scientific Terminology contained in it.

As regards imperfections in this work, the Editor does not pretend to say, that there is none. In a bilingual work, especially of the nature of a

Dictionary, some imperfections will remain. One can never know a foreign language in all its departments so well as his own mother-tongue. Moreover, when the evolution of one people is, in many respects, different from that of another, it is almost impossible to render the words of the language of the one into those of the language of the other with all the shades of the original. Besides, as in Germany or France, there are no Academies or Literary Bodies in this country to standardise (if the Editor may so use the word), and to set their seal of approval upon, the newly coined vernacular terminology for the expression of scientific and technical thought in the vernaculars. In the absence of such an Academy, the Editor had to form a Committee of Referees, consisting of many scholars and men of science, and he hopes that the public will take this as the nearest approach to it in the present circumstances of the country.



HOME RULE AND IMPERIAL UNITY.

(J. G. SWIFT-MACNEILL, K.C., M.P., IN THE MAY CONTEMPORARY.)

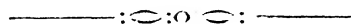
Within the British Empire at the present time there are eight and twenty Home Rule constitutions. It is only natural that the statesmen and people under these constitutions should be anxious to extend to Ireland the blessing of self-government they in their own lands enjoy.

At the dinner in 1911 no fewer than seventeen Colonial Prime Ministers were present. Mr. Redmond who presided, announced that he welcomed the distinguished guests of the Dominions, in words which were in complete harmony with the sentiments of Sir Joseph Ward's that in countries where Home Rule exists, loyalty to the Crown, so far from becoming weakened, had been increased. He might have further gone and said without fear of contradiction, that under a Home Rule system disaffection has been turned into loyalty. The grant of Responsible Government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony at a time when they were so recently at war with Great Britain has had a peaceful result. The long continued denial to Ireland, which once had a Parliament as old as the Parliament of England,—of the right of self-government side by side with the concession of that right to so many portions of the Empire, which has without exception led to prosperity and contentment—is one of the strangest anomalies in British history.

The writer then quotes a passage from Sir Joseph's speech in which occurs this memorable line :—"The very essence of self-government is freedom for all sections of the community."

FINANCE & BUSINESS.

PROSPECTS OF MOTOR CONVEYANCES IN INDIA.



In this article I propose to deal with the future prospects of motor-driven conveyances in India. By the term 'motor conveyances' I mean motor omnibuses, motor taxicabs and motor lorries, but to-day I intend to confine myself only to the consideration of motor omnibuses and its possibilities in India. Within a very short period of time the motor conveyances in London streets have practically replaced all other kinds of conveyances for the transportation of the general public. I am told that the London General Omnibus Company is at present running 2,500 omnibuses in the London streets, and their average weekly income amounts to £50,000. London is a very large city and the whole of its eight million population are not congested in one area, but are scattered all over the surrounding districts and neighbouring villages. This fact, to a great extent, has helped in the development and popularity of motor omnibuses. To meet the traffic-requirements of London and its extensive suburbs there are other means of transit; chief among them are the following: (1) The Tube Railway System, (2) The Underground Railways, (3) the local trains run by different Railway Companies and (4) the Tramway System. It is a well-known fact that in spite of the existence of these different ways of transit, there is very little competition between the omnibuses and the tubes, and the railways and the tramways.

For more reasons than one people prefer motor omnibuses. This is largely a question of cost and convenience. The motor bus has admittedly the advantage of being able to use practically all the streets and stop anywhere and everywhere. Moreover it is quicker and is not tied down to one route, and passengers do not have to change to go from one place to another. It is much less expensive to build and to maintain, and consequently the fares are fixed at a much lower rate than the railways and tramways. A motor bus costs about £1,000 in a round figure with allowance for cost of garage, while a tram car costs in England about £6,000. The total cost of maintaining and running one single tram car amounts, on average, to eight pence per mile. Last year the traffic branch of the Board of Trade estimated the cost at eight pence half penny per mile, while a well-known London firm has given six and three-fourth pence as the cost of maintaining and running a motor bus per mile. On an average a London bus runs 110 miles a day and the average income amounts to 10½d. per mile per bus.

The following figures of actual cost of maintaining and running a motor bus

may be of interest to the readers. These are based upon the operative cost of the London General Omnibus Company :—

| | | d. | Per bus, per mile. |
|---|-----|------|--------------------|
| Drivers and conductors' wage | ... | 1.81 | |
| Road expenses | ... | 1.71 | |
| Maintenance expenses | ... | 2.63 | |
| Premises | ... | 0.08 | |
| General expenses | .. | 0.34 | |
| Depreciation | ... | 0.45 | |
| Debenture charges, Dividends and Income-tax | | 0.63 | |
| TOTAL | ... | 7.65 | |

Those who have studied the growing traffic problem of the big cities in India, must admit how insufficient are the means of transit. So long the only way of dealing with the traffic has been the tramways and hackney carriages. Leaving apart all questions of convenience, comforts and expenses, the tramways and hackney carriages do not supply the growing requirements of the big cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, nor do they offer ample facilities for cheap, quick, and comfortable transit. There is enough room for motor omnibuses even in places like Calcutta and Bombay where there are tramways. Tram cars are perhaps good in their own way, but they are too old-fashioned and expensive. I think in India people will prefer buses for the simple reason that they will stop anywhere, there will not be any changes from one bus to another, while the fares will be cheaper and the journey quicker.

The prospects of running motor omnibuses in India are indeed very bright and I wonder if a Company cannot be formed to put at least 200 buses in Calcutta and Lahore. I cannot speak for other cities having no personal knowledge as to their requirements, etc., but I was told by a friend from Lahore that there is very good opening there for motor omnibuses. Tramways do not exist in Lahore and the only means of transit are the uncovered or half-covered 'tongas.' A fleet of 50 buses to start with, will suffice for Lahore and these can run between—

- (1) Railway Station and Anarkali ; (2) Anarkali and the Mall ; and
- (3) Anarkali and the Fort.

It is an extremely bad thing in connection with motor omnibus concerns to start operations without having enough buses to put on the streets, and the other thing that we must be very careful about is to start without making provision for sufficient working capital. And I think the reader will see the advisability of starting a concern under most favourable conditions. Five or six years ago, certain well-known merchants of Calcutta organised a Company to run motor buses in the city. Unfortunately the scheme fell through, so I can tell for want of capital and insufficiency of buses. It is always bad

to start a business without enough capital and it is worse to start a motor omnibus concern with few cars. Messrs. Kshetramohan Dey, who were responsible for the organisation of the now defunct Calcutta Omnibus Company, deserve every credit for their enterprise, and their failure should not in any way scare away prospective Indian investors. On the other hand, it ought to act as an incentive to them. The Calcutta Motor Omnibus Company made two mistakes : (1) by beginning without sufficient capital, and (2) by putting only two buses in the streets of Calcutta. These mistakes can be easily avoided.

In Calcutta a fleet of 150 buses can easily be run at an enormous profit. Even if we were to take into account the question of competition with the existing tramway system, there are certain routes where there are no tramways, and there is no reason why a service cannot be maintained in at least those routes. For the guidance of my readers I may suggest the following :—

- Service No. 1. Baranagore to High Court *via* Cossipore, Chitpore, and Dalhousie Square.
- Service No. 2. Uttarpara to High Court, *via* Shalkia, Howrah and Strand.
- „ No. 3. Ultadingi to Kalighat, *via* Manicktola, Cornwallis Street, Bowbazar, Dalhousie Square, Chowringhee, and Russa Road
- „ No. 4. Dum Dum Cantonment to Kidderpore *via* Pattipoker, Belgachia, Shambazar, Bowbazar, Dalhousie Square, and the Esplanade.
- „ No 5. Barisâ-Bâhala to High Court *via* Alipore, Bhowanipore, Chowringhee and High Court.
- „ No. 6. Beliaghata (Chaulpati) to Howrah *via* Sealdah and Harrison Road. And so on.

Now with regard to the capital of the Company. Taking the figures in round numbers it is advisable to base them upon the capital sum of £1,500 per bus bought. Therefore if a Company is started to run 200 buses in India,—150 in Calcutta and 50 in Lahore, the capital required will be £300,000. The vehicles will probably cost £150,000 by the time they have been equipped with bodies and landed in Calcutta and Lahore. The cost of depôts, three at Calcutta and two at Lahore, will approximate £50,000, of course equipped with proper appliances and machineries. It is also advisable that a provision of spare parts to the extent of 10 per cent on the cost of the vehicles should be made, and there are many incidental expenses to be provided for. All these will approach roughly £30,000. So in a round figure the initial expenditure will come to about £230,000, leaving a balance of £70,000 for working the concern.

With the kind assistance of Mr. Stuart A. Curzon, one of the Chief Organisers of the London General Omnibus Company, I have succeeded in making the following estimate of expenditure and income. The readers will quite realise that all the figures inscribed below are given in round numbers but they are perfectly safe for prospective investors to go upon for the time being.

Estimate.

| | £ |
|--|---------|
| Required Capital | 300,000 |
| Initial Expenditure— | |
| 200 Buses | 150,000 |
| Cost of building and equip- ping 5 garages | 50,000 |
| Cost of spare parts and con- tingencies | 30,000 |
| TOTAL | 230,000 |
| Leaving a working capital of | 70,000 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 300,000 |

Cost of maintaining and running 1 Bus.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-----------------|
| Drivers and conductors' wages | 3 pice | } Per bus mile. |
| * Road expenses | 4 „ | |
| † Maintenance | 10 „ | |
| ‡ Premises and depreciation | 2 „ | |
| § General expenses | 1 „ | |
| TOTAL — | 5 ans. | |

Income per mile from one Motor Bus.

Suppose if a bus is run from Shambazar to High Court the distance covered will roughly be 3 miles in a single journey and for each trip the bus will cover a distance of six miles. If the capacity of the bus be 32 persons and the fare is charged at one anna per person per journey and if the bus carries even 48 persons in a trip (both ways), the income will amount to at least 48 annas per trip per bus.

Income from six miles journey (1 trip) 48 ans. = 8 ans. per mile.

Expenses per bus mile 5 ans. „ „

Nett profit per bus mile 3 ans. „ „

In India a bus can easily run a distance of 60 miles a day, so that the earning power of a bus per day will amount to 60×3 ans. = Rs 11-4 (profit from one bus).

Nett profit from 200 buses = $200 \times$ Rs 11-4 = Rs. 2,250 per day.

Nett profit from 200 buses per year (365 working days) = Rs. $2,250 \times 365 =$
Rs. 8,21,250.

This means nearly 18 per cent on the invested capital.

LONDON,
23, Sandwich Street, W. C. }
2nd May 1913.

SREE NIRANJAN PAL.

* Road expenses include licenses, superintendence, ticket services, omnibus lighting, fuel lubricator, law charges, compensation and garage expenses.

† Maintenance expenses include rolling stock and tyres.

‡ General expenses include rent, rates, taxes, Directors' fees, office expenses, stationery, advertisements and insurance.

§ Premises include premises, furniture and fixtures.

ARTICLES FROM THE REVIEWS.

MARIE CORELLI ON LOVE'S LORDSHIP.

(NASH'S—APRIL 1913.)

—: O :—

In a recent issue of the Hindu Review I quoted an article from Nash's Magazine on the evils of war, written by Miss Marie Corelli. In the April Nash's, she writes on "the Lordship of Love." I cannot say that Miss Corelli comes out in her best in this article; and I am not surprised at it, either. Here she speaks evidently, from books, and not out of the very heart of actual experience. She sees Love "darkly as through a glass;" she has not yet stood face to face with her God, in the full glare of the soul's beatific vision. She talks from the outside, and not like one who has been in it. Yet, even as it is, the article is not unreadable; and I give the more interesting portions of it below.

* * * * *

LOVE AND SEX-ATTRACTION.

"Love is not mere sex-attraction, though sex-attraction is equally a part of the divine order of things, and is generally the first magnet which draws lovers together. But unless soul-attraction be combined with sex-attraction the 'love' so-called is but half a love—incomplete and malformed. It is merely the result of a passing fancy—an impulse of desire as brief as that of the child who longs for a rosy apple on a tree, plucks it, devours it, and straightway forgets its flavour. Sex-attraction is an impulse common to all creation—a natural law which is right and beautiful and divine, because natural law is the law of God; but we need always to remember that every Natural law is the reflex of a Spiritual law behind it. So that sex-attraction must be guided and controlled by Soul-attraction if Love is to be perfect."

* * * * *

SOUL-ATTRACTION : WHAT IT IS.

All this reads well : beautiful, sacred *words* ! But what is this soul-attraction ? How are we to know it ? Like all clever people Miss Corelli hurries to tell us what is *not* soul-attraction, instead of telling us what it really *is*. She says :—

"The man and woman who find each other's society agreeable for the time being, and on the basis of a few meetings, when both are on their best behaviour, tie themselves together for life in matrimony, are making a mistake which will take them all their days to repent. Neither of them has ever obtained a glimpse of each other's real disposition and temperament."

Thus Miss Corelli's soul-attraction finally resolves itself into the attraction of a man and woman's mutual disposition and temperament. But even here she does not throw much helpful light upon her theme. An intimate knowledge of the real disposition and temperament of the man or woman whom one is to marry, may help one's choice; but the real attraction between two people

knowledge and is not always destroyed by it either. And, in fact, few people know anything of their soul. Some identify it with their body, others with their mind, others with their emotions, others with their will ; but none or few know really what this soul is. Not one in a hundred thousand actually have any knowledge of their soul. How then are they to know which is sex-attraction and which is soul-attraction ? The analogy of the child and the rosy apple is very inept. How is the poor child to know before he has plucked and devoured the apple, whether its flavour will be straightway forgotten or last a life-time ? The poor thing must go on sampling indefinitely, if not everlastingly, to find this out. Men and women cannot be doing similarly, to find out which is sex-attraction and which is soul-attraction. Can they ? The fact really is Miss Corelli does not know what she is talking of.

* * * * *

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING.

But though while talking of things like soul-attraction and spiritual affinity and all similarly deep and profound things, Miss Corelli goes beyond her depths and indulges in meaningless cants,—in painting the ordinary ideal of the love-relation she is charming and draws from life.

“ A true lover must possess an almost divine patience. If man, he must have the strength and tenderness to understand with sweetness and humour the fanciful, feminine ways of the woman he loves—if woman, she should entertain so fixed a faith and loyalty towards her lover that her constant thought should be how best to comprehend and enter into his various ‘ moods ’ with a careful gentleness that soothes irritation away from his mind and calms his nerves without his being actually conscious of the art of her effort.”

And it is so necessary that the woman should more carefully study the man than that the man should study her, because—the man is the finer creature, and the one most apt to be disappointed in his ideals. “ Endowed with greater physical strength than woman, he is, nevertheless, in many ways more sensitive and highly strung than she, and what are with her mere passing ‘ fancies ’ are frequently with him powerful impressions which influence his whole life and character. A well-educated, thoughtful man is generally somewhat fastidious in his tastes—little things ‘ jar ’ his nerves, and it constantly happens that a slang word, an ungraceful movement, or a slovenly appearance in a woman he might otherwise admire, checks and repels him. Balzac touched a keen point of truth when he wrote : ‘ The man who enters his wife’s dressing-room is either a philosopher or a fool.’ No woman who wishes to keep a man’s love will ever permit him to see her otherwise than fresh and fair to look upon. Her clothing may be simple and never costly, but it must be dainty—everything about her should have a touch of charm and mystery. A latter-day French novelist makes one of his characters ask the hero of a modern romance why he is so much more in love with his mistress than with his wife. The hero replies : ‘ Parce que j’ai jamais vu en déshabille ! ’ This is distressingly flippant, but descriptive

of an everyday common truth. The 'désbabille' of some women is too hideous for words. Hair in pins and papers, coarsely made body-linen, and a general air of being 'taken to pieces in the wash' surely provide some excuse for Love to spread swift wings and fly out of the window, weeping with the strain of shock and disillusion! On the other hand, woman, if she be deeply, truly, passionately in love, is not so squeamish about trifles. She has always one saving grace about her—the art of *mothering*. This prevents her from idealising her lover too highly, for in many ways he seems a child to her instinctive tenderness. Is he jealous? She smiles indulgently and allows him to talk as much as he will about his 'pleasure' at seeing her enjoy herself in other men's company, it is 'what he likes,' she declares, with a pale, forced smile. Her jealousy has no such feigning about it,—she is openly and haughtily offended if he pays marked attention to any other woman in her presence. This is perfectly natural and legitimate. No feminine creature alive can pretend to endure a rival in love.

No woman who really loves asks for anything more than the companionship and tenderness of her beloved. That suffices, or should suffice her for her brief existence. The world may wag as it will—Governments may be 'in' or 'out'—kingdoms may rise and fall—the sea may cover the land or the land crumble into the sea, but so long as her Lover, her one chosen man out of all men, exists, and is well and strong and happy and prosperous, she is glad, grateful and satisfied."

MARRIAGE AND ROMANCE.

Miss Corelli quotes from Hamerton's—"HUMAN INTERCOURSE," where he says—"Let us believe that for every one the true mate exists somewhere in the world"; and while accepting the truth of it, says:—

"This is agreed, but the trouble is that sometimes the true mate turns up after the wrong one has been selected, and havoc ensues. For Love takes no denial, and will have its way. It is fruitless either to seek or ask for Love—it comes when it will and how it will, regardless of restriction or convention. The only way to avoid mischief and confusion in the manner of its sudden and unprepared selection is to be sure that it is the real Bird of Paradise before clipping its wings and caging it in matrimony. We must not take a goose for a swan or a ballet-dancer for an angel!"

LOVE AND MAMMON.

A counsel of perfection this! But how to avoid the mistake? There is, I am afraid, nothing in Miss Corelli's philosophy or in the civilisation to which she belongs, to prevent these mishaps. We must put duty, and especially the obligations of fatherhood and motherhood above all sex-attraction or sex-romance, not to avoid the temptation, but to overcome it. The sacramental view of marriage can alone solve the problem Miss Corelli raises here. But to follow her own line of treatment of the theme,—And the goose is so frequently taken for a swan, because she promises to lay golden eggs.

"If we are constant readers of the daily press and are inclined to dwell with any interest on journalistic accounts of marriages among the great names of the world,

persuaded that wealth is the chief desideratum in matrimony and Mammon the only god. Yet every now and again a sudden outbreak of sorrow and despair born of the long suppression of hopeless love, proves that the *grande passion* still holds sway over the finer and more emotional natures. The general rule to-day, however, is to marry suitably—and the calculating mind of the modern woman is not easily convinced of suitableness where cash is not plentiful. Yet wealth neither makes happiness nor ensures affection. Among a fairly large number of acquaintances, I know three men who married for money. Their lives are so utterly unenviable that one would hardly wish one's bitterest foes worse fortune. Two women friends of mine married for titles and the position their titles gave them. It would be difficult to find more lonely, loveless, disappointed creatures than these great ladies. Although they dress in the latest fashion like milliners' *mannequins*, and wear jewels worth a fortune, their tired eyes and worn features express the mere burden and weariness of living, and no more. They have tried to cheat Nature, and Nature has taken her revenge, as she always does. For Love is the primal law, the centre of the circling spheres: and whosoever trespasses against it shall find no peace either in the Upward or the Downward. Love is the one outlet and escape from the mere base sordidness of life—the buying and selling, the getting and hoarding—and one of the most deplorable signs of our times is that its very name to-day is too frequently coarsened by cheap sneers, and the fineness of its true spirit degraded by doubt and materialism."

THE LOVELESS HUMANS.

But though both men and women so often sacrifice their true love at the altar of titles and acres in modern European society, there is no human being, says Miss Corelli, more miserable than these. They can never reach out to all the good that is in them.

"On the other hand there is no human being in more pitiable plight than the man or woman who has never loved nor been loved; who has never been lifted from the level of earth to the height of heaven by the thrill of that wordless, exquisite, vital joy which transforms the dulllest surroundings to a glowing paradise of colour and beauty where no alien intruder can ever come, a wonderland of indescribable delight where two are company and three are none. There is a curious and unbecoming mixture of prudery, spite, envy and suspicion in the nature of a woman who has never succeeded in attracting a lover—and an even more curious awkwardness, hardness and restraint in the man who has no very great susceptibility of feeling towards the fair sex. Fortunately such examples of the race are rare. The necessity of Love is a law which few may trespass. Even such great minds as those of Wagner and Nietzsche were ever clamouring for the sympathy of a woman's mind—the tenderness of a woman's heart—that is, of a woman who could and would understand them. It is not an easy task to understand men of genius. Minna, Wagner's first wife, certainly was not of the refined, imaginative temperament to suit that of her supremely gifted husband, and Nietzsche's despairing madness for the ineffaceable shadow of Cosima Wagner brought him no particular help or consolation. The lack of true love and sympathy in the lives of the gifted and great men of the world makes very tragic history."

LOVES THAT FAIL,—AND HOW THEY MIGHT SUCCEED.

Miss Corelli is rather hard upon her own sex and particularly upon the poor "suffragists," for she holds the self-centred vanity of the woman far more responsible for the failures of love than the childish conceits of the man.

Perhaps one may venture to suggest that the core of the wound of women's real or imaginary unhappiness is a self-centred idea of vanity in which there is nothing of the para-

mount law of love. From such egoism in woman—she who was created to be the priestess of love—must needs come discontent and wretchedness. Where does the fault lie? Quite possibly in the fact that the majority of women, when they love as they call it, fail to love enough. They grow impatient of the little weaknesses and tyrannies of men, though these are only a larger repetition of the weaknesses and tyrannies of the children they pet and spoil and find excuses for all day long. They forget that it is themselves who rear and train their own oppressors—if they indeed elect to consider that man's naturally ordained sovereignty over them is oppression. It is a wrong and a mischievous notion, for men in the aggregate are more careful and tender of women than women sometimes deserve.

“The relations between the sexes are bound to be always unequal—man is the stronger, woman is the weaker—and the weakest must submit to the strongest. There is no other way out of it. Therefore, the submission should be willing and graceful, for in it is found a greater power than that of absolute command. And here is where the law of Love makes all things easy, for love finds no hardship in yielding to love. As Dante tells us, certainly the lordship of love is good: seeing that it diverts the mind from all mean things. The discontent and tiredness so common in our day among people who, so far as material prosperity goes, have nothing to wish for, arises chiefly from the lack of love, not because they are not loved, but because they do not love. To love, means to live in every sense of the word—to feel the heart warm, the brain active, and all the vital forces moving in harmony with the vitality of nature itself. We should take care, in our age of increasing materialism, not to love less, but more—to keep the Angel beside us, and not scare it away by our modern twin demons of Cash and Convenience. Marriages must be made for love only—love, not fancy!—love, not money and millinery!—otherwise love itself may take revenge, and, stepping in through some side-issue of destiny, sever the ill-tied knot. Love very greatly depends on the gentleness and loyalty of women: they can make life beautiful with it if they will. Every woman who truly loves creates a paradise around herself and the beloved of her soul, and should be able to feel what a Spanish poet has expressed in four lines,—

“Once on a time I thought
Love was a thing for play—
Since I loved *you* I know
’Tis a thing for the judgment day!”

—:○:○:—

REALISTIC DRAMA.

(By W. L. COURTNEY—FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW—MAY 1913.)

The modern English stage has developed mainly along the lines of the realistic. Pieces like *Hindle Wakes*, *The New Sin*, *The Eldest Son*, *The Younger Generation*, and most of the works of Mr. Shaw, Mr. Granville Barker, Mr. Arnold Bennett and Mr. Galsworthy are mostly realistic.

A dramatist, we will suppose, is asking himself, how he shall treat human characters, and he discovers that there are at least three possible ways.

He can say in the first place “I will paint human beings as I think they ought to be.” We can imagine however a dramatist with a very different ideal before him. He says “My business as an artist is to paint men as I think

they really are"—never heroes and never heroines, nor even thorough-going villains, not beautifully white, not preternaturally black, but (as one might phrase it) of piebald variety. This species of dramatist works from a scientific point of view. His mode of procedure, and also such inspiration as he possesses is mainly experimental, based on what he has discovered about humanity.

If the first class of dramatist is radiantly optimistic, the second class is generally preternaturally sad, inclined to despair, teaching us that this world is not altogether a comfortable place and that human beings are especially agreeable to live with. It is conceivable, however that apart from these two classes of dramatists, there yet is room for a third, a man who is neither a preacher, nor a pessimist but a sheer artist, inspired by a purely artistic idea. He does not desire to draw any moral. He desires it is true, to be guided by experience; but he does not give us the dry bones of scientific data. Being an artist he uses his selective capacity both as to his incidents and his characters.

Now here are three different types of dramatist, and fortunately for our purpose we can give them names. The drama began with the Greeks. The earliest dramatist was Aeschylus, a profoundly moral and didactic playwright who painted men and women as he thought they ought to be: because he held it to be his business to justify the ways of God to humanity. A great man and a real dramatist and still more a seer, a prophet, a teacher. The third of the Greek dramatists was Euripides, who tried to draw men and women as he thought they were. He like many modern men, revolted from the lofty conception of humanity as idealised by Aeschylus. He had no particular moral lesson to teach and did not want to justify the ways of God to man. On the contrary one of his aims was to justify the ways of men to gods, to show how unjust the gods were, how arbitrary, how poverty-stricken in idea. His men as we see were real men as viewed by a man of experience. His women were real women and his general aspect was more or less pessimistic. The second of the dramatists in Greece was Sophocles. He, as distinct from his compeers, was, as seems, neither moralist nor a realist, but an artist through and through impersonal and remote—an artist in fibre, whose drama gives us the absolute Greek point of view, a little idealised here and there no doubt.

Here is an exemplification in history of the three kinds of dramatist as he been described. A man can paint human beings, as he thinks they ought to be, a man can paint them as he thinks they are. The first is what we ordinarily recognise as an Idealist; the second is undoubtedly a Realist. modern examples are required, there are many to choose from. Tolstoy, for instance—especially in a play like *Resurrection*—is an Idealist and a preacher. The realistic school, as such, we shall have further opportunities of portraying. The third species of dramatist is the artist who exercises his faculty of selection as every artist should, who is never a diadectic moralist, any more than a photographer; who does not paint, so to speak, the wrinkles and pimples but gives

you the general meaning of the face—the Sophoclean type in short—is one for whom there is not yet a name—except the good old name of dramatic artist. Is there, however, no modern example? Yes, assuredly. There is Shakespeare himself. He is full of romance, he has over and over again the touch of the idealist, and yet no man will tell you more about human nature and more freely give you live, vivid and fresh-drawn types. He is quite impersonal, he never preaches ostentatiously a moral. He tells you how things happen and lets you draw your conclusion. His object is to show you how the world reveals itself to an artist—a very high and serious artist who, with the intuition of genius, understands and knows.

But, surely, there is no question which is the correct view, at all events, to us children of the nineteenth century? The problem appears to be settled. We are only concerned with reality; metaphysical idealism is pure talk and word-spinning. Surely, in view of all that the nineteenth century has done, the older idealistic views are but vague mists, destined to disappear before the light of the sun. From this point of view realism can be our only gospel.

Modern drama in England has run through three or four distinct phases. There is the kind of drama with which Macready had to concern himself, succeeded by a very bad and infertile period in which the chief productions were either adaptations from the French or else burlesques, many of which again had a French ancestry. No touch or breath of reality came across English drama till about 1860, or rather to be accurate, till November 14th, 1865, when a piece entitled *Society* was played at the Prince of Wales's Theatre, having as its author Tom Robertson.

Probably there was no more curious or exciting an evening than the *première* of *Society*, produced on the 14th of November 1865. *Society* is by no means a good play, nor is it characteristically Robertsonian, except in one point—Robertson's knowledge of and Bohemian life.

For some twenty years after the Robertsonian drama had run its course, nothing critical or important in the direction of what we have called Realism is to be noticed. Even after Robertson that was an undiminished flow of adaptation from the French. All the leading dramatists were occupied in this curiously ignoble and servile task.

The dramatist whom we call realistic, in the first place accepts the conditions of the time in which he works and the country which is the scene of his labours. He begins, that is to say, with the principle that each country has its own way of life and action, a way of its own, not by any means the same as that of other nations. That principle of course cuts at the root of all foreign adaptation. A further consequence of this realistic way of regarding character is that we learn not to be afraid to call things by their right names. The older dramatist lived in a world of his own, where certain ugly facts were glossed over or forgotten, or at all events, not emphasised. But the modern realist

play-writer believing that such reticence is foolish and wrong, will give you the ugly facts with just their names without shame. Reviewing some of these features of Realistic drama we discover at once that an exceedingly important and comprehensive influence came from the work of Henrik Ibsen, whose social dramas, produced in London, were received with undisguised hostility, but also profoundly altered the conception of drama in the minds of many English dramatists. It may be further added that an advance in the direction of Realism was consummated a good deal later when George Alexander produced *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* at the St. James's Theatre.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

(MAY 1913.)

—:0:—

1. Contents :—Albania and the Allies (H. N. Brailsford). 2. Co-partnership in Land and Housing (Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P.). 3. What We are Doing in India (Dr. R. F. Horton). 4. Home Rule and Imperial Unity (J. G. Swift-McNeill, K.C., M.P.). 5. Wagner in 1913 (Ernest Newman). 6. Count Szechuryi and England (Prof. Marczali). 7. A Browning Pilgrimage (The Rev. Arthur Whyte). 8. Crime and Punishment (A. M. Brice). 9. Women and the Legal Profession (Holford Knight). 10. The Next Revised Version. (Canon Glazebrook). 11. The Ascendancy of Wordsworth (E. Cecil Roberts). 12. The Christian Idea of God and Recent Thought (The Rev. Cavendish Norton). 13. Foreign Affairs (Dr. E. I. Ditton). 14. Literary Supplement.

CO-PARTNERSHIP IN LAND AND HOUSING.

One of the most striking features of life in England at the present day and one of ill omen for England, is the constant emigration from the country-side, sometimes to the towns, sometimes to the colonies. Undoubtedly one of the chief causes of this restlessness, this craving for a new life in a new land, arises from lack of independence in the village. To wish to establish a happy and contented community one must first infuse into those who live on the land some hopes of freedom from shackles which prevent them from bettering their condition, and secondly must attract to the land, from outside, communities of independent and self-reliant workmen. With these end in view Rural Co-partnership Housing was tried as a remedy. The Rural Co-partner Housing Association (now the Rural Co-partnership Housing and Land Council) was formed in April 1911 to undertake the task of applying the principle of Co-partnership to rural conditions. The Association labours as a missionary and its business is to instruct the local societies, to help them with financial help and judicious advice. In this, many problems present themselves for solution the principal of which is the financial difficulty :—the cottages being all of such low rental and there is little money for investment.

Where there is a demand for cottages (and land) and where private enterprise is not meeting the demand, a Rural Co-partnership Housing Society is established in the district. The Society secures the names of those willing to rent the cottages when built. As the profit is limited to five per cent, the Society is registered as a Public Utility Society and is thus able to borrow two-thirds of the total value from the Public Works Local Board at a rate of 3½ per cent. The remaining third is obtained by the issue of shares to the co-partners.

In certain cases, where very low wages prevail, an arrangement may be made whereby the tenant pays for his share consecutively. He can increase his investment at any time, so that he can, if he likes, realise annually a sum equivalent to his rent. Though he cannot buy his house he can "buy his rent." The affairs of a Society are controlled by a Board of Management, elected annually by the members, and all members have a vote for each fully paid-up share and are eligible for election to the Board.

In these schemes the capitalist and the labourer are of the greatest mutual service. The non resident capitalist receives a fair interest for his money. The resident workman gets security of tenure which he can pass on to his family. If he wishes to leave the neighbourhood he is able to withdraw or transfer the amount he has paid in.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

(By A. M. BRICE.)

It has been said and with some semblance of authority, that the attitude of a country to the treatment of its criminals is an infallible test of its civilisation. It seems but a few years ago that Stephen was writing in his General View of the Criminal Law these words: "The benefits which Criminal Law produces are twofold. In the first place, it prevents crime by terror; in the second place it regulates, sanctions and provides a legitimate satisfaction for the passion of revenge."

This was undoubtedly a true description of the old English Criminal Law. The modern penal law minimises and even appears at times to extinguish this motive of revenge.

Beccaria of Milan asserted that the only true test and measure of crime is the damage done to the community, and they are heretical who hold that the measure of a crime is the intention of the criminal. The French translated the views of Beccaria into practice. After Beccaria came Rossi in 1860. Rossi declared that social defence was only a secondary object of the act of punishment, the main objects being the re-establishment of public order, and in particular, the reformation of the criminal.

It is now generally recognised in England, that crime is a complex product, to which inherited tendencies and the pressure of environment, both habitual and occasional, have largely contributed. Punishment for crime may be punitive, deterrent (or exemplary), preventive (reformatory) and the relationship of punishment to crime depends entirely upon the point of view taken either by the legislature or the judge. Therefore it is of the highest importance, that the right view of punishment should be held and enforced. A vast mass of crime is of an ordinary, drab and vulgar character; the inevitable harvest we reap from maintaining so many people shut up in lightless slums, surrounded by an

environment of sordid condition and filthy habit, excluded from contact with higher standards, untouched, if not unreachd by religion and education, sodden in drink and saturated with immorality. This is the crime we invite, and these are the people we cherish by neglecting our social duties as a State. In fact it is now recognised that a prison is not a moral hospital. Rather has it been seen to be a criminal manufactory.

Fortunately, owing to the criminal legislation of the last few years, great changes have been made. The Probation of Offenders Act, 1907; the Children's Act of the following year; the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, dealing in its first part with the reformation of young offenders, and its second with the detention of professional criminals, have already made their mark upon the penal system.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

(MAY 1913.)

Contents :—1. England, Germany and the Peace of Europe (Sir Max Wacchter D.L., J.P.). 2. The late King of Greece (Philhellene). 3. M. Raymond Poincare (Martial Massiani). 4. Sea and Air Command : Germany's New Policy. 5. Isabella II's Last Revolution (Francis Gribble). 6. In the Forest (Maurice Hewlett). 7. Henry Osipov (Oliver Onions). 8. The Question of Divorce by Consent (E. S. P. Haynes). 9. The Future of Albania (Wadham Peacock). 10. The Character and Genius of Mr. Lloyd George (The Rev. J. Vernwy Morgan, D. D.). 11. Realistic Drama (W. L. Courtney). 12. A State Medical Service (Charles A. Parker). 13. A German View of the Turkish Defeat (Lancelot Lawton). 14. "The Mysterious Hermit" (H. H. Prince, V. Bariatinsky). 15. The Wind (Miss Francis Tyrrell-Gill). 16. The Record of M. Lepine (John. F. Macdonald). 17. The Joy of Youth—Chaps. XVIII-XXIII (Eden Phillpotts). 18. Correspondence.

ENGLAND, GERMANY AND THE PEACE OF EUROPE.

(By SIR MAX WACHTER.)

Sir Max Wacchter begins the above article by saying :—Peace is the greatest interest of all nations; he goes on to say that it is astonishing that the Balkan question has been settled without that great European war which many statesmen predicted. There are six great Powers in Europe. They form two groups: the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. They have been created for preventing a war of aggression and for preserving what is called the *status quo* in Europe. "People frequently speak of the will of united Europe." Evidently Europe cannot have a single will, as long as the States of Europe are divided by the balance of power into two armed camps.

During the recent peace negotiations in London, the European concert was represented by the ambassadors of the six great Powers. With the assistance of

these diplomats the question of Albania and the difference between Bulgaria and Roumania would very likely have led to a great European war.

The group system is probably the best system which, so far, has obtained in Europe. It constitutes a great advance upon the chaotic conditions which prevailed in the past.

The present system has, nevertheless, most serious drawbacks. The present organisation of Europe is apt to check combined action by the Powers. This is not all. The system has produced a wild competition in armaments among the Powers. All Europe groans under the heavy taxation which these enormous armaments require.

The nations of Europe are staggering under their colossal burden. Those people who suggest that the European armaments be restricted by agreement among the Powers propose to deal only with a symptom but not with the cause of the evil. The rulers and statesmen of Europe are striving to promote the welfare of their nations. Peace and prosperity are the greatest blessings they secure for the people. The unification of Europe in some form or other would give Europe peace, and as such unification would make the vast and excessive existing armies and navies unnecessary, it would increase the work of the people and would make the masses prosperous and happy. There is no reason that Europe should continue divided against itself. It should be the ideal of the statesmen to create a great federation in Europe. It is of course impossible as long as very great differences exist between two of the leading nations—Great Britain and Germany. Many leading Germans assert that Germany requires large colonies, because of the rapid increase of her population, which increases every year by almost 900,000. But as soon as Germany and Great Britain become permanently united, as soon as Europe becomes federated, there will no longer be German colonies, French colonies, British colonies, etc., but only European colonies belonging to the Federated States Europe. The colonies of every nation will be equally open to the citizens of every other country of Europe. The desire for national colonies would disappear. Germany would have all the elbow-room she requires. The idea which prevails in Germany that the expansion of Germany's trade has created jealousy and bitterness in England is erroneous. Competition is the soul of business. Germany's competition has been an invaluable stimulus to British trade. Before endeavouring to arrive at a friendly understanding or better still, a close alliance with Germany, it should be the duty of Great Britain to tell France and Russia frankly that Great Britain is working for a better understanding with Germany with the object of bringing about a close alliance of all European Powers. The leading men of France are of opinion that the question of Alsace-Lorraine would no longer block the way to an all-round friendly understanding and there is no doubt that all other Powers are already pre-disposed in favour of such a Federation. Freed from the present crushing taxation the economic

predominance of Europe, which she is about to lose, would be assured and her power and influence in the world would be re-established.

THE QUESTION OF DIVORCE BY CONSENT.

(By E. S. P. HAYNES.)

The ecclesiastical policy in regard to marriage was always to retain as tight a hold of the institution as possible; marriage could only be annulled with the aid of subsidies to the church, and even marriage, after all, was principally the means of avoiding the sin of incontinence. Putting aside ecclesiastical considerations it seems difficult to see why two spouses should be irrevocably fettered if both want to get free, provided the interests of the family are properly secured. Its only rational aspect now-a-days is the fear that divorce by consent may be highly dangerous to society; if a couple rashly decided to have a child and subsequently decided to part again quite shortly after the child is born, the child would not (in general) be fairly treated, even if it was financially well provided for. Obviously this would not conduce to social welfare. This little problem is at the root of all problems in marriage and divorce.

In countries where divorce by consent exists, the usual view of the Legislature appears to be that a time-limit sufficiently safeguards the institution of marriage, and that if two spouses repeatedly and publicly declared for a period of, say, one or two years their desire to be free of each other, neither is likely to be harmed, provided financial provision is made for the family. The principle of divorce by mutual consent involves a certain respect for human dignity and liberty which is far more fashionable now-a-days. The imposition of a substantial time-limit should protect the State from having to register a succession of frivolous and unworthy divorces. The lack of such a time-limit was the principal defect in the Roman Law. The most cogent argument, however, is perhaps the question of the children. The strongest supporter of easier divorce cannot possibly deny the desirability, whenever possible, of all children enjoying the joint care and affection of both parents.

"In Japan marriage is more common, divorce more numerous and venereal disease less prevalent than anywhere else; and a similar phenomenon has been reported from China. The freedom of divorce is one of the reasons why the yellow race are tending to supplant the whites—they breed better."

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

(A QUARTERLY—APRIL 1913).

Contents:—1. The European Unrest—The Turkish Point of View (E. N. Bennett). 2. The Writings of Lord Redesdale Edmund Gosse, C.B. 3. Greek Genius and Greek Democracy. 4. Social Life in Ireland after the Restoration (Dr. Murray). 5. An Elizabethan Poet and Modern Poetry.

6. The Romance of the Sea Deepes (Dr. A. E. Shipley, F.R.S.). 7. Pre-historic Art (E. A. Parkyn.). 8. Tendencies of Modern Art (James Bone). 9. The Trade of Canada. (Eduard Stanwood.) 10. Octavia Hill and the Housing Problem (A Fellow-Worker). 11. The State and the Telephone. 12. The Demand for Compulsion (The Editor).

THE EUROPEAN UNREST.

(BY E. N. BENNETT.)

It seems probable that there will be no further armed conflict in Europe as the immediate result of the Balkan War.

The Albanian question which is one of the most disturbing factors in the situation, has momentarily narrowed itself to manageable dimensions.

But the settlement is not likely to be permanent. In the Balkan Region itself it is scarcely possible to conceive of any reconstruction which will not leave occasion for further dissension and further diplomatic and perhaps military activities. A European Congress will no doubt decide that Albania is henceforth to be an independent principality under the joint protection of the Powers with limits fixed in the Treaty.

For nearly three years there had been severe guerilla fighting owing to the stupid and brutal attempts of the Young Turk regime to abolish the local privileges of the Albanians and establish a centralised system of government and law. No doubt a European Power could in the end succeed where Turkey failed, and impose its yoke upon that unconquered race from which sprang Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus and Scander Beg and Mahomet Ali; but the enterprise would involve such sacrifices as hardly any War Department could contemplate without misgiving. Moreover the forces which were in operation in Macedonia to thwart pacification will be at work in Albania. To the Montinegrin Serbs and Greeks, perhaps also to the Bulgarians the "autonomous" principality will be a standing testimony to the incompleteness of their achievement in the crusade against Turkey. The Serbs are a people in that mood of roused and aspiring social consciousness out of which in the nineteenth century grew united Germany and united Italy. It is an ambition which does not lack nobility, and it cannot be denied some justification, for the Serbs alone of the South Slavonic population kept alive their literary and historic traditions through the centuries of dispersion and servitude. This is the reaction of the Balkan War upon the world-politics and it is felt acutely not merely in Vienna but in St. Petersburg, Berlin and in Paris. The net result is that Austria is in a far worse position than before to stem the advancing tide of slavdom. As a member of the Triple Alliance her efficacy is substantially diminished.

Germany can no longer count upon using the greater part of the Austrian army against the Russian frontier in the event of a European conflict.

Against the danger of a concerted attack she (Germany) has endeavoured to guard since 1879, first by alliance with Austria and then by the Triple Alliance. But Tripoli and the Albanian settlement may not render it easier for Italy to act with her northern neighbour.

France pays no less heavily. The three years service she designs to lay upon her population is a "blood-tax" such as no one of the great peoples has yet consented to endure.

Happily, there is no definite quarrel between the greater Powers at present ; on the contrary, in the difficult transactions of the past few months, all have shown them schemes conciliatory and moderate ; but can this deeply-rooted *dissidence* of interests and opinion be confined within such comparatively harmless limits ? The question cannot be answered with complete confidence.

THE TURKISH POINT OF VIEW.

The Turks themselves—well-informed soldiers and civilians as well as the "man in the street"—entered on the struggle in a spirit of thorough confidence and optimism. It was never believed that the Servians would even stand against the Turkish advance which would thus effectually cut off from the Bulgarians, all succour from their western allies and leave them to the mercy of Abdullah Pasha in Thrace. The current explanation of the Macedonian disaster, apart from defects of the Turkish commissariat and general organisation have taken shape in a series of general charges laid on the head of the Young Turk party. The point not sufficiently realised by critics of the Turks in Macedonia is that Ahmed Riza's forces were hopelessly out-numbered from the first. A far more serious obstacle to Turkish success was presented by the unexpected indifference or rather disloyalty of the Albanian Moslems. The 7,500 Albanians who with 25,000 Turks composed the Elbasan division, flatly refused to advance against the Servians and so involved the entire force in a disastrous retreat.

All Moslems and many of the Sultan's Christian subjects are convinced that the Turks are the victims of a gigantic European conspiracy to rob them of their territory by fair means or foul.

The average Turk confronts the situation with the characteristic fortitude and dignity of his race. His fore-fathers came from Asia and thither he returns. The eyes of the Turkish people turn bravely from the survey of their unspeakable calamities to the hope of some better future in Anatolia. Asia Minor is full of latent wealth. Minerals and oil await development and the railway system is in its infancy. Already the Turks are making fresh efforts for administrative reforms in the Asiatic vilayets. The all-important question which the Turks ask themselves is,—Will Europe grant us breathing space to show what we can do in the territory which still remains to us ?

THE ECONOMIC REVIEW.

(A QUARTERLY—APRIL 1913.)

Contents:—1. Editorial notes. 2. Trade Union (Trade Lists and the Law) Prof. W. M. Geldart. 3. The Housing Question (The Very Rev. Dr T. C. Fry). 4. Co-partnership and Labour (L. V. Lister-Garland. 5. India and the Sugar Convention (D. A. Barker). 6. Outdoor Relief (Rev. Clement F. Rogers). 7. Dr. Carlyle on Wages (Prof. Elwin Cannon). Notes and Memoranda.

INDIA AND THE SUGAR CONVENTION.

(BY D. A. BARKER).

As early as the first century of the Christian era we find in classical authors occasional references to Indian "honey-bearing" reed and to the granulated product which was imported thence into Europe and used in medicine under the name of "saccharum." The art of refining sugar with ashes, appears to have been discovered in Egypt. The sugar industry seems to have been carried by the adventurers of Portugal and Spain to the colonies of Madeira, the West Indies and South America with excellent results.

So far as England was concerned, however, India was the principal source of supply and the East India Company used to import considerable quantities of the finer grades of crystallized sugar from Bengal.

It was in 1747 that a Berlin professor discovered the existence of common sugar in beet, but no great development of the industry took place until the Napoleonic policy, by cutting off the supply of cane sugar, caused a great rise in its price on the continent of Europe. Manufactories were then established both in France and Germany and the industry soon attained gigantic proportions especially in France. The continental nations began to levy tax on the production of beet sugar based generally upon the amount of beet used. In order, however, to make the burden as light as possible, the amount of the tax was refunded in case of all sugar exported.

The beet-producing countries, it must be remembered, in addition to the internal duties on production of sugar, imposed also import duties slightly in excess of the internal duty. The continental producers, therefore, were protected against outside competition, by the amount of this excess of "surtax" as it is technically called. The Government of India now felt it their duty to put a stop to the importation of "bounty-fed" sugar and imposed (1899) on all such sugar a duty equivalent in amount to the bounty given on the export.

The action of the Indian Government, in penalising bounty-fed sugar, brought this question to the fore, and in 1907 an International Conference assembled at Brussels. In March 1902 the High Contracting Parties agreed to suppress the direct and indirect bounties which might benefit the production or export of sugar, and not to establish bounties of this kind during the duration

1902 had been time to run from September, 1903, to September, 1908. In 1907, when it came up for renewal the other Powers agreed that subject to the conditions that England should not give any bounties on sugar, and should not give preferential treatment to the sugar of its colonies, the Convention might be prolonged until September 1913.

It was not long, however, before the inconveniences of this prolongation became manifest. In the summer of 1911 there occurred an almost universal drought. As a consequence of this drought the world's supply of sugar was considerably less than usual. In Russia, as it happened, there had been good harvests and sugar was abundant, but by the terms of the Convention, only 200,000 tons of this sugar could be exported westwards during any one year. Russia promptly asked permission to increase its export temporarily. To these representations, the Brussels Convention replied that Russian exports might be increased to 250,000 tons. Accordingly notice was given by the British representative that England would withdraw from the Convention on September 1, 1913.

The chief result of this Sugar Convention has been the abolition of bounties. But though the more obvious forms of bounty have been swept away, many indirect bounties still remain.

As India is the original home of the cane, the large importation of sugar in recent years is a surprising feature which needs explanation. It has been suggested (1) that the home supply is not equal to home demand; (2) that there is an increasing demand for refined sugar as is not made in India. Unless fitting refineries are established, the ever-growing demand for refined sugar must inevitably lead to the encouragement of imports at the expense of home industry.

It was a conclusion of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the decay of the West Indian sugar industry, that salvation was to be found in scientific cultivation and modern methods of manufacture rather than in international conventions and penal clauses. Might we not apply this conclusion to the larger problem of the East?





(BY COURTESY OF THE BIJOYA PRESS)

DR. BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL.

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THE HINDU REVIEW.

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND LIFE.

I.

THE NEW EDUCATION POLICY.

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The Government of India have acted with unpardonable unwisdom in provoking a conflict with the Calcutta University just now. It has aroused public feeling in the province to a pitch which is only slightly lower than that caused by Lord Curzon's partition scheme.

The Education Agitation.

In fact, the issues raised by the Government of India's letter about the University lectureships are far more vital than those raised by that ill-fated measure. Are leaders of political thought and life in the country to be precluded from participating in the education of the youths of their nation on account of their political opinions or activities?—that is really the fundamental question raised here by the Government of India. Neither Mr. Rasul nor Mr. Suhrawardy, nor Mr. Jasawal has been convicted of any political offence, though in few civilised countries even conviction for a political offence, which involved no moral turpitude, would be regarded as a disqualification for any educational office. The only charge against them is that they have been connected with political movements,—which means, at its worst, that they have taken part in public protest against certain acts and policies of the Executive Government in India. To make this as an offence, justifying the deprivation of any man of his right to have and hold any public office, is really to attack the very foundations of civic freedom and to upset all the political values hitherto attached to British rule in India by every one of its apologists and defenders. It is an attack, however insidious it may be, upon the primary rights of citizenship,—the right of private judgment and freedom of thought. No self-respecting community can take an assault like this upon

their primary rights lying low. No one has any reason to be surprised, therefore, that the Bengalee community have risen up in a strong and united protest against this new education policy of the Government of India.

* * * * *

And every one who is not a violent revolutionary among us, must deeply regret this unfortunate development. Things were gradually quieting down. The old sores were slowly healing up. The bitterness which the clash and conflict of the past few years had created, was

Opening Old Sores.

gradually wearing off. And there were signs of a slow return of the people to a more reasonable and generous mood on all sides. We were all striving to work up a reasonable reconciliation between the legitimate demands of nationalism on the one side, and the real requirements of imperialism on the other, and were gradually weaning the minds of the rising generations away from all unhealthy and outlandish revolutionary notions. They were gradually coming to recognise the wisdom and truth of Lord Hardinge's Indian policy, and were commencing to lend it their intellectual adherence, as the only rational and safe line of the evolution of modern Indian history and state-craft. But all this has been suddenly and rudely disturbed by this act of the Government of India. And we are once more being borne down by a paralysing sense of utter helplessness to save a situation which seems to be growing more and more hopeless every day.

* * * * *

In fact, in view of the possible recrudescence of the old unrest, which required the presence of the King Emperor himself to pacify, I sometimes feel that it would perhaps have been better to let this action of the Government of India pass unchallenged, than to get up a public protest and agitation against it. This protest has no doubt been headed by men whose sobriety and moderation have never been denied and whose loyalty to the British connection had not been questioned even in the stormy days of the Partition-agitation. There is no danger of any revival of the old unrest personally and directly by these respectable leaders of public opinion. But it should not be forgotten that the Partition agitation was also started and led originally by some of these very leaders themselves. It was they who had originated that movement, which, however, passed rapidly out of their hands and developed tendencies which they were the very first to disclaim and denounce. It is, in fact

The Present Agitation and the Political Situation.

the inevitable fate of all so-called "moderate" agitation. It re-acts upon others, and even the most moderate and qualified condemnation of any act or policy of the Government, affecting any vital interests of the governed, inflames the passions of the younger generations. And it is because this new education-policy and the protest that has already been raised against it, are likely to arouse youthful passions in the country, that I so deeply regret this act of unwisdom of the Government of India, and am sometimes even inclined to feel that we would have done well to ignore it altogether. There are circumstances when an experienced physician would rather allow a malady to run its own course and spend itself out in its own way, than cause undesirable excitement or irritation in the patient's system by direct medication. There are occasions when even political wrongs and injustice may have to be suffered in silence. There are very serious considerations that might lead one to hesitate to start a fresh agitation just now in this country. There are, on the other hand, many considerations equally cogent, that demanded a public protest. In view of these conflicting and complex considerations, it was not easy to determine which was the right course. But now that the protest has been made, and the agitation has been started, the issues have passed out of our hands. The Government, and the Government alone, can save the situation by frankly and honourably withdrawing from a position which can be defended neither on considerations of justice nor on grounds of expediency. And the country looks up to Lord Hardinge to do it.

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| <p>The Viceroy and The New-Policy.</p> | <p>For it is generally believed that the Viceroy is not personally responsible for this act of his ministers. And the whole-hearted sympathy of every intelligent and thoughtful Indian politician must go out at this juncture to Lord Hardinge, who has, in one sense, been the first victim of this act. The multitudes, with the lack of discrimination characteristic of the multitudes every where, will readily set this new attempt to cripple the intellectual freedom of the Indian populations, to the credit of the Head of the Government. Yet, unless all our readings of His Excellency's policy and statesmanship be absolutely wrong, it is impossible to believe that such wreckless unwisdom as is betrayed by Mr. Sharp's letter to the Calcutta University, could have received Lord Hardinge's support. But few people realise the helplessness of a Viceroy's position, who, though the Head of the State, cannot over-ride the decisions of his own Council, except under very exceptional circumstances and in regard to certain specific matters. The administrative authority in British India</p> |
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is vested, not in the Viceroy, but in the Governor-General-in-Council. Should any vital difference arise between him and his Council, the Governor-General may, of course, offer to resign, but he cannot, except in certain specified cases, over-ride it. The decision of the Government conveyed in Mr. Sharp's letter is not that of the Viceroy, but of the Governor-General-in-Council : and it is quite possible,—in fact, it seems all but certain,—that it has not had Lord Hardinge's personal sanction and support. At the same time, one has simply to consider the general situation in the country, and the relative positions of Lord Hardinge and his councillors, to realise how difficult it must have been for his lordship to even offer a stout opposition to the views put forward by his colleagues. The Delhi outrage has not only affected His Excellency's health, but has even considerably weakened his public policy in the eye of the petty politicians entrusted with the work of administration in India. This outrage, and the persistence of the official idea that there are a class of malevolent irreconcilables in the country who can be crushed by rigorous repressions but can never be conciliated by any concessions short of the actual abdication of the authority of the Government, and lastly, the reports of continued political dacoities from different parts of Bengal,—all these are urged as proofs of the complete failure of Lord Hardinge's Indian policy. And all these have, consequently, made his lordship's position more difficult and delicate than it ever was before. These would try, perhaps, the patience of an angel. Lord Hardinge is only a man. And very few men, indeed, could command sufficient mental strength, after so severe a shock as that which Lord Hardinge received from the assassin's bomb at Delhi, to assert himself against men who claimed longer experience of the country and its people than what he himself had. The situation in Bengal had become impossible. Lord Minto had failed to control it by his policy of right-handed repressions and lefthanded concessions. Lord Hardinge offered to try his policy. He had, it was well-known, the support of the British Cabinet. He had even the countenance of the King. The Indian Bureaucracy had no faith really in his weak-kneed measures. But they had no option in the matter. And they accepted it as something inevitable. But no one can lend his loyal support to what he accepts only as the inevitable. Lord Hardinge's Indian policy has succeeded as fully as could be expected under the circumstance. But it has not succeeded fully and absolutely. I do not believe that Lord Hardinge himself expected more from it. His lordship must know that revolutionary patriotism is easier to arouse, than to control or correct. The bitterness created in the community by the conflicts of the two previous Administrations, could not be immediately

cured by the enunciation of a more reasonable and conciliatory policy. It requires the vision of a true statesman to realise the far-reaching trends and aims of a truly statesmanly policy. A statesmanly policy takes a wide and long view of history and socio-political evolution, not only of the particular country for which it is enunciated, but also of its present and future neighbours and allies and opponents. Such a broad and long view of things cannot be taken by the man in the street anywhere. And above all, it requires considerable strength of imagination and very great moral stamina, to forgive and forget a past series of actual wrongs and repressions, out of regard for some distant and possible good. Lord Hardinge could not wipe out the memories of the Minto *regime*. He could not even repudiate the acts and policies of his predecessor openly. He could not repeal all his restrictive Acts and Ordinances. His lordship could only enunciate a new policy, pregnant with immense future possibilities. He could only hold out, cautiously and tentatively, a promise of reconciliation and progress for the future. But the Indian public is not wholly unfamiliar with the character of politicians' promises. They could not, therefore, become wildly enthusiastic over Lord Hardinge's policy and promises. The return of the country to a normal and healthy mood was bound to be a slow affair. But those who never lent their loyal support to Lord Hardinge's far-seeing policy, was not disposed to give this time to an irritated people to come back to their normal condition. They wanted wonders. They asked for a miracle. The Partition being repealed, all unrest, and especially all underground revolutionary activities, must at once cease. This is what they demanded. It was an impossible demand. It was not satisfied. Revolutionary propaganda continued to be carried on in secret, through contraband pamphlets and leaflets. Dacoities did not cease. Even the hand of the political assassin was not stayed. And all these marked, in the eye of the *zabhardast* bureaucrat, the complete failure of Lord Hardinge's policy. All these have somewhat strengthened their position. And they are trying once more to revive the spirit of the Minto *regime*.

And the Viceroy's position is so delicate and difficult, because his lordship here has to be responsible for the consequences of a course of action which he could not really control, and yet which he cannot openly disclaim. If there is trouble once more in the country, a fresh recrudescence of the old unrest, the blame of it would fall on Lord Hardinge. It would proclaim his failure. It would kill practically all his future prospects. Nor would it make our own lot in any way easier. In the present state of his health, Lord Hardinge cannot be expected to face the anxieties of the situation that Lord Minto had to grapple with. Already the situa-

tion is becoming more and more difficult and anxious. The Mahomedans are a fresh cause of anxiety to the Government. They have commenced to assume a bolder and more defiant attitude than had ever been known in the past. The present Moslem unrest is not a mere local outburst of fanaticism. The Moslem mob has been finding educated leaders. The latter have learnt some lessons from the recent agitation in Bengal and the ultimate success of that movement, as proved by the King's visit and the repeal of the Partition. This new phase of the Mahomedan problem in India is a cause of infinitely greater anxiety to the authorities than the Bengal agitation ever was. The Government will have its hands full with this problem for some time to come. And it is no pleasant thing for the Head of the Administration at this time, to find himself face to face with a fresh agitation in the most difficult Province in the Indian Empire. His Council may be fiddling, but the Viceroy must feel the gravity of the situation keenly. Peace or unrest matters but little to the nameless councillors who have sucked the official orange dry, and have no personal consequences to fear. Sir Reginald Craddock* has no stake in this struggle. His pension is assured. The failure of the Government will not be associated with his name. History will mete out its commendation or condemnation neither to Sir Reginald Craddock nor to Sir Harcourt Butler, nor to Mr. Sharp, nor to any other of their friends and colleagues, but only to Lord Hardinge of Penhurst. And this is the tragedy of the Viceroy's position. And when one realises all this, one cannot refuse to give to Lord Hardinge every sympathy, consideration and help that one can command, at the present crisis. If we suffer, it would be well and just for us to bear this in mind, that His Excellency too is a victim of the forces that threaten to create all these fresh troubles for us. The thought will sober down public indignation and induce moderation in whatever methods may have to be adopted to fight this new influence in the counsels of the Government. Our indignation at the attitude and action of his councillors should not be permitted to interfere with our sympathy and consideration for the Viceroy.

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**The Decadence of
The Indian
Bureaucracy.**

Even these councillors themselves deserve our pity rather than our indignation. The wrong that they are doing is due not so much to their moral perversity as to their intellectual incapacity. And even here, they too are victims of circumstances. The large quantities of statemanship that characterised the British rulers in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries when every official had to be a man

original problem of government, have fallen out of cultivation in the Indian Civil Service. The altered circumstances of the country have little or no scope for their cultivation. The present officials spend all their life in working out details and carrying out standing orders. They live all their days in an atmosphere of isolation and unreality. As administrators of a settled country, the responsibilities of their office do not, as a rule, even call for any especial watchfulness from these officials. They receive, according to established routine, reports of the condition of the people from their subordinates, and pass these on to their own superiors, without any careful examination or analyses. The country being quiet, there is really no need for such examination or analyses. But this is not the kind of training that brings out the higher capacities of the intellect or the will in any man. The present generation of Indian officials never get the training that moulds the true statesman. They never have the education and the opportunities that make even an all-round man. They live too easy a life. While their responsibilities are comparatively light, their emoluments are large and their honour and rank very high. They are always obeyed, but rarely argued with, and never opposed by those who live and labour about them. They do not get, therefore, that superior and healthy intellectual discipline which ordinary educated people, even in the lower walks of life, get through the constant clash and conflict of their ideas and opinions with those of their equals. They are not called upon to seriously study or analyse any acute economic or political problems. They can neither cultivate, therefore, the imagination of the idealist nor the vision of the statesman. It is not at all strange, therefore, that Lord Hardinge's councillors have failed to seize the actualities of the present situation in India. They do not at all realise it, therefore, that the supreme need of the hour in India is to keep the people quiet, to give them rest—to allow the public mind to gradually get back its lost equilibrium. As was inevitable in times of unusual excitement, people lost their sense of proportion and their right perspective. But they have, at the same time, gained a lot during these years of stress and strife. A new self-consciousness is the most important of these,—and a new sense of power, a new ambition for adequate achievement, a new desire to find their legitimate place among the makers of modern history and humanity: and above all things, they have gained a positiveness and a new idealism. To shape, to direct, to develop true and promising elements of a nation's rejuvenated life to their fulfilment, is an ambition that might lure the gods. It is an ambition too hard of attainment for which no labour and no sacrifice would count.

Without any vision of the future, he is only troubled and irritated by the growing-pains of his people, which disturb his peace and interfere with his play. He is angry with the people who have broken into the placid course of his official life and preferment. And his only desire is to crush these disturbers of the peace, even as a man crushes, in the hollow of his hand, the troublesome fly that buzzes about his ears and runs into his nose and thus breaks up his midday nap. The act may not be statesmanly, but the attitude is perfectly human. One sees here the incongruity between the little man and his lofty office : and a sense of incongruity may excite one's irascibility or even appeal to one's pity : but it makes no room for indignation.

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The whole trouble is due to the pitiful ignorance and incapacity of those who have, evidently, been seeking to force the hands of the Viceroy in this matter. They have no knowledge of the country, and not the faintest grasp of the real problem before them. We all know what their

**The Motif of the
New Policy.**

inner motive is. They are completely upset by the signs of revolutionary unrest about them. They believe, and not without some show of reason either, that this revolutionary spirit has commenced to obsess the minds of a large and growing section of the youthful intellectuals in the country. The Indian student community is very largely and powerfully influenced by this revolutionary propaganda. It is a danger to the State. It is no less a menace even to Society. And they are determined to put this down at any cost. The Indian politicians may not directly preach sedition. They are not, in fact, either openly or secretly associated with this anarchical propaganda. But, all the same, they are indirectly responsible for all these troubles. They prepare the ground for the growth of revolutionary ideas. The youth of the nation must, therefore, be removed, by every possible or impossible means, from the sphere of influence of these politicians. The Government, at least, must not encourage or even tolerate their association with the student population of the country. This is, to put in very plain language, the whole case for the educational advisors of Lord Hardinge. But the moment we see it, in its honest nakedness, we recognise the ignorant fatuity upon which it is based.

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The main object of this new educational policy is to put down the spirit of revolutionary patriotism that seems to hold of at least a section of our school-and-college populations. Up to a certain point, there is agreement in this matter between the

**The New Situation
and
The Bureaucratic
Spirit.**

ers of Indian public opinion and the educational advisors of the Indian Government. And the very farthest limit of right reason and true statecraft, is also the limit of this agreement. We are as anxious as any Anglo-Indian bureaucrat, to cure the rising generations of our country, of whatever unhealthy revolutionary opinions and ideals may have possessed their minds. And we are anxious about it, because we know that these imported and undigested notions and ideals spell ruin and disaster to the future of Indian Nationalism. We know that the ideal of isolated and sovereign political independence, which seems to inspire all these revolutionary and anarchical activities, is a dangerous and suicidal ideal, from the viewpoint of Indian Nationalism, in the present condition of the country and the present state of world-politics. To seek to pursue this ideal would only open the way for a fresh Moslem or a new Mongol servitude. And knowing all these fearful possibilities before us, we are as anxious as the most impatient Anglo-Indian bureaucrat, to cure whatever revolutionary spirit may have got entry into our country. This is the farthest limit that reason and statecraft impose upon us, in regard to this matter. Neither right reason nor true statesmanship demand however, that in trying to kill this spirit of revolution and anarchism, we must also crush the spirit of patriotism upon which it has grown and with which it has entwined itself; nor that we should undermine the very foundations of that youthful enthusiasm and idealism, which lend to every form of revolutionary patriotism in the world, its halo of romance and religion. We recognise these limits; and are always scrupulously anxious, while fighting every form of unhealthy and improvident revolutionary and anarchical waste, to protect and preserve and chasten and strengthen and lead along healthy and reasonable lines, the spirit of patriotism and idealism of our younger generations. The educational advisors of the Government are either unable or unwilling to make this discrimination. They are not prepared to make the sacrifices which this discrimination would involve. The growth of any kind of patriotism and public spirit in the country, however sane, chaste, and loyal to the British connection these might be, would be bound to demand a radical change in the constitution and methods of the Government of the country. They would be bound to curtail the present privileges of the British officialdom in India, and gradually change the autocratic character of the Government itself, and consequently upset all existing official values, whether social or political. The conservative official mind is shocked, therefore, by the very thought of these inevitable changes. It is absolutely wedded to the existing state of things. It cannot bear, therefore, any kind of evolution, however necessary and healthy it may be, which is bound to cause at least disturbance to the existing order. The Indian official

is, therefore, not only anxious to kill the spirit of revolution and anarchism in the country, but also to crush out even the very life of that healthy spirit of patriotism of which it is only a parasite. He is anxious to shut up every door and window, and even every chink in the walls of our mind, through which outer light might enter and bring the breath of new ideals and inspirations into our souls, and quicken our dry bones with new strength and activities. He is afraid of the noble idealism of our youths, and wants to kill it by holding out allurements of office and emoluments to them on the one hand, and threats of perpetual ostracism from the Service of the Government, on the other. And this is the real cause of this conflict between the educational advisors of Lord Hardinge and the leaders of thought and public life in the country. And it requires very little imagination and the meagrest acquaintance with the lessons of universal history, to foresee the hopelessness of the official cause in this struggle.

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**Past Education-
Policy in British
India.**

The attempt to direct and control the course of public education in the country, mainly and primarily in the interest of the Government, is not at all new. In fact, it is a universal element of statecraft. Every Government has to do it. As long as there is a complete identity of interests between the Government and those whom it governs, this attempt is neither injurious nor unjust. The injury and injustice come in only when there is a conflict of separate interests in the governing classes, who seek, in that case, to curb and cripple the normal course of intellectual and social evolution in the community, out of regard for the prerogatives and privileges of their own body. But whatever the motive or the consequences of it, this attempt is universal. The British Government in India has, from the very beginning, tried more or less openly, to shape and control the course of public education among us; and the motive has always been to strengthen the foundations of their political authority in the country. In the earlier period of their history, the Government of the East India Company penalised every attempt to educate the people of this country in the literature and science of the West or to preach the Christian religion among them. Carey was threatened with deportation, because he wanted to open a school in Calcutta and preach the "Gospel" to the Indians. The Government stood then in perpetual fear of the people, and got nervous about anything that might wound the religious susceptibilities of the masses or arouse their fears. This is why the first Missionary College in India had to be located at Serampur, which was then outside British territory, in the possession of the King of Denmark. The subse-

quent fight between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, was really fought upon the same issue, namely, which system was most calculated to promote the safety of the newly-established foreign Government in the country? And Macaulay won, because his policy was thought to be really and ultimately the better, because by far the safer, of the two. Macaulay's object was to create a body of leaders of public opinion in the country, who would be in perfect sympathy with the ideals and institutions of the ruling race, and who would find, in the honour and emoluments of the service of the new Government, a strong inducement to always stand by that Government, and lend their superior moral support to it. Reading Sir John Wood's Despatch between the lines, one cannot fail to discover this inner motive of the educational policy of the Government of the East India Company's Directors, as enunciated in that memorable document. Those were the days when the moral and intellectual cleavage between the people of this country and their foreign rulers, was very deep and wide; and when the ruling classes stood in almost constant fear of the superstition and fanaticism of the subject populations. English education and the new illumination which it brought in its train, commenced to undermine these sources of unknown and impalpable dangers, and were consequently publicly encouraged. Every movement of religious and social revolt in the country was then cheerfully encouraged and openly sympathised with by the highest representatives of the Government. All these forged fresh bonds between the rulers and the ruled, and created new interests among the people of the country for the perpetuation of the British authority. But the spirit of freedom which inspired these social and religious revolts, was bound to gradually operate in politics also. The spirit of self-assertion against social and sacerdotal authority, became gradually manifest against official authority also. The result was a reaction in the education policy of the Government. School text-books that had hitherto been drawing so largely upon English and European sources, were directed now to draw upon purely Indian sources. The legendary heroes of Hindustan commenced now to rapidly and rudely replace, in the text-books of the Education Department, the heroes of British, American, French, Italian, and Greek history. The result of this official reaction was that it lent indirect but very material support to a movement of social and religious reaction which breathed a very distinct and unmistakable anti-foreign spirit. The Government wanted to recreate, in the rising generations of the country, a proper respect for authority. Obey your conscience as your God:—was the older and earlier injunction. Obey your parents, your priests, your society and your scriptures, and those set in authority over you, as representatives of the Government: this was the new commandment. People

interpret every commandment not as they are meant by those who promulgated it, but as suits their own inclinations or interests best. The new education policy, therefore, failed of its purpose. The very idea was based upon ignorance and folly. You cannot reconcile reverence for Hindu ideas and institutions with genuine respect for the life and character of people whose ways are in every way opposed to these ideals and institutions. As a result of this insensate education policy of the Government (1880-90) there grew up a generation proud not only of the ancient but even of the present-day ideals and institutions of their country, and exceedingly disdainful of all foreign ideals and institutions. The Government had ample evidence of this new development in the country during the Consent-Bill agitation of 1890-91.

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A Shortsighted Policy.

It was a very foolish and shortsighted policy, based upon selfishness and promulgated in utter ignorance or disregard of the actualities of the situation which it sought to control. The officials were offended, and possibly also somewhat frightened, by the ways and attitudes of the English-educated class who refused to render to them the kind of respect that they had been used to receive from the previous generations. Those who had openly encouraged our social and religious revolt, in the name of individual reason and personal freedom, now commenced to condemn the natural expression of a new-born spirit of self-respect and freedom, because it hurt their vanity. They did not see that the spirit of self-assertion in the new generation of India, paid really high homage to the character and culture of their race and country. The conflict so far was only between individual or between class and class, but not between one culture and civilisation and another. In asserting ourselves against the British official class in India, we never as yet questioned the inherent intellectual and moral superiority of the British nation over our nation. Intellectual and moral slaves of the British people, we only wanted to claim political and social equality with our masters. That was all. This conflict did not touch the foundation of British Rule in India. It created absolutely no desire to cut the British connection. That connection was the sheet-anchor of the future hopes and aspirations of the English educated classes in the country. These educated classes stood apart from the masses. They had nothing, practically, in common with the general populations of the land. They had no faith in popular religion, nor in current social institutions of their country. The intellectual and spiritual affinities with the British people were in fact

closer and more vital than with their own countrymen. And in these affinities and the deep and strong loyalty which they always and everywhere create, lay the real strength of the British authority in India. True statesmanship, in the interest of the Government itself, would have done nothing to weaken these supreme intellectual and moral bases of British Rule in India. As long as the English-educated classes were loyal to the intellectual and moral ideals and institutions of the British race, as long as they continued to be captivated by the glamour of this foreign culture, so long British authority in India stood upon a rock. But the petty-fogging officials had no appreciation of these deeper facts and principles. They were frightened by the apparent spirit of insubordination in the educated youths of the country. It was, clearly, the result of the new education which they were receiving in our public schools and colleges. So they dashed changing the character of this education. They did not see it, however, that though school text-books and college-curricula might be changed to suit this new reaction in official policy, the general effect of the education that had been received by the people for fully half a century's time, could not be wiped out by official soulars. The Government failed to take proper note of this very simple and commonplace fact. They thought that they had got quite a clean slate to write the new lessons on. They overlooked the fact that the educated classes were already fathers of families, guardians of the new generation, and these latter lived constantly in an atmosphere that the earlier education-policy had created in the country. When English education was first introduced, the school and the college were the most powerful influences in shaping the life and thought of the so-called upper classes in the land. The home-influence stood more or less opposed to the influences of the class-room. In this divorce between the school and the home, it was the influence and authority of the home-life which really suffered most. But in the new generation, this divorce had largely been annulled. The conduct and conversation of the elders, brought up in the earlier ideals of English education, influenced the rising generations and were more powerful than the new text-books. The result was a growing loss of confidence in the good faith of this new educational policy and method, and a secret revolt against these, on the one hand; and on the other, a growing regard for the ideals and institutions of the country, as a result of this new acquaintance with their nobler and brighter side which this educational policy fostered. This reactionary education policy of the Government of India of the Lytton-Dufferin period, has, I think, been more responsible than any thing else for the present revolutionary unrest in the country. And it seems to me, that this latest education-policy publicly proclaimed

by the Government of India's letter to the Calcutta University and the proposal to appoint the Government Education Department, the absolute keeper of the University latch-key, will infinitely increase the very evils which seem to have frightened the authorities so much. And because it is absolutely, foredoomed to failure, it is needful that the Viceroy should step in and revoke it at once.

THE SECRET PLACE

(BY RICHARD BURTON IN THE OUTLOOK).

When I shake off the outer things
That, thronging, drag me fifty ways—
The busy needs, the little stings
That hum about my usual days—
I come into a secret place
And meet my true self, face to face.

Quiet removal from the press,
A breathing-room wherein the soul
Knows love and love's own tenderness,
And in a dream describes the goal;
There wholesome thoughts and sweet confer,
Like garments laid in lavender.

Anew I feel that I belong—
Alien and outcast though I be—
To the great Spirit whose far song
Makes an ineffable harmony:
And, with a rhythm in my feet,
I fare me forth my fate to greet.

II.

HINDU EUGENICS.

AND

THE DEGENERATION OF THE HINDU RACE.

[BY PROFESSOR SATIS CHANDRA MUKERJEE, M. A., B. Sc.]

In my article on "Hindu Eugenics" I tried to show that Manu's system was based on sound eugenical principles. No doubt that system preserved the efficiency of the Hindus for many centuries. Now the question naturally arises—"Why did the Hindus degenerate though they followed eugenical rules, for there are unmistakable signs of their degeneration * on the eve of the Musalman Conquest of India? To answer this question it will be necessary to trace the course of our social evolution from Manu's time up to the advent of the Musalman.

When a race is poor and hardy and is engaged in conquering a new world, like the Aryans of Manu's time did, the rules of eugenics are naturally followed by them. The fittest citizens acquire the greatest powers and have the best opportunities for leaving healthy and virile progeny behind them. The weak and the imbecile are eliminated through the operation of natural selection. But when that race becomes rich, an anti-social selection, mainly through marriage, slowly brings in degeneration. Then again, they take to a luxurious life, bringing in loose sexual morality and the use of alcohol in its train. Thus not only are the people degenerated through venereal diseases and *blastophthoria* but such inferior blood is also introduced. It is to prevent this catastrophe that Manu promulgated such strict rules against the influence of wealth and indulgence in luxury, keeping the real head of the community, the Brahmins, poor and abstemious. But after the enjoyment of wealth and power for some centuries, there rose some forces in the Aryan Society which led to a partial break up of Manu's social structure.

We shall mainly concern ourselves with two of the most important of these anti-social influences, namely, (1) Pride and Luxury, and (2) Monasticism.

As regards the first, it should be borne in mind that though there were strict rules for Brahmins to court humiliation rather than fame, and

* The word "degeneration" has been used throughout this essay in its biological sense of actual change in the breed, depending on heredity.

very explicit assertions regarding the absence of any intrinsic differences between a Brahmin and a Sudra, both being manifestations of the self-same Brahman, yet it was very difficult for the Brahmins to resist the vain thought that they were the chosen people of God and could look down upon the Sudras. Thus the same aristocratic system which succeeded in preventing blood-mixture between the Aryans and Non-aryans, brought in haughtiness in the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, and produced a sense of humiliation and a spirit of revolt in the heart of the Sudras, and this conflict and rivalry created several mixed castes of Aryans and Sudras, that had already commenced to form through the secret violation of the Smriti rules.

Then, along with pride went luxury. Though luxury little effected the Brahmins, it brought about great changes in the lives of the Kshatriyas and Vaisiyas. The kings became very fond of pomp and pageantry and their religious performances took the shape of sacrifice of animals upon a gigantic scale,* the object being to glorify one's power and fortune. This soul-less religious ritualism naturally evoked protest in the shape of Buddhism, which gained strength from the rebellious temper of the lower classes of the Hindu Society.

The true character of Buddhism will be clear on remembering that it was preached by a Kshatriya and obtained its greatest support and patronage from Emperor Asoka, a man coming from a mixed caste of Kshatriya and Sudra. This revolt against Brahmanism known as Buddhism did not stop with the fulfilment of its mission, by bringing the haughty Brahmins and the cruel and vain Kshatriyas to their senses, but went to another extreme, as will be evident from the following.

All social movements can be compared to the swinging of the pendulum. The pendulum never rests at any fixed position but oscillates rhythmically between two extreme positions. So, the human society, too, is found to oscillate between extremes of aristocracy and democracy, of idealism and rationalism and so on. Thus instead of condemning the excesses of Brahmanism, Buddhism condemned the whole social structure based on the Vedas and the Smritis and proved the greatest enemy of the system of Varnas and Asramas that had worked very strongly in favour of eugenics. In order to do away with the pride of the higher castes, it introduced free inter-caste marriages, sweeping away the eugenical principles underlying the older system.

* It seems to have been necessary to slaughter many beasts on such festive occasions to provide meat to the assembled guests, for the Aryans of that period, including the Brahmins, were very fond of meat.

But why could not the Brahmins control and check this rebellion of the Non-Brahmin classes ? They too must have been lacking in talented men competent to preserve the social life from the rising forces of disintegration about them. To understand the cause of the degeneration of the Brahmins, we must look into the second important factor that gradually came into operation, namely Vairāgya or dis-attachment, which, though an essential condition of the highest physical and spiritual life and progress, was now carried to its extreme point of other-worldliness and monasticism. When the Hindus had enjoyed prosperity for many centuries and yet at the end of all that time they found no real improvement in the human intellect and character, they gradually lost their faith in the steady advancement of humanity. Dynasty after dynasty rose and fell, due to dutifulness धर्म and neglect of duty अधर्म respectively, but inevitably, forming as it were, links in an endless chain of cause and effect. The ills of this life seemed to outweigh its blessings and people became anxious to completely get rid of the world which seemed to have no higher aspect than that of a child's play. The new pessimistic schools of philosophy taught men to care more for their individual freedom from the evils of the flesh and the world than for the good of society. The āsrama or stage of house-holder fell into neglect and some ambitious persons began to live celibate lives that they might bestow greater attention towards their own "mukti" or liberation. Thus the better portion of the society who cared more for high principles than personal comforts, began to take to celibacy, leaving the ease-loving degenerates to procreate members of the future generation. *

This anti-social selection, through marriage, brought about a distinct degeneration, specially among the Brahmins, the thinking section of the community. These latter-day Brahmins had not the genius to control the turbulent Kshatriyas as their fore-fathers, like Parsuram, had done in older times, and consequently they began to pander to the vanity of the kings, by helping in their big 'sacrifices' and such other ways.

Now, when Buddhism came, this partiality for the celibate life gained fresh strength. As a set off against the Brahmins there was created a body of celibate clergy, the Sramans. Manu's injunctions about the debt towards the Ancestor (पितृ ऋण) were thrown into the wind along with his whole system. And this anti-social selection which had but just commenced, assumed

* It should be noted here that like Manu Samhita, Bhagabat Geeta also condemned the fashion of *Sannyasism* or renunciation of the world, which was even then beginning to prevail. The Gautama Sutras (written about 1,000 B. C.) for the rules of *Sannyasism* are also mentioned.

gigantic proportions and materially affected a change for the worse in the human breed of that time *

Thus from a sociological point of view, the effects of Buddhism were very baneful indeed for ancient India. We know that due to the strict rules of the Brahmin law-givers, the amalgamation of the Aryans and non-Aryans was effectively retarded, but after Buddhism this amalgamation was much more rapid, resulting in the raising of the Sudras, but the lowering of the Aryans. Again by attaching a great value to celibacy, in contradiction of the rules about the four *asramas*, it caused the degeneration of the mixed people in another way.

The old system, however, had too much vitality to be wiped out by the wave of Buddhist revolt. After sharing the allegiance of the Indians equally with Brahmanism for some centuries, Buddhism was absorbed into the older system. But though Kumarila and Sankara re-established the Varnas and Asrams they had to yield to the changes already effected by Buddhism. † Thus the mixed castes had to be given place, some as equivalent to Kshatriyas, some as Vaisyas and so on. Even the blood of the Brahmins underwent some adulteration in certain districts and the fact was reconciled to the system, by the creation of subcastes among Brahmins, who could not intermarry. Again Sankara did not or could not stem the tide of *Sannyasism* (i. e. asceticism and celibacy), and the loss to the society, especially to the Brahmin community, in geniuses and talented men from this source continued till after the time of the Musalman conquest.

In the meantime, a new change was taking place in Indian History. From about the time of the Buddha, warlike hordes of Central Asia began to pour into the fertile plains of Northern India. These conquerors had to be given a place as sub-castes of the Kshatriyas. They were a source of weakness to the Indian society. They increased the number of warriors, and brought in fresh elements of discord and disunion among the Kshatriyas. As the Kshatriyas were not very careful as regards their matrimonial connections, these Sakas and Hunas were gradually absorbed into the older stock.

To come to the eve of the Musalman conquest. Both histories like Rajtarangini and Prithvi Ray Rasan, as well as Sanskrit literature of the few centuries just before the advent of the Pathans, contain sufficient

* Galton in his *Hereditary Genius* has traced the degeneration of the Spaniards and the Italians to the custom of celibacy of the Roman Catholic clergy of those countries.

† It is a mistake to say that the conversion of the Buddhists into Hindus was accompanied by, bloody persecutions. On this point, See Rhys Davids's *Buddhist India*.

evidence to show to what a low ebb the Indian life had fallen at the time. The Kshatriya kings were given up to luxuries of all kinds and these must have produced the degeneration due to diseases and shameful intrigues. Polygamy, which had been an exception in older days, was a rule with the rich and influential people of the time and it was the fruitful cause of many a nasty conspiracy in courts. The change in the view of life can be easily understood from change in the duties of women. In Manu's Smṛiti the woman's activities were confined to the duties of a house-

wife as in Kalidas we read of an ideal wife as गृहिणी सचिवः सखीः प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ the housewife, the counsellor, the companion, and an adept in the fine arts. A race that is anxious to make its women master fine arts, does not take long to fall a prey to the rough and hardy inhabitants of the deserts. It should also be remembered that the growing unchastity of women as well as men helped the introduction of inferior blood into royal families. (1)

The Brahmins too were degenerated, though in their case, the chief cause seems to have been the widely prevalent *saṅgasm*. We find the Brahmins of this time no longer capable of controlling the Kshatriyas who now regarded them as dependents and beggars. The degenerated descendants of those Brahmins who spurned riches could be now easily won over by bribes. (2)

In place of highly respected ascetics like Valmiki and Vyasa, we had able court-poets like Kalidas and Bhababhuti. It was not rare to find Brahmins acting as buffoons of kings (3) and even given to lewdness and theft (4).

The degeneration of the Vaisyas was still greater. Most of them had lost themselves in the great Sudra population, giving up the study of the Vedas (5). Wealth seems to have been the chief cause of their degeneration.

But what strikes one most is the complete dearth of genius in the political world of India for some time before the advent of the Pathan. The empire in northern India of which we hear is that of Dharmapala of Bengal in the middle of the ninth century A. D. From that time to the end of the twelfth century, for about 350 years, there was no genius like Chanakya or Samudra Gupta to weld the various small principalities into

(1) See Skrine's Translation of *Rajtarangini*.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) For example the Bidusaka in "Avijñana Sakuṭalam."

(4) See *Mricchakatika* drama.

(5) Al Beruni, a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni wrote in his account of India that his time the Vedas were read by the Brahmins and Kshatriyas only.

a big empire, in northern India. * What better proof is required of the degeneration of the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas than that they could not produce political geniuses of a high order.

Now it is also curious to find that the existence of many rival kingdoms side by side—the result, as we have seen above, of the degeneration of the Hindus—was in its turn the cause of further degeneration. These kingdoms were constantly engaged in carrying on war with one another and thus losing the flower of the Kshatriya race, many of them in the very prime of life.† Those who were, comparatively speaking, weak and cowardly were left at home and the future race was recruited considerably from their degenerated descendants. Thus the non-existence of an empire in India at this time decidedly helped to degenerate the quality of the Kshatriya breed.

This wholesale degeneration of the Hindus explains, thus, the Mahomedan conquest of India. It may be said, in this connection, that the system of Varnas and Asrams ultimately failed in its purpose and the whole history of the Aryans in India can be looked upon as partial conquest of the non-Aryans over the Aryans through the intermixture of blood. But it must not be forgotten that it is the inevitable fate of every human institution, to wane ultimately. It is a law of the histories of nations that they rise and fall, sometimes rise again to fall again, in course of time. That the Hindus enjoyed independence and prosperity for thousands of years, that they succeeded in keeping their national integrity through the revolutions of ages, and that there is every possibility of their rising again, this is the greatest praise that can be bestowed on any social system.

* Vide Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*.

† See Translation of *Prithvi Ray Rasan* in Todd's *Rajasthan*.

III.

HINDU INFLUENCE IN CHINA.

Dr. Ramlal Sarkar has been living in China for some years past and he frequently writes to the Bengalee papers about Chinese affairs. I am tempted to give here, a brief summary of an interesting article that he has contributed to a recent number of that excellent Bengalee monthly, the "Grihastha" :—

Of the Vedic ages, we find very little traces in China ; in fact it seems that India had to do almost nothing at all in those days of her early Aryan settlement. It is with the advent of the Buddha and Buddhism that China and her neighbouring countries—the homes of the Mongolian race—came under the influence of Indian thoughts and ideals. To know of the influence and work of Buddhistic India in China requires a fair amount of linguistic knowledge of the different dialects of China. All that we know at present of ancient India and her influence in China, comes to us mostly from the writings of Christian missionaries in China. The most important of which is perhaps, Broomhall's "Chinese Empire."

In the beginning of the first century of the Christian era, the Han dynasty ruled in Ho-nan in China. Luzuman was their capital. Many identify it with the modern Kai-Fen and consider it as the modernized name for that ancient city.

In 65 A.D. Emperor Minti of this Han dynasty, became the first royal convert of China to the Buddhistic faith. He built a marble mansion as guest-house for the Buddhist saints from India and had the religious books, which they brought with them, translated into the language of the country. The Chinese name of Buddha is Sir-Cha-mouni, most probably it is the Chinese variation of *Sakya Muni*, the original clan-name of the Buddha, after he left home and became a *muni* or hermit.

From the writings of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, we learn that in 1272 Emperor Kubalai Khan of Tartary sent a vast army against the ruler of Bengal and Burmah. From the historians of Burmah we also learn that a Prince of Bengal married the daughter of a King of Pagan (in Burmah) and the issue of this marriage subsequently became the King of the country and married a princess of Bengal in his turn. The great-grandson of this prince was *Naratiha-pati* (Nara Sinha-pati) who ruled in Burmah, when Kublai Khan's army invaded the country.

Major Yule says in connection with these and similar other facts :—"All these circumstances show tolerably close relations between Burmah and Bengal, and also that the dynasty then reigning in Burmah was descended from a Bengalee stock."

CHARACTER SKETCH.

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DR. BROJENDRA NATH SEAL, M.A., PH. D.

(BY NIBARAN CHANDRA DAS, M.A., B.L.)

Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal's share in the intellectual and moral uplift of modern Bengal, is by no means insignificant. No Indian professor has been able to impress his personality upon the minds of the present generation of students more vividly, than Dr. Seal.

Dr. Seal and Dr. P. C. Roy are the two Indian professors, who have become the *beau-ideals* of teachers, both by their deep learning and great force of character. No doubt, the vast encyclopædic learning of Dr. Seal and the marvellous original researches of Dr. Roy, have contributed to their immense popularity amongst the student-population of Bengal, but their exemplary character constitute the real secret of their vast influence. Students from different parts of the country, flocked in their hundreds, even to the Victoria College, in distant and out-of-the-way Cooch Behar, over which Dr. Seal presided with conspicuous ability for so many years, to sit at his feet for lessons in various branches of learning.

It was a wonder and a riddle to many of Dr. Seal's intimate friends, how his massive and apparently impenetrable intellect and his solid scholarship, could attract so large a body of students, by no means very brilliant and appreciative. It was a mystery how such intellectual eminence could pull itself down to the intellectual level of mediocre students and be appreciated by them.

There is indeed an indescribable charm and an ineffable *sweetness and light* in Dr. Seal's character, which go a great way towards drawing students to him. Call this personal magnetism if you like, but there it is. His benevolent and charitable disposition displayed in rendering pecuniary and other kinds of help to needy students and poor boys; his sympathetic treatment, extended to all classes of students, and his readiness to solve all kinds of problems and questions of conscience which agitate young minds, have endeared him to hundreds of students, that had the good fortune to come into his genial and elevating contact.

If his intellect is great, his personality is greater. His is a name to conjure with in the Indian educational world. Though Dr. Seal's contributions to the scientific, philosophical and political literature of the day, have not been very considerable or in any way commensurate with his varied scholarship, yet his reputation has travelled far and wide.

The learned papers, which he read before the *Congress of Oriental* at Rome and the first *Universal Races Congress* in London, have established his reputation, as an eminent scholar and thinker, who can stand comparison with the savants of Europe. The very fact that in the latter Congress, the place of honour was assigned to him, is positive proof of the esteem which his wide scholarship and original and constructive powers of thinking, has been able to command even among European savants.

Only lately, the University of Calcutta has shown its appreciation of the sterling merits of the learned professor in a substantial manner, by electing him to the recently created chair of Philosophy, which is to be named after His Imperial Majesty. The real worth of a man like Dr. Seal, could by no means escape the lynx-eyed and penetrating observation of Sir Ashutosh, the presiding deity of the University of Calcutta.

Dr. Seal's past work in connection with the University as a professor and principal in several private colleges, as an examiner and as a member of some committees, appointed by the University, is well-known. The useful and conspicuous part he took in the deliberations of the Simla Committee, is traceable in the elaborate report which it indited and issued. His Roman hand is discernible in the way in which many a complex problem has been handled. In fact it is not too much to say, that he was the right hand man of *Sir Ashutosh*, in framing the new regulations for the University. The Government showed its belated appreciation of the professor, by nominating him a member of the Dacca University Committee. It is a pity and a misfortune to the country, that ill-health prevented him from working on it, which thus lost the opportunity of having his sage counsels and sober guidance, in its deliberations. In deed is no exaggeration to say, that the Report of this Committee, which has been the target of many an adverse and pungent criticism, would have been somewhat different, had Dr. Seal been able to give it the benefit of his help and counsel. At any rate, we would have got a strong note of dissent, calculated to illumine many an obscure point, that has invited so much comment and elicited such a chorus of disapproval.

Dr. Seal was born and bred up in the immediate neighbourhood of the General Assembly's Institution (present Scottish Churches' College) of Calcutta, in a narrow and obscure lane Ram Mohan Saha's Lane. During the summer and autumn recesses, many scholars, professors, writers, public men and students will be seen wending their way through this lane, to house No. 25, the ancestral home of Dr. Seal. It has become almost a place of pilgrimage to Indian scholars and literary men. His father, who died very young, was himself an eminent scholar and master of several

languages. Rajendra and Brojendra, two orphan brothers, had to struggle against poverty and to pick up what education they could. Dr. Seal gave early promise of his future greatness. He was never satisfied with the limited curriculum of his *Alma Mater*. He devoured voraciously the literature of every subject that captured his fancy,—now poetry, now drama, sometimes mathematics and mostly philosophy. So far as successes in the University examinations go, they were by no means very brilliant in Dr. Seal's early college career. An intellect peculiarly massive and original, is not likely to shine forth in all its glory, in the cut-and-dry forms of University examinations.

Under the influence of the late Dr. Hastie, of the General Assembly's Institution, Dr. Seal's studies, before he obtained the higher degrees, tended towards that period of English literature which gave birth to a school of poetry, which has been misnamed the "Satanic." Dr. Seal became an ardent admirer of the poetry of *Shelley* and *Keats* and became thoroughly overpowered by it. It was at this period also that the late Dr. Hastie initiated him into the unfathomable mysteries of Hegelian speculations in philosophy. Dr. Seal had then a number of friends whose minds were in a state of moral and intellectual ferment and amongst whom figured the towering *Vivekānanda* (then Narendra Nath Dutt), whose fame has since become world-wide.

This was the most critical period of Dr. Seal's life. Both physically and morally disinclined towards matrimony, Dr. Seal, without much forethought and under the influence of Shelley and Keats, readily entered into that condition, as he wanted "*a thing of beauty*" constantly by him. He took girl "*Indumati*" as his partner in life. Marriage was a step which did not fully fit in with the general scheme of his life. His should have been a life of bachelorhood and that of an ideal *Brahmacharin*. However "*Indumati*," by her girlish pranks, intellectual acuteness, and her ethereal beauty, exercised a sobering influence upon Dr. Seal and made a *Grihi* (householder) of a genuine *Sannyasin* (ascetic). It is not possible to record any details of Dr. Seal's married life in this short sketch and it should be left to his future biographer. By *Indumati*'s sudden disappearance from this world of "names and forms," Dr. Seal has reverted to his predestined life of a *Sannyasin*.

He had from his early youth sympathy with the Reform movements of Bengal. His friends amongst the members of the Brahmo Samaj can be counted by scores, and the *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj* still takes glory in counting him as one of its distinguished members. It is however, a matter of confidence to say that Dr. Seal has little or no admiration for the dogmatic and narrow devotion of the *Sannyasin*.

thinker and philosopher, a thorough-going student of the *Vedanta* and Hegel, it is impossible for Dr. Seal to submit to the crude forms of worship, conceived in imitation of those prevalent in Christian churches; and it is an open secret that Dr. Seal's personal influence has led to the formation of a philosophical 'coterie' in the bosom of the *Philistinism* of the *Samaj*, which is regarded with great jealousy by the majority of its members.

In the breadth of his views, in the universality of his sympathies, in the depth of his philosophy, and in the ardour of his patriotism, Dr. Seal is a *Hindu of Hindus*. He has the profoundest respect for the ancient civilisation and the historic past of India. At the same time, he is an ardent practical reformer. The best and loveliest features of Western culture, are reflected in their full splendour in Dr. Seal. He is a curious *amalgam* of the conservatism of the Hindu, the iconoclasm of the French, and the profundity of the German.

Childlike in his simplicity, he is a great hater of shams and is no stickler for forms. With unbounded toleration for every phase and shade of opinion, he has no patience with the least tinge of immorality and indecency. He is a great lover of truth (not in its abstract conception alone but in real life), he can stand no tricks, no falsity, and no cant.

With all his catholicity and spirit of toleration in matters of religion, society, and politics, he denounces with almost Puritanical vigour the least appearance of any trace or compromise with vice. His is a complex character that defies strict analysis. He seems to be full of contradictions, and no man is free from them—but in his case, they seem to be very striking and irreconcilable.

From what has been said above, it might appear that his asceticism and austerities render him unfit for steering successfully the life's journey, in this work-a-day world.

But that is not so. With his evident other-worldliness, he is not unmindful of this world. Though for want of training he is not a man of business, his over-cautiousness in all matters, is a predominant feature of Dr. Seal's character. His care for personal safety of himself and of those whom he loves, sometimes verges on the ludicrous. He has neither the dash nor the go, requisite in the making of a leader. He is not without deep emotions; but sentiments play a rather subordinate role in supplying his motives of action. Pre-eminently intellectual by temperament, he is free from those passions that convulse the human mind. But he is never slow to appreciate the intellectual element even in the higher passions.

Every question presents itself to him as an intellectual one, to be solved by reason and reason alone. So he has not in him, the elements of a prophet, a preacher, or a dashing patriot.

His intellect is as *analytic* as *synthetic*—a very rare combination except in the master-builders of philosophical systems. He is a great dialectician and it is no easy task to enter the list, for an intellectual duel, with him. He can maintain a position with the most wonderful ease, in any controversy, against the most powerful controversialists.

It is very difficult to say much about his scholarship, which in its variety and depth, defies comprehension and description.

Literature, both ancient and modern ; History, Philosophy, Mathematics, both pure and mixed ; and even the Physical Sciences, claim him as their votary. He is an omnivorous reader. He has no special likes and dislikes, no particular taste, for any branch of learning. For days he would be seen rummaging through the pages of old and deservedly-forgotten English dramas, for weeks he would be noticed working at a mathematical problem, and for months he would sit with an old Pundit, discussing with him the categories of *Sankhya* and the differences between the old and new (Navya and Puratana) Schools of Hindu Logic.

In the class-room and in private discourses, one can see him at his best. His varied learning, stocked in different chambers of his capacious brain, can be brought out at a moment's notice to illumine an obscure point that may trouble his students or hearers. Though not endowed with the gift of the gab, his natural eloquence becomes very striking and torrential when discanting on a theme which calls for scholarly handling.

He is often overpowered by the weight of his own scholarship and vast knowledge, and, at times, he seems to sink under it.

His style is generally overloaded and heavy ; crowded with scholarly quotations and overburdened with incomprehensible terminology of the subjects dealt with. His writings are sealed books to ordinary readers. There may be literary *finish*, but no perspicacity, no terseness, and no effectiveness as it is commonly understood. But this is inevitable in sound scholarly productions. They are not meant for the man in the street but for scholars and those that care for scholarship. The ordinary, the humdrum, and the common, rarely appeal to him.

His writings and effusions are the wonder of the scholar, and matters for deep study for the student. His contribution to the scholarly history of Hindu Chemistry by Dr. P. C. Roy, whose collaborator he was, has evoked the unstinted praise of European scholars. He can excel in researches if he is so minded. His study of *Vaidyanatha* and *Patanjali* has been

embodied in the paper read before the Orientalists at Rome, is a monument of research, close reasoning, and sympathetic treatment. It bears unimpeachable testimony to the professor's wide outlook, burning patriotism, an intense religious fervour. But it must have fallen flat upon the learned and distinguished audience whose interest in any subject is merely linguistic and not philosophical and historical. Much has been said about his paper written for the Universal Races Congress. The European scholars, accustomed to a particular line of thinking on the subject, are not likely to relish the dominant note struck in it. Nevertheless it is a masterly vindication of the Asiatic civilisations, some dead, some *moribund*.

His contributions to mathematical literature, though not so well-known, have by no means been small. A great reader of Bengali literature and a great admirer of the present Renaissance in Bengal, which was only recently described with so much eloquence by the Rev. Andrews of Delhi, at Simla, the learned professor has not yet written any thing in Bengali. But it was he who drew the attention of the world of scholars to the beauties of the poetry of Mrs. Roy—then Miss Kamini Sen, as displayed in her *Alo O Chhaya* (আলো ও ছায়া) by his erudite paper on the Romantic Movement in Bengali Literature, originally published in the Calcutta Review. A tale characteristic of the learned professor, hangs upon the origin of this paper. After reading the book, Dr. Seal began to speak very highly of the poems, when some friends requested him to write an appreciative *critique* on them. Dr. Seal took up the suggestion, but his production outgrew the limited proportions of an ordinary review of a book and developed itself into a learned disquisition on the recent movement in Bengali literature.

• This is how the most ordinary things are handled by Dr. Seal.

When there was a proposal (which never passed its nebulous stage) about founding a Chair for Oriental Philosophy at Oxford, the eyes of every scholar in India naturally turned upon Dr. Seal. No worthier occupant of such a Chair, could be thought of. But the idea never materialised. Those who know Dr. Seal intimately feel, that by his deep learning in both Eastern and Western philosophies, he is pre-eminently qualified to bring about a real reconciliation between them. His occupation of the newly created Chair, will give him ample opportunity to realise the expectations of his numerous friends.

Though fully *en rapport* with the political movements of the country, Dr. Seal never took any prominent part in politics. He attended only one session of the Indian National Congress and moved an educational resolution. In a speech, which was more of a discourse on education than

one on politics. However from Dr. Seal has radiated many a political idea, which forms the root-principle of the propagandist-work of not a few Nationalist leaders. He supplied the rational bases over which the orator raised the emotional superstructures of the nationalist ideal.

He is *par excellence* a scholar, a thinker and a man of letters (a literary hero of Carlyle), but not at all a man of action. As for his religion there is nothing ecstatic or emotional in it. Yet he is not slow to realise the Infinite behind or underlying the finite, the Real behind the apparent and the Substantial in the phenomenal.

Here as elsewhere, Rationality forms the pivot, round which his other ideas move. A great lover of the Physical Sciences, he has no sympathy with the materialist. He has great regard for *honest doubt* which are more to be respected, than *half the creeds*. He is not an agnostic. Heterodox in his habits, he has great regard for genuine orthodox. Though himself no *Bhakta*, he holds real *Bhaktas* in great respect and esteem. He could hardly succeed in his study of *Chaitanya* and his religion, if he had not been an admirer of the great *Bhakta* of Nadiya. He had thrice visited Europe, but never wore any European costume and never eschewed his *Choga* and *Pagri* though twittered by street boy and laughed at by grinning mobs.

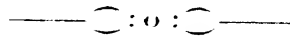
Simple in all his habits, he has been a strict vegetarian the greater part of his life. His broad and prominent forehead, his bright and lustrous eyes, lit up with human sympathy and intellectual brilliance, his ill-developed *cerebellum*, his tall, massive, and portly frame, constitute a figure at once striking and beautiful. He is ill at ease when sitting on a chair, in his trouser, coat and *choga*; but perfectly comfortable when lounging on his bedstead, with a book in his hand, masticating beetle leaves and nuts, in pure Indian fashion.

Such is the great professor, whose name and fame have travelled far and wide, and who is destined, if he is spared to us a few years more, to leave behind him an ideal of what Indian scholarship and Indian intellect may yet be and do.

LETTERS ON HINDUISM.

III.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF HINDUISM.



In my last letter, I told you something about Hinduism as a Missionary religion. You know that, unlike Christianity or Islam, Hinduism, at least in our time, makes no aggressive attempt to bring people from other religious communions, into its own fold. And good many people, not only among foreigners but even among our own English-educated countrymen, take it as a weakness of this great world-religion. But, I think, you will have already seen from my last letter, that those who condemn Hinduism for this so-called lack of missionary enterprise, do not really understand its inner nature and are not acquainted even with its outer history. Elsewhere you will have found, in the last issue of the HINDU REVIEW, some evidence of the gradual absorption of good many non-Hindu tribes and peoples belonging to our North-Eastern frontiers, into the Hindu communion.* Those religions that do not at all admit converts from other communions are called, as you know, ethnic religions. Judaism is an ethnic religion, for instance : and it admits no one into its fold who is not born a Jew. At present we find a somewhat similar exclusiveness in Hinduism also. No one who is not born a Hindu can, in our day, become a Hindu. But Hinduism stands face to face now not with fluid tribal organisations or religious communions but with other great world-religions that have at their back customs and cultures, associations and traditions, some of which are almost as old as those of present-day Hinduism itself. And Hinduism has too much respect for these formed habits of thought and life, to forcibly break them up, and thereby, bring about a complete dissolution of the complex intellectual, ethical and spiritual structures of these peoples. This is why Hinduism seeks no converts from other world-religions like Christianity or Islam. But it would be wrong to classify it with Judaism, as a purely ethnic system. Ethnologically, the Hindus are a very mixed people. Some Hindus are undoubtedly Aryans. These are mostly found in Northern India : in the valley of the Indus and the Ganges. Those of Southern India are admittedly of the Dravidian stock. Some, like those of Assam

* See Article of Life of Nityanand : Page 470—474.

and Manipur, are unmistakably Mongolian. A few in every province, those absorbed into Hinduism from among the aboriginal hill-tribes, bear evidences of a Nigrifying origin. And this shows that inspite of all the rigidities of their system of castes, there has been very considerable and widespread miscegenation even among the Hindus. None of these things would have been possible if Hinduism had been an ethnic religion like Judaism. And all these things go to prove that in its own way even Hinduism has been, and still is, a missionary religion. But its method of propagation has been different from that of Christianity or Islam. Christianity or Islam propagates itself through its especial creed. These are, therefore, called credal religions. Judaism does not propagate itself among those who are not born Jews, *i.e.*, those who do not belong to this particular ethnic group. It is, therefore, called an ethnic religion. Hinduism stands outside both these classes. It is not a credal religion like Christianity or Islam. It is not an ethnic religion like Judaism. It imposes no creed; yet accepts non-Hindus into its communion, provided they are slowly trained to adopt the Hindu way of life. Hinduism is, thus, a class by itself; a highly developed and exceedingly complex socio-religious culture that has no parallel in the history of human religions. In some sense it is very narrow and exclusive. In another sense there is no system so broad and catholic as Hinduism. In some of its aspects it is grossly materialistic; in other aspects it is superbly spiritual. And the meaning of all these curious complexities and contradictions is to be found, I think, in the fact that Hinduism is, perhaps, the only one of the great world-religions, known to the modern man, that can lay claim to true universality. In a word, it is the only Universal Religion in the world.

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It sounds ridiculous, I know, to Christian or Moslem ears. It seems preposterous even to many of our own modern religious

**Hindu-Dharma —
Sanatana Dharma.**

reformers. This proves, I think, in the first place, considerable ignorance of the spirit and history of

- this world-religion: and in the next place, a very feeble grasp of the true meaning and implications of the concept universal, even by very thoughtful and cultured people. Hinduism, like Christianity, is a name that had its origin not with those who professed this particular religion, but with others who were utter strangers to it. The term Hindu is not a personal name, like Buddhist, or Christian or Mahommedan; but a mere geographical name. It is derived from the Indus. It means a resident of the land of the Indus. It connotes nothing credal. And as the people of the land of the Indus were called Hindus, so the religion of this people came to be

called Hinduism. The name thus originally given by others was gradually appropriated by us. And strictly speaking, a mere textual criticism of the term, does not bear out its claim to be classed as a universal religion. It is only the religion of the Hindus; a particular religion like any other particular religion. And the particular can never be the universal. All this is true. But the Hindus themselves never called their religion Hinduism. So far as I am aware, there is no mention of this "*Hinduism*" in any of our ancient or even mediæval scriptures. These scriptures call it either simple religion or Dharma, or what is still more significant, they speak of it as Sanâtâna Dharma (सनातन धर्म). And Sanâtâna means, eternal or universal. Sanâtâna is that which always was, is, and will be. No other religion, that I know of, ever had the courage to claim this quality of everlastingness for itself. The fact is very significant. And the validity of this claim is also very fairly established by the entire body of the exegetical literature of the Hindus. When I come to discuss the various definitions of Dharma as given in our scriptures, you will see how every word of these definitions is applicable not only to the religion of the Hindus, but to *all* religions. Those who have carefully and critically considered these definitions, especially in the light of the Comparative and the Historic Methods illumined by the law or principle of Evolution, know that these Hindu scriptures do not refer to any particular religion, but to Dharma or Law or Religion in general. But I will not anticipate these discussions here. I just point out this fact, not always borne in mind, either by Hindus themselves or by the outside students of their religion. The real religion of our people is not Hindu Dharma but Sanâtâna Dharma. Neither Christianity nor Islam can call itself Sanâtâna-Dharma. The very fact that these are historical religions, that they originated at a particular and definitely-known period of time, with a particular person,—whether he be an Incarnation or a Prophet—in a particular country, destroys the validity of this adjective—Sanâtâna in their case. Yet, as a matter of fact however, universality has been claimed for both Christianity and Islam. It is not at all strange that devout Christians or Moslems should, with the pardonable prepossessions of the man of faith, look upon their own as the only true religion in the world, and therefore the one only and exclusive way to God and His salvation. But those who are neither orthodox Christians nor Moslems at all, have also supported this claim more or less. And this is entirely due to the very confused notion that even cultured and thoughtful people have of the concept universal.

Professor Upton, for instance, in his volume on "National and Universal Religion"—(Hibbert Lectures)—calls Judaism national, and Christianity and Islam universal. The meaning evidently is that any religious system that accepts converts without any restrictions regarding

their race or country can be characterised as universal. It is, however, simply non-national, but not truly universal. This credal-universal is as different from the true universal, as the spatial infinite is different from the real infinite. Literally, universal is that which is counterminous with the universe. Universal must include all, can exclude nothing. A universal that leaves out or cannot accommodate within itself one single atom of matter or one solitary and feeble breath of life in this universe, ceases, for that one crime or incapacity, to be universal. Universality can be claimed by a thing or category only when it includes every thing or category and all things and categories of its own class and kind, and leaves none out. Universal Humanity, therefore, is that which embraces each and all humans, savage or civilised. This Humanity must accommodate and account for every individual human, from the cannibal caveman to the most refined savant, and every race or people from the Fiji-Islander to the French or the German. If we say that Humanity includes savants only but not savages, we cannot claim universality for it. As the ultimate ideal and regulative idea in human evolution, this Humanity may be more explicit in some individual or nation than in others. But it is nevertheless implicit in all. The meaning of universal, in reference to this category humanity, is generally understood; and no man, not even in Europe, I hope, would claim this universal humanity for the white races only. But people do not or cannot think so clearly about matters pertaining to religion. Consequently, there is a good deal of very mixed thinking about the concept universal, as applied to religion.

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In fact, this classification of religion into (i) National and (ii) Universal is fundamentally wrong. It suggests an antithesis

**A Strange
Absurdity.**

between the terms national and universal, that has no sanction in the logic of thought. The term national indicates particularity. And universal is that which

is *not* particular. Therefore, what is national can never be universal. But the universal which stands, thus, as something opposed to the particular, is not the real but only an inferential, an abstract universal. Goodness is an abstraction. But we know it not except in things or persons or acts that are good. In actual experience we know only good things or persons or acts,

but really no such thing as goodness. This is a creation of our mind; an abstraction of our thought, not a reality. Similarly the universal which is interpreted as merely a not-particular is a negation, an abstraction, a creation of our thought. It is called an abstract universal. It is not a reality. The universal that we actually know exists *in* the particular, not limited to, nor exhausted by that particular, yet all the same not standing absolutely outside of or opposed to it. The particular and the universal are organically bound up: like shine and shadow, the two always exist together, are absolutely inseparable *in* experience, though separated in logic. Universal Humanity is, therefore, implicit in Nationality. Universal religion is implicit in national religion. There is not, and can never be, any opposition between the two. Indeed, if you will just think it out a bit, my child, —you will find that this very classification of Religion into (i) National and (ii) Universal, destroys the very universality of this Universal Religion itself. This classification is based upon the fact that the quality of Religion is common to both. One is *national* religion; the other is *universal* religion. And Religion being common to both is, necessarily, larger than either terms severally, and even than both the terms together. In other words, Religion is larger and higher than what is called Universal Religion, which is an absurdity. For, nothing can be larger or higher than the universal.

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The fact of the matter, however, is that the actualities upon which Professor Upton's classification is evidently based,—
National or Ethnic, do not at all justify the use of the terms, National and
Universal or Credal? Universal. In fact, there is no such thing as national religion. Community of religion is not an essential element of nationality. Tribes and clans have a common religion. But a nation is larger than tribes and clans. It connotes only a common territorial and political life of many and divergent tribes and clans; there may or may not be a common religion among them all. Territorial and political unity is essential to nationhood, not religious unity. Strictly speaking, therefore, there can be no such thing as national religion. The true and accurate term here is not national, but *ethnic*. Similarly what, in contradistinction to national religion is called here universal religion, is, really, not universal, but only *credal*. Ethnic religions are confined to particular ethnic groups. No one who is not born in these groups can pursue these ethnic religions. No one who is not born a Jew can be admitted into the Jewish faith and communion. But neither Christianity nor Islam has any such restriction. Any one, irrespective of birth or race or nationality, can be accepted into the Chris-

tian or the Moslem faith, provided he or she accepts the special creed of Christianity or Islam. Birth is the primary thing in ethnic religions : this *creed* is the primary thing in Christianity or Islam. These are, therefore, *credal* religions. And credal religions are open to acceptance by whomsoever may consider the creeds to be reasonable or to have divine sanctions. There is no bar to the acceptance of these credal religions. No one is excluded from these religions except those who would not of their own free-will and choice, come within them. And it is, evidently, this open character of credal religions like Christianity or Islam, which is really responsible for their being characterised as universal. But strictly speaking, neither Christianity nor Islam is *open* to all men. They are open only conditionally. They accept only those who fulfil certain conditions, and not those who do not or cannot fulfil them. The acceptance of their respective creeds is this condition. And this condition kills their universal character. Universal Humanity includes *all* humans, freely and unconditionally : or upon the only condition that they are human and not something else. So universal religion, to justify itself, must include, *all* religions, freely and unconditionally or upon the one only condition that they are religions, and not something else. Neither Christianity nor Islam does so. They are conditioned by their respective creeds. Consequently, universality can never be claimed for them. Either it must be held that there is no religion outside Christianity or Islam : or it must be admitted that they are each only one religion, among many religions. They may be higher than or much superior to those other religions : but their claims to superiority do not cancel this fact, that they are only one of many religions ; and they are not, therefore, universal religions in the true sense of the term. As universal humanity is something which accommodates and accounts for all human individuals and social groups, whether savage or civilized, which keeps none out, and which no human individual or group can, by any means or for any reasons, really keep out of ; even so Universal Religion must be such as accommodates and accounts for every form of human religion, and out of which no religion can keep itself. Neither Christianity nor Islam does this. Hinduism alone, of all the known world-religions, does it. From the crudest kinds of animism to the most refined spiritual worships, all are accommodated by and accounted for in Hinduism. It believes that each religion and all the religions together, are only "feeling after" the Absolute. They are all true, in their own proper place ; and none possesses the absolute and the final revelation of the Infinite. And^o this is why Hinduism can legitimately claim to be the only true universal religion in the world.

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For Hinduism is not *one* religion, like Christianity, Islam, or even Judaism ; but correctly speaking, it is a compendium of many creeds and cults, all united in a common culture and a common ideal-end. Hinduism accepts whatever may be or is classed as religion, as parts of itself. As a religion, Hinduism has no quarrel either with Christianity or Islam, Judaism or Zoroastrianism. A Hindu, provided only he accepts the social economy and observes the purificatory laws and regulations of the Hindu culture, may well believe in and worship Jesus Christ, or acknowledge the authority of the Prophet of Medina, in all matters of faith. Indeed, as a matter of fact, there are, I know, Hindus in the Punjab and Sindh, who are Moslems by faith, and some of these are accepted as spiritual teachers by the Sufis of our North Western Provinces. They do not follow the social code of Islam and are not governed by the Mahommedan civil law. In these respects they are like the other Hindus. But their personal religion is not Hinduism, but Sufism : and the Sufis, as you know, are a school or sect of Islam. Indeed, even among those whose claims to the Hindu name are absolutely unquestioned, there are almost as wide divergences of faiths and creeds, as there are, for instance, between Hinduism and Christianity or any other religion. On the one side, you will find in Hinduism the most primitive faiths and practices, that may be justly classed with what is called animism or fetishism. On the other side you find here the most profoundly spiritual creeds and cultures of the Vedantin and the Vaishnava. There are some Hindus whose religion may be called pure and unalloyed theism. There are others who are undeniably deists. While there are many Hindus whose faith, though not actually polytheistic, is yet very much like it. There are men of very superior education and culture who do not believe in a Personal God, and therefore, who do not accept the possibility of the Divine Incarnation. There are others, equally educated and cultured, and held as quite orthodox, who believe in a Personal God and, who believe, therefore, both in the philosophy and the fact of the Divine Incarnation. There are many points both of agreement and difference between the Hindu and the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. These I shall try to explain to you later on. But one very vital point in which the former differs from the latter is that the Hindu believes not in one but in innumerable Incarnations of the Deity. And this fact enables Hinduism to accommodate within itself all the hosts of prophets and avatars of the world as revelations of God : His manifestations in the flesh. Hinduism drove Buddhism out of India : but never refused to acknowledge the Buddha as an avatar. Like Rama and others, Buddha is universally accepted in Hinduism as an Incarnation of God. It can

have, therefore, no objection to accept Christ also as an Incarnation of God, and Mahommed as a Man of God, His Apostle or Messenger. The real conflict does not come in here,—in the claims of Christ or Mahommed as an Incarnation and Prophet of God,—but in the impatience of the Christian and the Mahommedan who cannot bear the idea of their avatar and hazrat being classed with the other avatars and hazrats of the world. By their spirit of exclusiveness, Christianity and Islam put themselves out of court altogether as claimants to the distinction of universality. By its spirit of all-inclusiveness Hinduism fully justifies its claims to this title.

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Whatsoever can establish its claims to the name religion, can find a place in Hinduism. And the least common multiple of the religious idea is a sense of the Unseen or the Supernatural. A sense of the “not-me”—the category *idam* (इदं) or “this”, as opposed to *aham* (अहं) or “I”—is common to all religions; but it is a “not-me” which is not fully grasped by the senses, and which eludes the intellect and the understanding. I say “*grasped*” and not *apprehended*. For in our earliest sense of the unseen there is sense-apprehension. The sky-God common both to primitive Hinduism and to early Greek religion, was this visible firmament, which our sense actually apprehends; but it was still incomprehensible to the intellect and the imagination of the early Aryans whose records speak of this sky-God. It is through this incomprehensibility that even natural objects like the sun and the sky, the fire and the wind and the lightning, and the morning and evening twilight, came to be vested with the virtues of the supernatural. And Universal Religion must recognise even this primitive faith, with all the peurile sacraments and superstitions associated with it, as religion; and therefore, as something in which it is itself present and implicit in all its perfection and completeness. For the Universal is the regulative idea in every particular. Hinduism freely and frankly recognises all this. It accommodates the most primitive beliefs and practices within itself. It never rejects even the worship of stocks and stones as no-religion. Much less does it condemn it as irreligion. It knows that men’s faith grow from within them, and are not earned or bought from without. It understands the fact that even as God made man after his own image, even so man always makes his God also after his own image. As a man is, so must also his God be. The savage man cannot have a civilised God. The man engaged in a perpetual life-and-death struggle for the barest necessities of life, with the vegetable or the animal or the human kingdom about him, who

are pursuing him relentlessly to utter extinction, cannot, possibly, have a God of Love and Mercy and Peace. Such a God would be of no earthly use to him. He wants a fighting God, whose vision will put strength into his arms and accuracy to the aim of his bow and arrow; whose benign face will look down upon him as he fells his enemies with his axe or club and dances in ecstasy over the bodies of his foes; who, like him, is thirsting for revenge and revels in blood. In the early militant stage of society, man is in a perpetual state of war, and the situation demands a War-God. The sacrifices most acceptable to such a God are not a contrite spirit and a loving, self-denying heart; but human heads—the slain bodies of the alien or unfriendly clan or tribe. A religion that cannot accommodate and account for these, as facts of the religious life and stages of religious evolution, as steps by which man slowly rose to his present refined and spiritual God-Idea and God-consciousness, can never claim to be a universal religion. Neither Christianity nor Islam, can do this. Hinduism alone can and always has done it. It has still rites and mysteries that preserve the memory of the old war-gods and goddesses, and that, in their present modified and spiritualised forms, satisfy the crude and cruel militant spirit even of the modern man.

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Gradually with the advance of social evolution, and the establishment of settled government, man needed a God corresponding to his new social life. By slow degrees his older and cruder idea of God also changed, and the old War-God was transformed into a new King-God. Not the club and the axe, but law and justice became now the principal instruments of self-preservation both of individuals and their collective social life. God now became the Promulgator of the Law or the Social Code, and the Dispenser of Justice. He is now the Law-Giver, the Judge and the Executor of rewards and punishments. We find this God-idea very fully developed in the Old Testament records. The God of Israel is a King-God. He has not altogether ceased to be a War-God; but considerably more civilised, that is humanised, than the war-gods of primitive culture. He is the General of the Army of Israel: the Lord of Hosts; but a General who leads his hosts only against the wicked. He is also a Judge, who judges with truth and justice. He is a King who rules in righteousness. We find the same God-idea in our own records also; where he is *Dharmā-bāha*—the Source of Law; and *Pāpanuda*—the Destroyer of Sin or Evil. And finally both in Israel and India, the national consciousness reached out to the idea or ideal of the God of Love; as we find in Christianity on the one side, and in *Yāshnavism* on the other.

The true Universal Religion must accommodate and account for all these multitudinous phases of man's religious life and evolution. And Hinduism is the only one of the great world-religions which has made a persistent attempt to do this. And it has been able to do this, mainly for two things : first its monistic philosophy, and second its recognition of *adhikaribheda* or *diverse classes* and qualifications among the worshippers of God.

But of these I must speak to you in my next letter

JOHN HELSTON THE WORKSHOP-BARD.

(LADY'S REALM—MAY.)

John Helston, the workshop bard, whose age is 30, discovered that he could write poetry only two years ago. At fifteen he was at work for an electrical engineering firm, then he went to the locomotive shops of the London and South Western Railway, and stayed there three years. After that he was successively a warehouse clerk, an "improver" in a sword factory, and ever so many different kinds of a mechanic, eventually finding employment in a motor car works and getting dismissed for spoiling some levers—at least, they said he spoiled them. Then, having made a lucky bet on a horse-race one day, he "followed his luck," and for a while lived by betting, "going broke," however, when he tried to run a regular "bookmaking" business. His first literary work consisted of racing articles for an obscure financial paper, and then, one fine day, he tried his hand at verse and found himself. At the outset, however, he burned hundreds of verses which would not pass the gauntlet of his critical faculty, which apparently developed rapidly.

"This was in 1910," said Mr. Helston when describing his start at his modest home in Islington, "and at the outset I got a neighbour, a schoolmistress, to punctuate my efforts. Of course, as I expected, I got any number of them back until one day I received a letter from Lady Margaret Sackville, praising some of them that she had seen. She urged me to make myself known to Mr. Austin Harrison, the editor of the *English Review*, and so, after hard attempts at self-improvement, I sent him all the poetry that I had written and preserved—seven thousand lines—and again I met nothing but kindness."

"Well about this process of self-improvement?" he was asked.

"Well, it was not easy to know where to begin, as you can guess. I gave up my regular work and settled down to educate myself, and for over twelve months I have read hard for many hours a day in economics, social science, biology, history, and literature. As fast as one branch led into another, I tried to follow it up, and though I have had to relinquish many things I would like to have studied, I have done my best in the time."

Here are a few lines from Helston's "Aphrodite at Leatherhead," which have specially pleased judges of verse for the ease and fullness of their expression :—

"God gave His sanction surely when He gave
A soul to man and beauty to the world,
To claim the light within a falling wave,
The moonrise and the daydawn dew-empared,
And every daedal impulse of the sun
For Joy's own bride, Imagination."

THE WILD-BIRD.

(BY PRAFULLA RANJAN DAS, BAR-AT-LAW.)

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My wild-bird, oh, my wild-bird,
Whose home is with the free,
Whose wings are ever beating
Around Eternity,
I thought I heard your music,
So near, - yet distantly !

I thought your wings were flapping
Around my prison-wall,
-When drunk with dreams of conquest
I paced the dim-lit hall,
- I thought I heard your music
That roused me with your call !

Was music such a music,
My soul has heard before,
When hopes of great achievement
Were peeping at my door,
-When drunk with dreams of conquest
I bid my vision soar !

And was there ought of laughter
When then you heard me speak,
The stories of my triumphs
O'er helpless and the weak,
And did you come and mock me
In hearing what I seek ?

You saw the chain I fashioned
For other hands and feet,
So soon my work is over
Shall hold me in its heat,
—And then thro' ages endless
Shall make of me its meat !

My will-bird, oh, my wild-bird,
 How oft at even—tide
 When shadows fall across me
 And all my hopes have died,
 You come as some beloved,
 And call me to your side !

And then you sing of shadows,
 That lurk in prison fast
 And how all prison-trophies
 Shall soon decay to dust,
 You come as some beloved,
 And hold me to your trust !

My wild-bird, oh, my wild-bird,
 Your soul and mine were one,
 When ages long before this,
 We faced the rising Sun,
 When trembling with some impulse,
 My different life began !

And now by some Fate driven,
 I move within the cage,
 But you with ease of freedom,
 Do make a pilgrimage,
 Round Sun's course and the moon's course,
 From one to other age !

And now you came at day-break,
 And called me to the far,
 The wonder land where rises,
 The music of the Star,
 You came to me and called me,
 To burst the prison-bar !

And all round me my efforts,
 Had made the bravest show,
 With dreams of some great conquest,
 My soul was all aglow,
 And then you came and called me,
 And bid your music flow !

My wild-bird, oh, my wild-bird
 You sang of wide wide Sea,
Where soul shall ever wander,
 With swiftness of the free,
—You breathed, and in your breathing,
 Was breath of liberty !

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And then your liquid laughter,
 Rang thro' the prison-hall,
Where dim with dark illusions,
 I waited for your call,
—You laughed because you saw me,
 With phantoms one and all !

My wild-bird, oh, my wild-bird,
 I know that we are one,
But prison-bars shall hold me,
 Until my race is run,
For how we love the bondage
 And shadows of the Sun !

My wild-bird, oh, my wild-bird,
 You call me,—I am weak !
And tho' I hear your music,
 'Tis shadows that I seek,
My wild-bird, oh, my wild-bird,
 Then let the shadow speak !

THE LIFE OF NITYANANDA.

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(BY THE LATE BABU BULLORAM MULLICK, B.A.)

CHAPTER I.

The Doctrine of Incarnation, according to the Gaudiya or Bengal School of Vaishnavism.

[Synopsis of the previous chapter : In his "Introduction" to this narrative of the Life of Nityānanda, published in the May *Hindu Review*—Pages 471—474, the author described the socio-religious condition of Bengal at the time of Sree Chaitanya Mahāprabhu's advent. A debased form of the Tantric cult ruled the upper classes of Bengalee Hindus. The worship of Sree Krishna had fallen into disuse ; and the handful of Vaishnavas that were still to be found in the country were despised and persecuted by the followers of Tantra. It was at this juncture that Sree Gaurānga Mahāprabhu came down to earth. The Vaishnavas of Bengal look upon both Sree Gaurānga and his right-hand man, Sree Nityānanda as avatars or incarnations. But to understand their position we shall have to study the whole Philosophy of Divine Incarnation, as understood by the Hindus, and especially by the Vaishnava Hindus. "We shall enter into this study" said the writer, "in the next chapter." This is what he does here.]

A review of the facts set forth in the previous chapter, would satisfy the most confirmed sceptic, that immediately before the advent of Sree Chaitanya Mahāprabhu in Navadvipa or Nadiya, Bengal was, indeed, in a very bad plight both socially and spiritually. Some reform was, therefore, absolutely needed to maintain the onward march of the historic evolution of the Bengalee people. It is the universal experience of history that things, when they reach their worst, oftentimes commence to mend. In fact, in God's world every wrong carries its own cure within itself. But who can work this cure except the great Dispenser of All-Good Himself? And this is the root-fact in the Hindu doctrine of Incarnation.

In one sense the idea of incarnation is innate in the very structure of the theological speculations of the Hindus. This theology is fundamentally monistic. The Ultimate Reality is One, not two or many. It is One-without-a-Second. "Before all this was, my beloved, the Real alone

existed ;" we read in the Upanishads. That Reality desired to be many for the object of creation, and He became many. This is Hindu cosmogony. This world-process is the process, really, of the One becoming many. The entire series of cosmic evolution is, thus, a perpetual process of incarnation or descent, as it is really called in Sanskrit. But besides this general view, there are also special views of Divine Incarnation in Hinduism. All creation is an incarnation of the Ultimate Reality. But He is not equally manifest in all created things. In the Bhagavad-Geetâ, we are, therefore, told that He is the highest and the best of every class. This is, what may perhaps be called the cosmic view of the doctrine of Incarnation. There is, however, a yet higher view of this doctrine, in Hinduism. It may be called the historic view. This historic view is really the highest Geetâ-doctrine of Incarnation. We read in the Geetâ :

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य गूणिर्भवति भारत ।

अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मनः सृजाम्यहम् ॥

परित्राणाय साधून् विनाशाय च दुष्कृतां ।

धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥

It means that God incarnates Himself whenever Dharma or the moral sense of mankind, becomes diseased and when Adharma or that which is opposed to Dharma, rises to overwhelm society. The object of all incarnation is to save goodness, destroy evil, and establish a true sense of duty on earth. Those who render our Dharma into religion in English, take a narrow view of the former concept. In fact, on the human plane, Dharma connotes Duty, in its largest sense, and includes duty to self, duty to one's family, duty to Society and the State, and duty to God and the world at large. And when we take Dharma in this sense, the Geetâ-theory of Incarnation cannot be disputed. Every Great Man, as Carlyle calls them, or every Representative Man, to use the terminology of Emerson,—every Mahâpurusha,—Buddha, Jesus, Mahommed, Sree Chaitanya Mahâ-prabhu, was born at critical epochs of the history of their race and country, and worked to uphold the good, overthrow the evil, and establish the supremacy of the moral and the spiritual life among men. Every one of them was, therefore, an Avatar or Incarnation, according to the view of the Bhagabad-Geeta. This word avatar literally means, not incarnation but only descent, though in this act of descent, the spirit has to take form in the flesh. Nor should this descent be understood as a physical act, namely, from heaven to earth. It is "descent" in a moral and spiritual

and knowable. Transcendentalism postulates and posits a formless and attributeless Deity, if Deity it may at all be called. And God's avatar or descent would be meaningless and would serve absolutely no purpose, if it did not mean that in thus manifesting Himself to mankind, He, who is really without name and form and all attributes and activities, did *assume* a Form and *all* excellent qualities or attributes.

Starting from the above premisses, one has to determine for one's-self, whether the avatarism of Navadvipa was a historical reality. The Bengal School of Vaishnavism has accepted and proclaimed Sree Chaitanya Mahâprabhu as an Avatar, the latest and the highest Avatar of Sree Krishna. There are many Hindus who are not Vaishnavas, yet who do not feel called upon to contest this claim. There are others, of a strongly sceptical turn of mind, who have in the past even as in our own day, strongly repudiated these pretensions. It has, indeed, always been so. Buddha, Jesus, Mahommed, all the avatars and prophets of the world have been so treated by their opponents and by the faithless in every country and in every age. Jesus was regarded as a huge impostor by the teachers of Judaism. Sree Chaitanya Mahâprabhu was similarly looked upon by the teachers of the popular and corrupt Brahminism of his time in Bengal. The Jews ^{condemned} ^{the} ^{message} ^{of} ^{Jesus}. The Brahmins of Navadvipa —the *elite* ^{of the} ^{Hindu} ^{University} ^{and} ^{the} ^{Hindu} ^{University}, would not accept Sree Chaitanya Mahâprabhu's message had therefore to be delivered to the gentiles, through whom it was communicated to the world. Sree Chaitanya Mahâprabhu's message also had to be similarly delivered, mainly, to the unsophisticated non-Brahmin classes, and through them it was communicated to society at large. There is, thus, a kind of parallelism between the messages of these two Mahapurushas, that strikes the mind of even the most superficial student of these two religious movements. The outer social effect of these two messages was also very similar. The gentiles were comforted in spirit by accepting Jesus and his gospel of salvation. So were the non-Brahmin communities of Bengal comforted by accepting Sree Chaitanya Mahâprabhu and his message of love. The gentiles were filled with a new hope, so were the non-Brahminical classes. God was not the monopoly of the Jewish Rabbis, thought now the gentiles. God was not the monopoly of the Hindu Brahmins, felt and found now the non-Brahmins. To the gentiles, the Mosaic Law was nothing, the faith that Jesus gave was everything. To the non-Brahmins, the Brahminical rituals were, really, nothing; they had neither part nor lot in the Brahminical worships: they were, at best, mere worshippers at the gate; the name of the Lord that Sree Chaitanya Mahâprabhu gave them, became everything. They

could not study the Vedas. They could not recite the mantras. They neither understood nor were taught, nor, indeed, allowed to read and understand, these sacred texts and laws. Religious ritual was to them practically mere magic and incantation. But Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu gave to each man the right and the power to directly worship the Supreme Lord, by chanting and singing His name. The old pujas and yajnas were nothing, really, to the people at large. The Harinam—that they received from Mahaprabhu, became something personal and intimate to them, became, indeed, everything in their religious and spiritual life. The Gospel of Jesus was preached far and wide: so has been the gospel of Sree Chaitanya, amid the wildest popular enthusiasm.

But the real spiritual message whether of Jesus or of Sree Chaitanya had at first, no vital relation to the question whether they were or were not true avatars or incarnations of God. The question did not at all arise during the life time of Jesus. Even the Messianic idea, which was a distinctly Jewish idea, though perhaps believed in during Jesus's life time by some of his immediate adherents, did not receive much serious attention until after his death. It cannot be said that the question whether Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu was or was not an avatar, did not at all arise during his life. If contemporary records are to be believed, it seems absolutely certain that all the most prominent associates and disciples of Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu did accept him as such. It was also very easy and natural for them to do so. The avatar-idea is inherent in the Hindu consciousness. There had never before been any previous incarnation of God in the Jewish or even in the Greeko-Roman tradition. In Hinduism there had been many avatars before Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. Not to mention the series beginning with *Matsya* or Fish and ending with *Nrisimha* or Man-Lion, which represents what may perhaps be called the cosmic process of the evolution of God-man or God-in-man; there were even many incarnations on the purely human and historic plane; such as Sree Krishna, Sree Rama-Chandra, Bâmana, Parashurâma, and Buddha. The idea is thus familiar to the Hindu mind. It has percolated to the lowest strata of Hindu thought and imagination through the Puranas; and it is still further propagated and explained through a thousand Kathas and Yatras or passion-plays. The Hindu mind is, thus, steeped in these ideas. It is a universally-accepted doctrine that whenever there is decay of Dharma and the rise of Adharma, the Lord Sree Krishna causes Himself to be born on earth for the upholding of goodness, the overthrow of evil, and the establishment of Dharma suited to the special requirements of the times. Consequently when Sree Chaitanya started

upon his mission in Navadvipa, the Vaishnavas of the place, who in the agony of their soul had for years been calling upon Sree Krishna to come down and save his people and uplift the world, found no difficulty in accepting him as an avatar.

But though Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu was accepted and privately proclaimed among themselves as an Avatar, by his personal friends and immediate disciples, even in his life-time; it was only after his death, really, that the idea was fully developed in the literature and philosophy of Bengal Vaishnavism. Like almost every theological school of the old times, the Vaishnava Hindus also, base their speculations mainly upon ancient scriptures. In the first place, like the other Hindu Schools, the Vishnavas also appeal to the Upanishads as their *revealed* authority. And one of the principal texts which they cite in support of their special philosophy of life is that wherein the Ultimate Reality is described as Ananandam—or Joy or Bliss. There can be no joy, unless there is present before an Enjoyer an adequate Object of his Enjoyment. And the psychology of anandam or joy is always this, namely, that in every act or experience of joy or anandam, the enjoyer goes out of himself, so to say, to the object of his enjoyment, and taking it up, comes back to himself. As in every act of knowledge, to quote the dictum of Hegel, the self goes out of itself to return to itself, to be itself; so in every act of enjoyment also, the enjoyer goes out of himself to the object of his enjoyment, and unites it with himself, and thus comes back to himself to be himself or to fulfil himself. The process means, thus, an act of self-differentiation, followed by an act of re-integration. Homogeneity has to be broken up by Duality and the Duality to be completed in Unity. The Ultimate Reality is, thus, in the beginning, —if we may use a term in the time series in regard to that which is beyond and above that series,—Homogenous. It is undifferentiated Being. It is Pure Being. It is Nirgunam. It is Transcendental: Unknown and Unknowable. But It differentiates Itself from Itself, and the two self-differentiated Selves become Purusha and Prakriti. Purusha is the Subject, the Knower. Prakriti is the Object or the Known. Purusha is the Enjoyer, Prakriti is the Object of the Purusha's enjoyment. All knowledge or thought or consciousness, as well as all joy and bliss, is in the union of Purusha and Prakriti. The object is meaningless without its subject, a mere nothing. The enjoyed is meaningless without its enjoyer. The object of a self-conscious subject, cannot be itself unconscious; for then, the subject cannot possibly realise himself fully through it. Every consciousness knows itself fully only by standing face to face

with its own counterpart, with an object that, though different from it, is yet entirely like itself. We know ourselves not by knowing material objects so much, if at all, as we do by making other humans like ourselves the object of our thought. So also our highest enjoyments come only from our own kind, from other self-conscious beings, who though objects of our enjoyments, are yet themselves also enjoyers like ourselves, and can therefore reciprocate our emotions more or less. In the Mystery of the Divine Being there is, therefore, a similar Duality; and these two mutually supplement each other, are mutually necessary for each other, and help each other, not only in their mutual self-realisation, but equally also in the self-realisation of the Whole of which these are self-differentiated aspects. This, very briefly, is the philosophy of Vaishnavic Dualism. It is a Dualism that fulfils but does not destroy the essential Unity of the Ultimate Reality. Purusha and Prakriti are not two entities but really One Being—One is ousia or essence, different in hypostates or appearance, as the Christian theologians would say. Purusha is Sree Krishna. Prakriti is Sree Radha. They are two Persons, but one Being. Person is from Latin persona a mask. Their difference or duality is the result of a mask that each puts on for purposes of sport or leela, as the Vaishnavas would say. This is, in brief, the fundamental philosophy of the Ultimate Reality or Parama Tattwa of the Bhagavata. The Bengal school of Vaishnavism takes its stand upon this philosophy.

In the Bhagavata (Part I, Chapter I, 11th, Sloka) we read :—

वदन्ति तत्तुषिदस्तत्तु यज् ज्ञानमदयः ।

ब्रह्मेति परमात्मेति भगवानिति शब्दयते ॥

Those who know the Tattwa call that One-undivided-Consciousness as Tattwa, which goes by the name of Brahman (in the Upanishads), Paramatman or the Indweller or Over-Soul (among the Yogees), and Bhagavan (by the Schools of Love and Faith). The Vaishnavas say that this Bhagavan is Sree Krishna Himself and none other. Bhagavan is the Perfect Person. He is the Supreme Purusha. He is the abode of All-Power, All-Knowledge, All-Penance, All-Yoga, All-Bliss and All-Beauty. Brahman of the Upanishads is only an aspect, a moment, a mere effulgence of the Body of Bhagavan. The Paramatma or the Indweller of the •Yogees is also a mere aspect of Him. Bhagavan is the Full, the Complete, the Perfect Person, the Supreme and Absolute Reality.

Following this Bhagavata doctrine of what may perhaps be called the

true Hindu Trinity, the followers of Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu declare :—

यदहं तं ब्रह्मोपनिषदि तदव्यक्तं तनुभा ।

य आत्मान्तर्यामीपुरुष इति सोऽस्यांशविभवः ॥

षड्विंशत्यर्थपूर्णः इह भगवान् स स्वयमयम् ।

न चैतन्मात् कृष्णाञ्जलिं पश्यन् तं परमिह ॥

That which is the One-and-undifferentiated Brahman in the Upanishads, is the effulgence of the body of this (Sree Krishna-Chaitanya). He who is called the Person-residing-in-the soul, is a mere part-manifestation of this (Sree Krishna-Chaitanya). He who is full with the six-fold powers and qualities, and is called here (in the Bhagavata) Bhagavan, He is Himself this (Sree Krishna-Chaitanya). There is no Tattwa or Reality in this world, superior to Sree Krishna Chaitanya.

It will thus be seen that the followers of Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu absolutely identify him with Sree Krishna and thus they not only make him an avatar, but actually take him above the incarnation series. For Sree Krishna is not, they say, an avatar, or incarnation, but is the Supreme Being Himself—the Avatāree, or He who is incarnated.

But the doctrine of incarnation as propounded by the Bengal School of Vaishnavism goes much further, and, one might even add, much deeper than the Geeta-doctrine. To revive decadent Dharma, to put down the ascendent Adharma, to save the good, to overthrow evil-doers, and to establish the highest and the best social order suited to the genius and requirements of a particular age,—these are the objects of the avatar or descent of Sree Krishna or the Supreme Lord. This is the Geeta-doctrine. This is true; say the Bengal Vaishnavas. But it is not the whole truth. Avatars or incarnations are of various classes. Some are incarnations of particular powers of the Lord. Brahma is, thus, the incarnation of His Creative Power. Vishnu is, similarly, the incarnation of the Protective Power of Sree Krishna. To revive decadent Dharma, to save the righteous, to punish evildoers, to establish Law and Order, to put down anarchy,—all these are really protective functions. For these, it is not at all necessary that Sree Krishna Himself should descend on earth at a special time and at a particular place. These are all functions of Vishnu. But Sree Krishna descended on earth for His own inner reason. That object was realised, not in the overthrow of Kamsa or the destruction of Shishupala, nor in or by anything that Sree Krishna did at Kurukshetra, as the Chaitanyas of Arjuna, but in His life at Sree Brindaban, in and through His relations

of love and affection with Nanda and Jasoda who looked upon Him as their child, with Balaram, Sreedam, Sudam and the other youthful cowherds who looked upon him as their friend and playmate, and with the Braja-Gopinees or the damsels of the cowherds of Brojadhama who looked upon Him as their lover. In Dvaraka, as a Prince of the Yadavas, in the court and camp of the Pandavas,—where He played the part of statesman and warrior, planned and executed the overthrow of Duryodhana and others for the establishment of a Kingdom of Righteousness or a Dharma-Rajya, there was only a partial revelation of the Lord. Here He was only the Protector of the world. It was only His Vishnu-aspect that was manifested here. But the real avatar, the full and perfect revelation, was in Sree Brindaban. This Brindaban-Leela was the supreme object of the descent of Sree Krishna in the Dvapara-Yuga. It was a revelation of the innermost life and being of Sree Bhagavan or the Supreme Person. Here in Sree Brindaban He sported, as in His Own Being, with His Own Prakriti. Though manifested here below, the thing itself was really super-mundane. It was a manifestation not of Sree Krishna's powers, but of Himself and His Love. Here He stood not as King or Saviour, not as the Lord of the Universe and the Author of all beings; but only as son, and friend, and lover. Here in Brindaban He sported in these sweet and tender and intimate relations, loving and being loved by Nanda and Jasoda who tended Him as their child; by the youthful cowherds who played and romped with Him as their dearly-beloved mate; and by the damsels of Brindaban who placed their soul at His feet as their one only lover. Of these latter Sree Radha was the chief. This Radha is Sree Krishna's Para-Prakriti, is that very self-differentiated Being in and through whom the Lord enjoys and realises His Infinite Love. And here in Sree Brindabana, in the love and life of Radha and Krishna, the eternal relations and reciprocities of Infinite Love were re-acted, so to say, upon a noble earthly stage. Not the upholding of righteousness, nor the overthrow of injustice; neither the destruction of evil-doers nor the protection of the virtuous;—none of these were the objects of this Brindaban-Leela. The lofty spiritual plane where this love-play was acted,—and where, indeed, it is being eternally acted—is beyond both Good and Evil. It is the plane of Pure Love. The object of this leela or sport, and indeed of the very advent of Sree Krishna in Brindabana, was mere sport. It was pure enjoyment. This leela or avatar was an end into itself. Or if any end can at all be ascribed to the sport of the Lord, that end was His own Love. For His Own Love's sake, Sree Krishna manifested this Brindaban-Leela.

And the Bengal School of Vaishnavism holds that the object of the avatar or descent of Sree-Chaitanya-Mahaprabhu was nothing less than the fulfilment of this Supreme Love of Sree-Radha and Sree-Krishna. There had been, they say, an eternal yearning in Sree-Krishna to taste the love that Sree-Radha always bears for Him. He is the object of that love; even as Radha is the object of His love. This love is eternally drawing them to each other. Sree-Radha is continually losing Herself in Sree-Krishna. Sree-Krishna too is continually losing Himself in Sree-Radha. Yet they neither really know the other's love as it is in itself. This is the supreme sweetness, and, at the same time, the eternal tragedy of all love. We want to see it from the inside, we want to taste our lover's love, as it affects and is tasted by him or her. We feel we are very sweet to those who love us; and we yearn to taste that sweetness ourselves. We know not how sweet, how lovely, how beautiful we are; our lovers alone know it. And as we see the glow of this love and bliss in their face, we yearn to feel ourselves how it really is. This is love's highest bliss and deepest pain. And even as we yearn to know, feel, and taste directly and in the fullest measure, that wonderful love which flows out of our lover's hearts and makes them forget themselves, even so Sree Krishna yearns to taste and feel the love with which Sree-Radha loves Him. This is really the supreme secret of the Radha-Krishna-leela. This is at once the highest happiness and the saddest tragedy of that love. Sree-Radha's love is absolutely pure. There is neither sense nor self in this divine passion. Sree-Radha looks at Sree-Krishna, and her form fills out with fresh beauty and fresh sweetness, from moment to moment. She looks at Sree Krishna and drinks in His Beauty, and at every sip grows in superl beauty Herself. And this Beauty draws Sree Krishna to Her. And as Sree Krishna approaches Sree Radha, Her beauty grows step by step and more and more. It grows endlessly and eternally. And it growingly and eternally increases the passion of the Lord. It grows until the love of Sree Radha seems almost to absolutely beggar the Lord of the Universe. He whose name quenches the thirst of all creatures, burns with this unquenchable thirst of the love of Sree Radha. He who fills the infinite worlds, cannot fill the heart of Sree Radha, the more He gives the more she yearns to have Him more and more. And even Sree Krishna knows not and cannot solve this mystery of the Love of Sree Radha. For how can Purusha know the love with which His own Prakriti loves Him. How can mere man-love sound the unfathomable depths of true woman love? The Purusha must Himself be His Own Prakriti,—the man must first be a woman, true and loving, before he can truly know what the love of Prakriti or of the woman, really is. To taste, to know, to feel the

supreme love that Sree Radha gives Him, Sree Krishna had, therefore, to become Sree Radha Herself. And this was the object of Sree Chaitanya-Avatar, or the descent or incarnation of the Lord as Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. In, and, as Sree Chaitanya, Sree Krishna took unto Himself the form of Sree Radha, the Prusha assumed the garb and the spirit of His Own Prakriti; and He did so only to taste what that love really is, with which Sree Radha, His Own Supreme Prakriti, has loved Him from eternity to eternity.

श्रीराधायाः प्रणयमहिमा कीदृशो वानयैवा
स्वास्थो येनासङ्गत मधुरिमा कीदृशो वा मदीयः ।
सौख्यो चास्यामदनुभवतः कीदृशं वेति लोभा
तद्यावाण्योः समजानि शचिगर्भसिन्धौ हरीन्दुः ॥

There are three main objects (मूल प्रयोजन) of the Chaitanya-avataar, say the Bengal-Vaishnavas. And in this text these three-fold objects are enumerated. The first is—what is the excellence and superiority of the love of Sree Radha? Second—what is that Beauty and Loveliness of mine whose wonderful sweetness is tasted by Sree Radha with this love of Hers?—And third—what is the nature and measure of the enjoyment and happiness that Sree Radha gets from my love? Yearning to know and taste these, Sree Krishna came and was born in the womb of Sree Sachidebi—the mother of Sree Chaitanya.

This was the inner necessity of the advent of Sree Chaitanya. All the previous incarnations, with the exception of the Brindaban-leela,—were moved by what might be said an outer motive. Pity was the force that impelled the Supreme to incarnate Himself in the previous ages. The necessity was man's and the creation's, not really and directly of the Lord and Creator Himself. But Love was the motive-force of His Incarnation in Dvaparayuga, when He came down in His own true and proper form and in all His fullness, and sported at Brindabana with His own Prakritis, or His own differentiated selves. The Gopinees or the cowherds of Sree Brindaban were His own limbs and members, so to say; they were parts of His own Being, and instruments and vehicles of His Emotions, His Rasas. As the Son is the very being of the being of the Father, eternally joined to, yet eternally differentiated from the Father,—in Christian thought and speculations; even so not only Sree Radha, but all the lads and lasses as well as all the elders of Sree Brindaban are the very being of the being of Sree Bhagavan or the Supreme Person, eternally joined to, yet eternally differentiated from Him. Sree Krishna is Bhagavan. Sree Krishna is

the Perfected Form of all Emotions and all Bliss. He is Nikhilarasamritamurti. But the emotions need vehicles and instruments for their fulfilment. And the infinite emotions of Bhagavan demand adequate vehicles and instruments for their self-fulfilment. These emotions are many ; but some are ephemeral and some are permanent. The permanent emotions are four—(1) Dasya or the emotion of love and devotion of the valet towards his master ; (2) Sakhya or the emotion of love and devotion of the friend towards his friend ; (3) Batsalya or the emotion of love and devotion of the parents towards their child ; and (4) Mâdhurya or the emotion of love and devotion of the lover towards his or her object of love. Sree Bhagavan is the source and satisfaction, both the norm and the form, of all these emotions. Whatever is not *in* Him cannot possibly be in this world. All these relations of love have their perfected form and fulfilment in the Being of the Lord. This is why these are spiritual relations and not merely a movement of our carnal affections that are to day, and cease to be to-morrow. And to realise Himself as Nikhilarasamritamurti, the Absolute separates Himself from Himself, and by this eternal act of self-differentiation, creates within His own Being these vehicles and instruments of His Rasa. This, in brief, is the philosophy of what the Vaishnavas call Brindabana-leela or the sport of Sree Krishna in Sree Brindabana. But in this Brindabana-leela, something was left unfulfilled. Sree Krishna who excels in every quality, could not excel Sree Radha in the quality of Her Love. She left Him a debtor. It was to discharge that debt, to feel the supreme Love of Sree Râdhâ in His own self, that Sree Krishna assumed the form and spirit of Sree Râdhâ in Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. That was the inner need of the Chaitanya-Avatar.

But as in every Incarnation, so here in the Incarnation of Sree Krishna as Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, there was an outer object also. But this object too was somewhat different from that of the previous incarnations. This outer object was allied to the inner object. This object was to reveal to the world that supreme ideal of piety which the world had never before known. The older dispensations promulgated new social orders and introduced new rituals and sacrifices into the world. Salvation before was either through knowledge or gnosis, as in the Upanishads, or through yajnas or sacrifices as in the Brahmanas of the Vedas. But all these were either too difficult or too abstruse or had fallen into disuse in this present Kali-yuga. If salvation could not be attained except either through gnosis or Jnanam or sacrifices or Karma, then no one could possibly attain it in this age. Salvation had to be made easier of pursuit and

attainment for the weaker and degenerate race of modern mankind. And this was the outer object of the Incarnation of Sree Chaitanya Mahaprahu. This easy way was the way of Bhakti or Love, Bhakti means the worship of the Lord through the emotions. And the first step towards the cultivation of this Bhakti was chanting the name of the Lord. To preach the name of Sree Krishna, to induce people to repeat His name with love and humility, and thus to train them for the enjoyment of the sweetness of that pure and bright Bhakti which the world had never known before, was the principal outer object of Sree Chaitanya's Avatar or descent or incarnation. And in the realisation of this object, His chief instrument was Sree Nityananda.

And according to the Hindu, and more particularly, the Vaishnavic doctrine of Incarnation, no avatar descends on earth alone. He comes with all His associates, who help Him in the realisation of His divine purpose. So Sree Chaitanya came not alone. If Sree Chaitanya was the Bhagavan Himself; Nityananda too was an avatar or incarnation, and so was also Advaita Acharya. Nityananda is thus regarded by the Bengal Vaishnavas as the incarnation of Sankarshana, which may be roughly translated as the Creative Power of Sree Bhagavan: He is the same in essence with, but only different in form from, Bhagavan.

एकद्वय रूप दोहै भिन्नमात्र काय

He is the servant and the friend, the co-worker and mate of Sree Krishna. Nityananda is the incarnation of an Emanation of the Absolute Person. Krishnadas Kabiraj, the author of Sree Chaitanya Charitamrita, identifies Nitai with Mahavishnu, or the second person of the Hindu Triad. It was Nitai who published to the world the glory of the Nadiya-Avatar. His life and teachings have, therefore, a supreme value to those who would study and understand the great Bhakti-Movement in Bengal in the sixteenth century of the Christian Era.*

* This chapter, as left by the author was so meagre and unsatisfactory, that, I had either to omit it altogether or practically rewrite it myself. I thought the latter was the better course, and I have, therefore, taken considerable liberty with the author's MSS. in editing this chapter.—Editor, Hindu Review.

TWO BOOKS ON HINDUISM.

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1. Hymns to the Goddess—Translated from the Sanskrit by Arthur and Ellen Avalon. London Luzac and Company, 46, Great Russell Street W. C.
2. Tantra of the Great Liberation (Mahanirvâna Tantra)—A Translation from the Sanskrit, with Introduction and Commentary by Arthur Avalon. London, Luzac & Co.

I have not as yet had sufficient time to carefully go through these two valuable volumes, which, for the first time, tries to present what may well be described as an inside view of a most important branch of Hindu spiritual culture, not only to the Western world, but even to the so-called modern reader in Hindustan itself. I have just glanced over some of the pages, and this very cursory view has impressed me very favourably. The translators are, their apparently French pen-name notwithstanding, unmistakably English, but without the least little insularity characteristic of their race. They evidently went to the study of these uninviting books with an absolutely open mind, and have availed themselves of every help that they could get from genuine Hindu pandits and *sâdhakas* in their study and interpretation of these sacred texts. That they are making a very close and systematic study of our Tantric thoughts and disciplines is evident from the announcement that three more works on the subject—(i) Principles of *Tantra*, (ii) The Six Centres (*Shatchakranirupana*) and (iii) Ocean of *Kula Tantra* (*Kulârnavâ Tantra*) are in course of preparation. I have no doubt these volumes, when published, will throw considerable light upon an aspect of Hindu thought and culture which has so long baffled the modern intellect.

But I must defer to a future day a critical consideration of the issues which these two volumes, and especially the Introduction to this English translation of the *Mahanirvâna Tantra*, raise. I shall content myself in the present number by simply giving a sample of the spirit and method of the translator, by transcribing here his interpretation of *Dharmma* and *Moksha*. (pp. cxlii and cxliv-cxlv).

DHARMMA.

Dharmma means that which is to be held fast or kept—law, usage, custom, religion, piety, right, equity, duty, goodworks, and morality. It

is, in short, the eternal and immutable (*sanātana*) principles which hold together the universe in its parts and its whole, whether organic, or inorganic matter. "That which supports and holds together the people (of the universe) is Dharma." "It was declared for well-being and bringeth well-being. It upholds and preserves. Because it supports and holds together, it is called Dharma. By Dharma are the people upheld." It is, in short, not an artificial rule, but the principle of right-living. The mark of Dharma and of the good is *āchāra* (good conduct), from which *dharma* is born and fair fame is acquired here and here after. The sages embraced *āchāra* as the root of all *tapas*. Dharma is not only the principle of right living, but also its application to that course of meritorious action by which man fits himself for this world, heaven, and liberation. Dharma is the result of good action—that is, the merit acquired thereby. The basis of the *sanātana dharma* is revelation (*shruti*) as presented in the various *Shāstra*.—*Smṛiti*, *Purāna*, and *Tantra*. In the *Devi Bhāgavata* it is said that in the *Kaliyuga* Vishnu in the form of Vyāsa divides the one Veda into many parts, with the desire to benefit men, and with the knowledge that they are short-lived and of small intelligence, and hence unable to master the whole. This *dharma* is the first of the four leading aims (*chaturvarga*) of all being.

MOKSHA.

Of the four aims, *moksha* or *mukti* is the ultimate end, for the other three are ever haunted by the fear of Death, the Ender.

Mukti means "loosening" or liberation. It is advisable to avoid the term "salvation" as also other Christian terms, which connote different, though in a loose sense, analogous ideas. According to the Christian doctrine (eschatology), faith in Christ's Gospel and in His Church effects salvation, which is the forgiveness of sins, mediated by Christ's redeeming activity, saving from judgement, and admitting to the Kingdom of God. On the other hand, *mukti* means a loosening from the bonds of the *samsāra* (phenomenal existence), resulting in a union (of various degree of completeness) of the embodied spirit (*jivatma*) or individual life with the Supreme Spirit (*paramātmā*). Liberation can be attained by spiritual knowledge (*atmajnana*) alone, though it is obvious that such knowledge must be preceded by, and accompanied with, and, indeed, can only be attained in the sense of actual realization, by freedom from sin and right action through adherence to *dharma*.

The idealistic system of Hinduism, which posits the ultimate reality as being in the nature of mind, rightly, in such cases, insists on what for default of a better term, may be described as the intellectual, as *omniscient*.

to the ethical nature. Not that it fails to recognize the importance of the latter, but regards it as subsidiary and powerless of itself to achieve that extinction of the modifications of the energy of consciousness which constitute the supreme *mukti* known as *kaivalya*. Such extinction cannot be produced by conduct alone, for such conduct, whether good or evil, produces *karma* which is the source of the modifications which it is man's final aim to suppress. *Moksha* belongs to the *nivritti mārga*, as the *trivarga* appertain to the *pravritti mārga*.

There are various degrees of *mukti*, some more perfect than the others, and it is not, as is generally supposed, one state.

There are four future states of bliss, or *pada*, being in the nature of abodes—viz, *salokya*, *samipya*, *sarupya*, and *saguṇya*—that is, living in the same *loka*, or region, with the Deva worshipped: being near the Deva: receiving the same form or possessing the same *aishvarya* (Divine qualities) as the Deva, and becoming one with the Deva worshipped. The abode to which the *jiva* attains depends upon the worshipper and the nature of his worship, which may be with, or without images, or of the Deva regarded as distinct from the worshipper, and with attributes, and so forth. The four abodes are the result of action transitory and conditioned. Mahanirvāna, or Kaivalya, the real *moksha*, is the result of spiritual knowledge (*jñāna*), and is unconditioned and permanent. Those who know the Brahman, recognizing that the worlds resulting from action are imperfect, reject them, and attain to that unconditioned Bliss which transcends them all. Kaivalya is the supreme state of oneness without attributes, the state in which, as the Yogasutra says, modification of the energy of consciousness is extinct, and when it is established in its own real nature.

Liberation is attainable while the body is living, in which case there exists the state of *jivanamukti* celebrated in the *jivanamukti gita* of Dattātreyā. The soul, it is true, is not really fettered, and appearance to the contrary is illusory. There is, in fact, freedom, but though *moksha* is already in possession still, because of the illusion that it is not yet attained, means must be taken to remove the illusion, and the *jiva* who succeeds in this is *jivana mukta*, though in the body, and is freed from future embodiments. The enlightened Kaula, according to the Nityanitya, sees no difference between mud and sandal, friend and foe, a dwelling-house and the cremation-ground. He knows that the Brahman is all, that the supreme soul (*paramatma*) and the individual soul (*jivatma*) are one, and freed from all attachment he is *jivanmukta*, or liberated, whilst yet living. The means whereby *mukti* is attained is the *yoga*

THE MAHAPURUSHIYA SECT OF VAISHNAVAS* IN ASSAM.

(BY PROFESSOR PADMANATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A.)

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Before dealing with the Mahāpurushīya Sect, it may not be out of place to give here a short account of the condition of religion in Assam from the earliest times up to the days of the founders of this Sect.

Preliminary.

The first mention of this province is found, by the name of Prangjyotisha, in the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas, and the first Hindu ruler of it was Naraka. Tradition mentions other names, such as Mahiranga Danava; but very little is known regarding them, less of their creed. Naraka was son of the Earth by Vishnu in His Varaha (Boar) incarnation: but although a king of Divine origin he earned the surname of Asura for his irreligious propensities.

Naraka.

At the time of the severance of the corpse of Sati—the consort of Mahadeva—Her generative organ fell here; and the sacred site or Pitha was named Kamakhya, the symbol of Shiva which guards it being Ravananda *alias* Umananda. It is stated in the Kalika Purana that Naraka was a worshipper of Kamakhya, but according to tradition he became so grossly irreverent that he wanted to marry the Goddess herself, who agreed to the proposal on the condition that Naraka should build Her temple and construct a way paved with stones from the foot of the Nilachala-hill up to its top where the Pitha was, in the course of a night. Naraka had these done by Viswakarma, the Divine Engineer, but a cock crowed in the meantime and the marriage agreement became null and void. We find no mention, however, of Kamakhya in the epics where Naraka is mentioned. This was probably due to the curse of Vasishtha mentioned in the Kalika Purana that Kamakhya was soon to abandon Naraka.

The Kalika Purana makes Vana, the king of Sonitapura (modern Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam), a contemporary

Vana :

Siva-worship.

and a fast friend of Naraka, and Vana was a devout worshipper of Siva who is called Vaneswara in honour of his royal votary. Whether Naraka too shared his friend's creed, or not, is not known but this points to a fact that Siva-worship obtained in this locality at a very remote period of antiquity.†

* Read in the Convention of Religions in India at Allahabad in January 1911.

† In the pillar near the Deputy Commissioner's office at Tezpur, some incarnations of him are found carved; this pillar is said to have belonged to the ruined fort of Vana.

Naraka's son, Bhagadatta, is prominently mentioned in the *Mahabharata*, but we learn very little of his creed there. **Bhagadatta.** Bajradatta, his son—wrongly mentioned in some copper plates as his brother—was a worshipper of Siva as he has been described as such in the copper plates of Balavarman.

The worship of Siva and that of Sakti went hand in hand : and we find **Sakti-worship.** Usha, the daughter of Vana, worshipping the Goddess whose temple is still pointed at, at Tezpur. In the Eastern extremity of the province, near Sadiya, there is a temple of Chandika (now known as Tamreswari) wherefrom according to the local traditions Rukmini was stolen away by Sri-krishna, the ruins on the river Kundila being regarded as those of Kundina, the capital of King Bhishmaka, the father of Rukmini. At any rate, this land of Kamakhya contained votaries of Sakti as well as of Siva even in the oldest period that traditions only can reach.

Coming down to the mediæval times and standing on the surer grounds of historical evidence, we see that Kumar Bhaskara Varman was the Lord of Pragjyotisha (*alias* Kamarupa) during the first half of the seventh century A. D. who is described as a descendant of Naraka and Bhagadatta* and as a staunch worshipper of Siva : and the great Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang who was invited by this Prince to visit his kingdom, says that the people worshipped the devas and did not believe in Buddhism. **Yuan Chwang.** So there had never been a Buddhist monastery in the land and whatever Buddhists there were in it performed their acts of devotion secretly : the Deva temples were some hundreds in number and the various systems had some myriads of professed adherents His Majesty was a lover of learning ; . . . men of ability came from far lands to study here : though the king was not a Buddhist he treated the accomplished "Sramanas with respect." † But Yuan Chwang found Buddhism in Paundra Vardhana, Karna-Suvarna and Samatata, the northern, the western and the southern part of Bengal of the present day.

* *Vide* Harsha Charitam of Banabhatta Uchchhvasa VII, where the messenger sent by Bhaskara Varman to Harshavardhana states that Bhaskara would never bend his head to any one except Sthanu (Siva).

† Watter's Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 186.

The great Sankaracharyya favoured Kamarupa with a visit early in the ninth century A. D. and here he defeated Abhinavagupta who was probably a Sakta and was apparently well versed in Tantrika *Abhicharas*; for, being vanquished by Sankara he applied his skill to sorcery and generated a stubborn malady in the body of the great sage who suffered long from it until one of his favourite disciples exorcised the disease from his Master's body and transferred the same to Abhinavagupta who died on that account.

Then we come down to the age of the recently discovered Copper Plates, which belong to the tenth, the eleventh and the twelfth century A. D. The opening sloka is generally a salutation to Siva : then Vishnu in the form of Varaha is reverentially mentioned as the father of Naraka to whose dynasty the kings who gave away the lands belonged : the recipients were the Brahmanas of villages resounded by the incantations of the Vedas covered with clouds of smoke arising from fires fed by the *homa* offerings. And this is remarkable ; as in the neighbouring province in the South-West, Adisura had at that time to import Brahmans from Kanauj to have Vaidika sacrifices performed for him.

Then followed a period of not less than three centuries of commotion rather than revolution at the end of which we find every thing completely changed.

By the end of the thirteenth century A. D., the Ahoms came from Upper Burma which might have been under the influence of Buddhism ! but their religion was more animistic than Buddhistic ! They conquered the Kacharis* and the Chutiyas who were Hinduised Aborigines and gradually occupied the Eastern half of the Valley of the Brahmaputra. The Western part was the scene of strife and struggle between the Hindu population on the one side and the hordes of semi-barbarous aborigines on the other, and the latter gradually got the upper hand in this struggle. Ambitious founders of dynasties of rulers occupied the country one after another, until at the beginning of the sixteenth century, victory fell into the hands of the Kochas.

* The ruling chiefs of the Kacharis claimed their descent from Ghatotkacha, the son of Hidimba by Bhima, and were said to have been worshippers of Sakti.

Viswa Sinha, the first Koch King whom the Yogini Tantra declared to be the son of Mahadeva, discovered the Pitha of Kamakhya, rebuilt the temple and finding that there was a paucity of Brahmans in Kamarupa, imported Brahmans from various parts of Bengal and re-established Sakti worship in this region now so famous throughout India for its presiding deity on the Nilachala. Nara-Narayana, son of Viswa-Sinha, too helped the propagation of the fame of Kamakhya and repaired the temple after its damage by *Kala-pahar*.

The valley was then partitioned between the Kochas and the Ahoms and scarcely a century elapsed after the latter's coming here, when we find them showing inclinations towards Hinduism, partly due to their imitating the Western neighbours and partly owing to the existence of a substratum of Hindu element in the conquered area maintaining a far higher civilization than their own. So in 1397 A. D. Sudangpha ascended the throne in the Hindu manner after worshipping the Salagrama—Lakshminarayana, but retaining the hereditary custom as well. Henceforward the Ahom kings became bi-religious, partly Hindu, partly non-Hindu, and began to claim their descent from India.

Let us pause here a little; we have seen that from the very early times the Hindu religion held its sway in the Valley of the Brahmaputra and that the worship of Siva, Sakti and Vishnu—and in fact of many other minor deities too—as would be seen from the rock-cut figures here and there, * obtained here in a more or less degree! But the revolutions that followed the twelfth century caused much damage to Hindu religion and to the Hindu society; as the Brahmans whom Yuan Chwang praised and the Copper Plates extolled, seemed to have dwindled down and derogated; or else the Koch Kings would not have imported Brahmans from other places.

At this moment came in Sankara-Deva, the Chaitanya of Assam, who sowed the seeds of Vaishnavism out of which the Mahapurushiya sect sprang up. He was born in 1449 A. D. at Bardowa in the district of Nowgong in Assam. He belonged to a gifted Kayastha family of Bhuiyans whose forefathers had come to Assam from Kanaijpur.

* e. g. The colossal statue of Janardana and of ten-handed Mahadeva at Gauhati and of Ganesa, etc., passim.

in Coochbehar. He was educated in Sanskrit literature and the Puranas at home and from his childhood evinced a deep religious tendency. He travelled throughout India on pilgrimage and must have been profoundly impressed by the great religious ferment in favour of a Vaishnava revival that was going on in the Eastern as well as in the Western part of India. It is said that he became for some time a pupil of Advaita Acharya, of Santipur in Nadiya, the John the Baptist of Chaitanya's Dispensation. On his return he began to preach the religion of the Bhagavata-Purana which he also translated into his own vernacular, *i. e.*, Assamese. The Brahmans did not like that a man of inferior caste should pose as a religious teacher; but Sankara was a politician as well, and while avowing a respect for the Brahmans he was soon able to convert some of them into his creed, the principal among them being Deva-Damodara (1488-1580) who, as we shall see afterwards, also played a very important part in the propagation of the Vaishnava religion in Assam.

But the most important convert to Sankara's creed was Madhava-Deva,

Madhava-Deva
(1489-1596).

also a Kayastha by caste, who is looked upon as the real founder of the Mahapurushiya sect. His father came to Assam from Banduka, probably in Bengal.

Like his preceptor, he was of a religious turn of mind even from his boyhood and was a devout Sakta. While going to sacrifice some goats in honour of the diety he worshipped, he met Sankara, and after a hot religious discussion, became convinced of the futility of the creed of the animal sacrifice and was initiated by Sankara.

The Saktas became very much annoyed with Sankara and Madhava

**Sankara's
Settlement
at
Barapeta.**

and made a complaint against them before the ruling Ahom Monarch who, though indifferent in matters Hinduistic, became eventually angry with Sankara on other grounds; and Sankara and Madhava had to flee the country. They made their way to Kamarupa, then

under the Koch Kings, and settled at Barapeta.

Here Deva-Damodara too joined Sankara and a party headed by

**Propagation of
Sankara's
religion.**

Sankara went again on pilgrimage, and it is said that they saw Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu at Puri. On their return they began to preach the new creed with great vigour and multitudes came to

join them. The time was favourable as after many centuries of tumult the people were enjoying peace under the Koch Kings. Even here however enemies were not wanting, who made a complaint before Raja Nara-Narayana that Sankara's preaching was alienating the people from their faith in Kamakhya, the diety supported by the King. He became very

much angry with Sankara who was summoned to appear before the King. Sankara seemed to have foreseen this and had given his niece in marriage to the King's favourite brother and Commander-in-Chief Sila Ray. What on account of this and what for Sankara's devotion and learning, the King soon became very friendly towards him, so much so indeed, that he offered to become his disciple : but Sankara refused to initiate the King as his principle was not to give *mantra* to the Kings, the Brahmans and the women. After this, Sankara was not molested any more up to the last day of his long life of 119 years.

Let us state here the salient points of the religion preached by Sankara-Deva. His scripture was the Bhagavata-Purana and the Bhagavadgita. Vishnu with his various incarnations was the deity of his choice. Vishnu-worship, as we have seen already, was not new in Assam. He was of course worshipped as one of the Hindu Trinity and the Salagrama, His emblem, was kept probably in every Brahman's house. But what Sankara preached was that Vishnu should be worshipped in preference to all other deities and it was this exclusiveness that inflamed his contemporary Brahmans who, as has already been stated, were so degraded in learning and spirituality that a non-Brahman like Sankara proved more than a match for them in the religious controversy. Another new feature introduced by Sankara was that the method of worship of God was simplified into mere recitation of His name which every one however low in social position could do. And this appealed very much to the masses who had in a manner been excluded so long from actual participation in religious performances. Add to this the attraction of songs (Baragit and Ghosha-Kirtan*) and the stage performances (called Bhawana) which were composed by him and his favourite disciple Madhava-Deva. Sankara did not attempt to introduce any social reforms, except this that by his personal example he showed that even a non-Brahman could be a spiritual teacher or Guru and accept disciples even from among Brahmans themselves. Yet he was respectful towards the Brahmans and when a member of that caste came to be converted into his creed, he had him initiated by Deva-Damodara or by his family priest Rama Rama Guru. It is said that even the members of his own family took their *mantra* from Deva-Damodara. Sankara was a married man and had children : he did not therefore require that a preacher of his creed need observe celibacy.

* "Baragit" is what is called Sankirtan in Bengal and "Ghosha-Kirtan" is the singing of hymns with chorus, "Ghosha" meaning "Chorus" (Bengali "Dhuya").

**Comparison with
Chaitanya and his
Creed.**

It would be well perhaps to compare the two great Vaishnava saints Chaitanya and Sankara, and their tenets. Both taught the religion of the Bhagavata-Purana and both prescribed that the name of Hari could be taken by any one: both propagated their creed by songs and both gathered round themselves powerful followers to help them in their mission. But Sankara had to do himself what Chaitanya's followers did for Bengal: Sankara had to compose Kirtanas and Bhawanas, and translate Sanskrit books and thereby to enrich, if not actually to lay the foundation of, the Vernacular literature in Assam, besides founding manasteries called Satras: while Chaitanya did very little that way but devoted his life to the enjoyment of the sweets of the love of God, absorbed in religious trances; and so, he could not even take proper care of his own person and hence any sustained effort at composition or anything in the shape of organization was not to be expected of him. In the matter of religious fervour, however, Chaitanya advanced to a stage which very few ever had in this world: and Sankara's creed did not include the Madhuryya Bhava (literally the 'idea of sweetness') of Radha and thus his followers have missed a very sublime and beautiful phase of the Vaishnava religion, but have also avoided a dangerous element, *viz.*, women in their monasteries, except as legitimate wives and children of the married Bhakats.* Both Chaitanya and Sankara are looked on as Avatars, but Sankara's followers seem never to have been very serious in this matter and hence the name of Sankara is not regarded as sanctifying† as the name of Gour (*i. e.*, Chaitanya) in Bengal. Nay, even in the observance of the anniversary, the Bengali Vaishnavas fast on the birthday of Chaitanya as on that of Krishna or Rama; while the Assamese celebrate the *tithi* (day) of the demise of Sankara, which is done in the case of ordinary mortals. The teachings of both have permeated not only to the lowest strata of the society but also to the aboriginal tribes: and in Assam the conversion leads to elevation: for instance, a Kachari at first gets the name of Saraniya (*i. e.*, a convert) and then becomes Koch in which case his water can be accepted by the high-caste people. Chaitanya or rather his followers have allowed the Vaishnavas to eat fish, but not flesh which also has been permitted to the Vaishnavas here.‡ The Bengali Vairagis or recluses are buried after death, but in Assam the dead bodies of

* Bhakats are the inmates of the Satras.

† There are, I understand, people who recite the name of Sankara too: but their number is very small.

‡ The Mahapurushiyas generally eat the flesh of non-domesticated deer, etc., which are beaten to death in order that blood might not be spilled.

such persons are burnt and even Sraddha ceremony is performed in respect of them as in the case of house-holders.

Split after Sankara's Death. Sankara-Deva died in 1568 and no sooner did he die than a split came about between his chief followers Madhava-Deva and Deva-Damodara, as the latter being a Brahman did not join personally the funeral ceremonies of his Kayastha leader. Madhava who was more earnest than tactful, became incensed at this and used taunting language against Damodara. This led to the main division of the Vaishnavism of Sankara-Deva into two sects, the Mahapurushiya and the Damodariya.

Mahapurushiya Sect. Madhava-Deva really succeeded to the headship of the religious sect founded by Sankara-Deva and as Damodara with his disciples seceded from Madhava's authority, the latter's party went by the name of Mahapurushiya as Madhava-Deva was looked upon as the Mahapurusha which appellation was by some applied to Sankara-Deva as well.

Difference between Mahapurushiya and Damodariya. Damodara was a Brahman and hence naturally more orthodox a Hindu than Madhava who did not like that Brahmans should monopolize the spiritual authority: thus while the Satras of the Damodariyas—also called Bamuniyas for obvious reasons—have only Brahmans as Adhikarees (Mohantas), the Mahapurushiya Satras can have even Sudras as Adhikarees who might give *mantra* to men of superior caste* who however have mostly flocked to the sect of Deva-Damodara: and thus the Mahapurushiya sect have become very much shorn of the aristocratic elements. The Mahapurushiyas are so bigoted that they would not even cast a look at the temple of Kamakhya, while the Damodariyas would have no objection even to sacrifice goats in honour of that deity. Another instance of the Mahapurushiyas' aversion to other deities is that they would not subject themselves to inoculation or vaccination as that would be inviting the appearance of pox, the presiding deity whereof is Sitala!

Caste among the Mahapurushiyas. Casual writers on the Mahapurushiya sect generally say that they do not observe caste. Nothing can be farther from the fact. Madhava-Deva from whom the sect has got its name writes in his Nama Ghosha:—

“Know it for certain that for a devotee who has not got rid of the worldly attachments it is sinful to transgress the Vedas: whereas for him who has

* This seems to be more theoretical than practical: as I have been told that a Brahman even of the Mahapurushiya sect will never take *mantra* except from a Brahman Adhikaree

ecome a devotee to Krishna having been quite rid of all attachments, nothing can be binding upon him.”—VERSE No. 596.

And in fact the Mahapurushiya house-holders who, by the way, have often to enter into marital relationship with the Damodariyas who rigidly observe caste, never break the rules of caste. Only, there is a class of people called Kewalia Bhakats—single (*i. e.*, unmarried) devotees—who, following the example of Mahdava Deva who did not marry, observe celibacy and are said to be less mindful of the rules of caste* but any vagaries on their part are excusable as they have no social tie, like the Sannyasins who too observe no caste : and these recluses are in no way representatives of the generality of the Mahapurushiyas.

In this connection it may be stated that it was contemplated by the founders of the sect that their Satras should be governed by a set of people chosen by them called the **brahman Adhikaree at Barapeta.** Atas† of whom the chief was to be the Ata of the central Satra at Barapeta. When the last Ata died he left no nominee for the situation and the matter rested with the Samuha (general body) of the Bhakats to elect an Adhikaree. But the matter could not be settled to the satisfaction of all concerned until a Brahman—the descendant of Rama Rama Guru, the family priest of Sankara—was appointed Adhikaree : and henceforth the office became practically hereditary.

Then, there are people who say that the Mahapurushiyas are not idolators. If idolatry means image-worship, the Mahapurushiyas cannot but be styled idolators. Sankara Deva and Madhava Deva are my authority. The following description of the object of meditation is from Sankar's Kirtan Ghosha :—

“The devotee will calmly meditate every limb mentally : become joyful at seeing His lotus-like feet. His two feet are very red. Joy will be found when marks of hook, lotus, banner, diamond and barley are seen. The foot-lotus is shining, the rows of fingers are the petals thereof.”

In this manner the whole body of Vishnu up to His head is described. It is stated in one of the biographies of Sankara Deva that while at Barapeta he set up an image of Jagannatha and had it consecrated by the brahmins.

The following is quoted from Madhava Deva's Namaghosha, salutation :—

“The Fish, the Tortise, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, Rama with axe, Rama with plough, the Boar, Sri-Rama, Buddha and Kalki : Thou hast, O Krishna, assumed ten shapes named above. I make salutation to thy feet”.

* Even this is also theoretical : practically, I understand, the Kewaliya Bhakats obey the social rules of caste as other Hindus do.

† The word Ata is derived from the Sanskrit word “pata” and signifies a Guru.

If any further proof of a conclusive nature is wanted, it may be stated that there is hardly any Satra of the Mahapurushiyas that does not contain an idol of the deity whose full-length image they have been enjoined by Sankara-Deva to contemplate in the verses quoted above.

In the course of the accounts of the Mahapurushiya sect, mention has been made of the Damodariya sect as collateral to the former. There are other minor sects of which a cursory notice might be deemed interesting.

Minor Cognate Sects.

Hari Deva and Gopala Deva, two other followers of Sankara, founded sects and established a Satra in imitation of Deva-Damodara. There are hardly any very distinctive features in these sects except this that the founders are looked upon as avatars by their own followers. Hari Deva was a Brahman and his sect is almost identical with that of Deva-Damodara, Gopal Deva was a Kayastha by birth and the number of Satras founded by him have now dwindled down very much : and in creed, the surviving ones are hardly distinguishable from that of the Mahapurushiyas.

Hari Deva.

Gopala Deva.

It is said that Gopala Deva* once had become heretical during the early part of his life and in that state he preached his doctrines among the aborigines in Upper Assam : the outcome was a sect called the Mowamariyas, from the Satra at Mowamara. These people are said to be in the habit of eating unclean food, drinking wine and practising exorcism. They were once persecuted by the Ahom Kings and their rebellion eventually paved the way to the downfall of the Ahoms.

Mowamariyas.

Another small sect of still more heretic nature goes by the mystic name of the Purabhogias. They have other names, *e. g.*, Ratiyas or Ratikhowas on account of their holding their meetings at night. Their orgies are kept concealed and are suspected to have connection with women and wine and as such do not bear scrutiny.

Purabhogias.

* Srijut Hem Chandra Gosain, an authority in Assamese Antiquities, is of opinion that one Aniruddha who was for some time a disciple of Sankara Deva, was the founder of this sect, and not Gopala Deva. It is said that a religious book was written by Sankara Deva when he was somewhat of Tantrik inclinations. Sankara kept the book carefully concealed as his ideas changed afterwards : but Aniruddha came somehow to know of this book and took it away. Hence was the heretic nature of the faith and practice of the Mowamariyas. Aniruddha is said also to have composed Na-ghoshas and Na-Kirtanas, *i. e.*, new Ghoshas and new Kirtanas in imitation of the compositions of Sankara Deva.

There are a few Satras of Vaishnavas who are the followers of Chaitanya.

Chaitanya Panthis. The separate existence of these Satras is itself a proof that the Mahapurushiya sect is not a direct offshoot of Chaitanya's creed as some writers think it to be. In a previous section we have already noted some of the points of difference between the two sects. Only this much need be said here that no sect can be regarded as having any connection with Chaitanya, the members whereof do not accept him as an avatar, and there is not even a slight mention of Chaitanya in any of the Mahapurushiya scriptures by Sankara Deva and Madhava Deva.

Miscellaneous Information. The number of the Mahapurushiyas is about 4 lacs out of about 19 lacs of Hindus and about 26 lacs of the total population of the Brahmaputra valley. The total Vaishnava population is about 13 lacs, and the Saktas* number about 3 lacs. The Mahapurushiyas occupy the next rank in social scale to the Saktas and Damodariyas both of whom are almost at par in point of respectability.

The Mahapurushiyas and their rivals, the Damodariyas, are to be found in every part of the Brahmaputra valley and the only place outside the valley where there is a considerable number of them is Coochbihar where there are some Satras too, founded by both the parties.

There are innumerable Satras of the Mahapurushiyas as well as of the Damodariyas. Some of the principal Mahapurushiya Satras are—the Satra at Barpeta which is the Dhama, the Navadvipa, of this sect; Baradwa in Nowgong, the birth place of Sankara; that at Kamalabari in Sibsagar and those at Sundardiya in Kamrup, and Kakatkuta in Coochbihar where Sankara died.

Of the Damodariya Satras the principal are Auniati, Dakhinapata, Garamura, and Kuruwabahi—the foremost Satras in the whole valley—all situated in the Majuli (island) in Sibsagar; Patbausi near Barpeta where Deva-Damodara lived; Kathalmari in Goalpara; and Baikunthapur in Coochbihar where Damodara died.

The term Satra or rather Sattra is said to be derived from the word Sat, 'good' and the root 'tra' to save; where a good man is saved. A

* The most aristocratic Sakta families in the province are the disciples of the Gosains whose ancestor Krishnarajna Bhattacharyya was brought from Nadiya by the Ahom-Akbar Rudra Sinha (1636-1714) for the initiation of the royal family; and the high placed officers of the kingdom also took *mantra* from him and his descendants who are called "Parvatiya" Gosains as they were assigned residence on the Kamakhya Parvata.

Satra is generally like an Akhra in Bengal; its inmates are called "Bhakats" Sanskrit 'Bhaktas'). These Bhakats can live with their wives and children within the precincts of the Satra.

The celebrities are called "Kewaliya Bhakats." The most important house in the Satra is the Namaghara or the Kirtanaghara where, as its name indicates, singing parties are held at least once every day: here on an elevated seat the Bhagavata is kept and the audience are treated with the expositions of stories from that Purana. Dramatic performances also take place in this house.

The following are some of the important functionaries in a Satra:—

Adhikar—or more correctly, *Adhikari*:—He is the head of the Satra and gives *mantras* to the disciples. These Adhikars are either Grihasthas i.e., householders who can marry; or Udasinas, i.e., the recluses who cannot marry. The former sort of Adhikarship is hereditary, whereas the latter class of Adhikars are appointed by adoption.

Deka Adhikar—(Deka means young). He is the next man and generally the heir presumptive to the Adhikara, and acts for him in his absence.

Bura Bhakats—(literally old Bhakats). They give instructions to the Bhakats after their initiation.

Bhagati—(i.e. Bhagabati). He reads the Bhagabata Purana and explains it to the people who assemble in the Namaghara of the Satra every day.

Pathaka.—He reads the Vernacular scripture.

Pujari.—He performs the worship of the Salagrama and the idol of Krishna.

Vagisa.—He gives Vyavastha or religious prescriptions, e. g., of penances and penalties.

Medhi—(from Sanskrit Medha to sacrifice). He is appointed by the head of the Satra to collect annual contributions from the disciples.

Bharali—(Sanskrit Bhandarin). He is the store-keeper. Besides there are appointed menials such as "dewries" who light lamps; "khata-niyars" and "aldharas" attendants of the Adhikar and of the Bhakats and musical performers such as "Namalagowa" who introduce the song "Gayans" who sing and "Bayans" who play on the musical instruments and also "Sutradhari (Sanskrit Sutradhara) who introduces every scene of a Bhawana (drama), by giving its substance.

The sources of income of a Satra are:—

(a) The landed property belonging to it, consisting of lakheraj and nisf-kheraj lands.

(b) The annual contributions from the disciples.

- (c) The penalties inflicted on people within the jurisdiction of the Satra for social or religious misconduct.
- (d) "Biyadaniya," *i.e.*, donation on the occasion of a marriage.
- (e) "Sevajanani" or communication of respects accompanied with presents by a disciple on the occasion of a Sraddha or such like ceremony in his house.

I cannot conclude this account of the Vaishnava sect founded by Sankara and Madhava Deva and Deva-Damodara

**Concluding
Remarks.**

without recounting the benefits these great men have conferred on their native land. They lighted the lamp of spirituality at a period when there was general darkness enveloping this place that had been highly civilized in the ancient and mediæval times. Their Kirtanas, their Bhawanas, their translations enriched the vernacular of the province in a degree that might be envied at that time even by the great neighbouring province of Bengal. By converting the aborigines they not only gave them a religion but also made them elevated and civilized and thereby strengthened the whole Hindu society which otherwise would have dwindled down considerably, the process of proselytization started by them holding out to the converts the prospects of getting into the pale of the Hindu society as members of clean castes, and their simple creed with the introduction of music in it have rendered the people proof against the alluring baits of alien and donationalizing creeds to which the people in other provinces have so easily succumbed. They are looked upon by their followers as avatars and well they may be. Has not the Lord said in the Geeta that whenever spirituality should be dimmed, He would come down to establish religion there ?

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APPENDIX.

The following is the list of a few publications that might be of help in getting information in researches about the Mahapurushiya sect and its founders :—

IN ASSAMESE.

- 1. Kirtan Ghosha (a book of hymns) by Sankara Deva.
- 2. Namaghosha (also a book of hymns) by Madhava Deva.
- 3. Guru Charitra (A biography of Sankara Deva) by Kanthabhushana
- 4. Sankara Deva and Madhava Devar Jioancharitra (life of Sankara and Madhava Deva) by Daityari Thakur.

5. Gurulila (life of Deva-Damodara) by Rama Raya.

IN ENGLISH.

6. Religious Sects in Assam. By M. N. Ghosh, M.A., B.L.

IN BENGALIEE.

7. "Mahapurush Sankar Deva" by Umesa Chandra De (being published under the auspices of the Banga Sahityanusilani Sabha, Gauhati).

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THE NEW SPIRIT IN THE DRAMA.

(BY JOHN GALSWORTHY IN THE HIBBERT JOURNAL.)

Sincerity in the theatre, and commercial success are not necessarily, but they are generally opposed. It is more or less a happy accident when they coincide. Those who want sincerity will always be the few, but they may well be more numerous than now; and to increase their number is worth a struggle. That struggle is much sneered-at, much talked of, so called new movement in the British drama.

A man could not write anything sincere with the elevation of the public as incentive. He can only express himself sincerely *by not considering the public at all*. Most weavers of drama, *of course*, are perfectly sincere when they start out to ply their shuttles; but how many persevere in that mood to the end of their plays in defiance of outside consideration? There is just one new safe-guard of the self-respecting dramatist that no amount of improvising for or against will explain away. Drama is again taking rank as literature. And for the first time perhaps since the days of Shakespeare, there are dramatists in England, not a few, faithful to themselves.

This age is one of a developing social conscience; it is worthy of a great and fine art. But though no art is fine unless it has sincerity, no amount of sincere intention will serve unless the expression of it be well nigh perfect.

Art exists not to conform people in their tastes and prejudices, not to show them what they have seen before, but to present them with a new vision of life. And if drama be an art, it must reasonably be expected to present life as each dramatist sees it, and not to express things because they pander to popular prejudice or are sensational or because they pay.

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INDIANS IN CANADA.

BY NAND SINGH SIHRA, BALWANT SINGH AND NARAIN SINGH,

Delegates of the United India League and the Khalsa

Diwan Society, Vancouver B.C.

—:—

Properly speaking it is since the year 1905 that Indians began to immigrate into Canada, and at the present moment there are about 4,500 British Indian subjects of His Majesty resident in the Dominion of Canada, and almost entirely in the Province of British Columbia. More than half of them are engaged in agriculture, and of the remainder, the majority are employed in railroad construction and maintenance, and in factories and lumber mills.

In spite of the various hardships to which they are subjected by the Dominion Government, they, by dint of untiring industry and enterprise, and by inherent temperate habits have succeed in securing a decent competency for themselves. They have invested in British Columbia in real estate property and business a round sum of about 7,000,000 dollars or (Rs. 21,000,000); this clearly shows that they have adopted Canada as their home and are permanently settled there. They own their dwelling houses and other property in the cities of Vancouver and Victoria and round about these places. The authorities in Canada have so far found them to be respectable and peaceful citizens — *without any franchise of course.*

Ninety per cent of these settlers are members of the Sikh community, several of whom have seen active service in the Indian Army and wear medals awarded for special bravery in the campaigns within and without the limits of India.

Till the year 1907 they were unmolested by the Immigration authorities, but ever since that year, restrictions are imposed upon fresh arrivals from India so that "the door is shut to any more of them" to quote the very words of Brigadier General Swayne who was Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of British Honduras, and who was at one time an officer in the Indian Army.

With a view to get rid of Indian settlers in Canada, a scheme was hatched in 1908 to effect the wholesale transportation of Indians to British Honduras. The inclement climate of Honduras and the almost humiliating terms on which the transportation was to take place, made it imperative on Indians to decline unanimously in a body this "tempting offer" of General Swayne. It was not a wonder that the scheme should

have met with such a fate when all the Indians residing in Canada were made acquainted through the press of the policy and the motives which actuated the originators of the proposal. Brigadier General Swayne at one place thus openly declared: "One of those things that make the presence of East Indians here or in any other white Colony, politically inexpedient is the familiarity they acquire with the whites. An instance of this is given by the speedy elimination of caste in this province as shown by the way all castes help each other. These men go back to India and preach ideas of emancipation which if brought about will upset the machinery of law and order." The result was that Government had to drop the Transportation Scheme, for they could not force it upon the united body of Indians.

Fresh restrictions were then imposed which placed Indians on a lower footing than that occupied by other Oriental Immigrants, Japanese, Chinese, and others, who are not subjects of the British Crown. In Canada Indians neither have any *status* as British subjects nor as immigrants. The Canadian Immigration Laws have laid a clearly defined line between His Majesty's subjects of Canada and that of India in the face of the bold and clear Proclamation of our late Queen Victoria. A Japanese or a Chinaman when once admitted into the Dominions, is as good a British subject as he is the subject of his own country while at home. But it is a puzzling riddle to be solved that in India we are British subjects, in England we are British subjects, but in Canada, to procure legal sanction for our right of British citizenship we have to secure another deed to that effect.

The most oppressive restriction which needs immediate *repeal* is the "Continuous Journey Clause" which excludes Indians from landing in the Dominion of Canada, and is contained in executive order, P.C. 920, promulgated by the Governor-General of Canada on 9th May, 1910. It runs as follows:—

"From and after the date hereof the landing in Canada shall be, and the same is hereby prohibited of any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens, and upon through tickets purchased in that country or purchased or prepaid in Canada."

It is physically impossible for Indians to fulfil the terms of this order, for the very sufficient reasons—(a) *that there is no direct steamship service between India and Canada, and (b) that no steamship companies in India will issue through tickets to Canada.* It could be pointed out in this connection that the Government of India should withdraw the protection under Indian Shipping Laws which these Companies enjoy.

Let the Government also warn them that they will not be allowed to touch at any of the Indian ports until they would freely condescend to provide passage to any Indian going to Canada without the slightest hitch. By doing so His Majesty's Indian subjects will be quite protected and the shipping companies will come to their senses and would learn a lesson. These shipping companies are quite different concerns as compared with other corporations. They have got certain imperative public obligations to discharge. In case they refuse let them pack up their bag and baggage and quietly withdraw in their steam boats to some other lands.

Another unjust restriction which presses heavily upon Indians is contained in the provisions of Order P.C. 926, also of May 9th, 1910 : —

"No immigrant of Asiatic origin shall be permitted to enter Canada unless in actual and personal possession in his or her own right of two hundred dollars, unless such person is a native or subject of an Asiatic country in regard to which special statutory regulations are in force or with which the Government of Canada has made a special treaty, agreement or convention."

Owing to special treaties with Japan and China, 400 Japanese are admitted yearly on showing that they possess fifty dollars in specie or negotiable securities, and Chinese are admitted without any restriction to their number on payment of a head tax of 500 dollars each. In the case of Indians, this Order becomes wholly inoperative on account of the impossibility, as heretofore stated, of complying with the "Continuous Journey Clause." Consequently it was not surprising that a large number of cases of hardships occurred ever since these vexatious regulations were made. A Japanese, a Chinese or any other oriental can freely bring his wife and as many of his offspring, male or female, as he desires to Canada, but if an Indian subject of His Majesty were to do the same he is guilty of a crime against the obedience of law and his little ones and dear ones have to be deported back and he becomes a sufferer to the hardship and penalty of a costly litigation in the supreme courts of British Columbia as the following cases clearly disclose the underhand and subterfuge spirit of the ambiguous Laws.

Mr. Nathu Ram bought a through third class ticket from Calcutta to Vancouver somehow in the year 1910, but at Hong Kong where he had to change the boat, the unlucky fellow got the third class ticket exchanged for a second class one, on payment of the excess fare. He was not allowed to land because the authorities maintained that he had not a through ticket from Calcutta to Vancouver, with the result that he was made to return by the same boat.

Mr. Hira Singh, an ex-soldier who had settled in Canada, went to India to bring his wife and child. On return he was admitted being a Vancouver resident, but his wife and child were forcibly detained on producing a cash bond of \$1,000 (Rs. 3,000), pending the decision of their case in the Supreme Court of British Columbia. After three months fight in a court of law, they were *admitted as an act of grace*.

The cases of Mr. Bhag Singh, the President of the Khalsa Diwan Society and President of the Guru Nanak Mining and Trust Company, Limited, who had once served in the 10th Indian Cavalry, and Mr. Balwant Singh, the High Priest of the Sikh Church at Vancouver and at one time a soldier in the 36th Sikhs Infantry, were similar to that of Mr. Hira Singh. Both of these gentlemen had to produce cash bonds of 2,000 dollars (Rs. 6,000) pending the trial in the Supreme Court. It was only after a prolonged and costly litigation of more than three months that their families were allowed to land in Vancouver, *and that too not by right but as an act of grace*. Note the impotency of the so-called just laws which have not got an exception for the Indians but an act of grace. It was only when the absurdities of their application were disclosed by the Courts of Justice, that Canadian Law makers realised their blunder and converted the application of their law into an act of grace.

The family of Mr. Hakim Singh, one of the directors of Guru Nanak Mining and Trust Company Ltd., Vancouver B. C., who once served in 19th Cavalry Bengal Lancers and who is a man of vast property in the city of Vancouver, has been waiting in Hong Kong for the last two years to get a through ticket to Vancouver, which the Steamship Companies, who it is presumed are acting in pursuance of some private arrangement with the Dominion Government, refuse to issue.

Mr. Hossain Rahim who had settled in Honolulu (Hawaian Islands), and is now the Managing Director of the Canada-India Supply Company Ltd., visited Canada as a tourist. Whilst there, he made up his mind to stay in Canada. The Immigration authorities objected and instituted legal proceedings twice against him, which however they twice lost. Later Mr. Rahim exercised his right of citizenship to vote in the Mayor's election. To nullify his vote, a case was filed, which the authorities afterwards withdrew, *for reasons best known to themselves*. Mr. Rahim had to incur an enormous expense of money in these litigations approaching to about Rs. 10,000.

Mr. Vishnu Pingle went to study in Canada. He was not allowed to land. He went to Seattle in the United States of America where he was admitted. It is an irony of fate that while the Dominion Government impose unbearable restrictions on Indian immigrants who are British

subjects, foreign governments, like that of America, admit Indian students on showing fifty dollars and after the necessary medical examination.

The above cases if related in detail would read quite like the adventures of some romantic spirits and their tales of sorrow and misery; and yet the victims are faithful subjects of His British Majesty who are so unjustly oppressed under the British flag and on British soil, though they are so true to their salt. This inhuman and unnatural treatment meted out especially to the weaker sexes is a standing disgrace to the legislation of any civilized country. The forcible separation of wives and children from their husbands and fathers totally annihilates the Indian immigration into Canada. This compulsory disruption of families is punitive and can only be lawfully applied to criminals by any *civilized nation*.

Seeing these disheartening state of things, on December 15th, 1911, a delegation sent by the United India League and the Khalsa Diwan Society, Vancouver, waited on the Hon. R. Rogers, Minister of the Interior, at Ottawa, and were formally told by him that part of their representations regarding the admission of their wives and children "shall be immediately attended to and the other parts also settled in a just and straightforward manner." Over a year and quarter has elapsed since then, and, in spite of several reminders sent to the Canadian Government, no definite settlement has been made, and the Canadian Immigration Laws stand in the same ambiguous and objectionable form as they did before. It is impossible for Indians to comply with this crooked regulation which should immediately be abolished, for a law is no longer a law if obedience to it is impossible.

Seeing that all their efforts bore no fruit in Canada the Indians in the Dominions decided to have their case represented before the Imperial and the Indian Governments. With that point in view all the Indians held a mass meeting in the Dominion Hall, Vancouver, on 22nd February, 1913, unanimously elected and appointed the present delegation consisting of Nand Singh Sihra, Balwant Singh and Narain Singh and entrusted the delegates with the following credentials:—

"Resolved that whereas Dominion Authorities have turned a deaf ear to our petitions and delegations requesting to admit our families into Canada, we the Hindustanese of Canada assembled in a mass meeting under the auspices of United India League and Khalsa Diwan Society, on 22nd February 1913, at Dominion Hall, Vancouver B.C., appoint Mr. Nand Singh Sihra, Balwant Singh and Narain Singh as a delegation to approach the Home Government in London to secure us this primary, elementary and vital condition of our domiciled existence in this country, and to remove disabilities on immigration; and to further seek the co-operation of the Indian Government and various other public organizations

of India such as the Indian National Congress, All-India Hindu Sabha, All India Moslem League, chief Khalsa Diwan and the Indian public at large.

“Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution duly signed by the Chairman and the Secretary of this meeting be given to the delegates to serve as their credentials and as an introduction to whomsoever they interview as the duly appointed delegates of the Hindustanese of the Dominion of Canada.”

The present delegation reached London and had a very successful public meeting of Englishmen and Indians held at Caxton Hall on the 14th of May, 1913, under the auspices of the London-Canadian Indian Immigration Committee. The meeting was presided over by Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, ex-M.P. The following resolutions were passed unanimously and sent to the Imperial, Canadian and Indian Governments :—

“That having heard the delegates from Canada authorised by the British Indian residents there, to represent in England and India, the case regarding prohibition against immigration resulting from the operation of Privy Council Order, No. 920, generally known as the Continuous Journey Clause, this public meeting concludes that the order in question has practically the effect of preventing any single native or citizen of India from going to Canada, inasmuch as there is no direct passenger service between the two countries, and steamship companies refuse through booking; it not only stops immigration altogether from India to Canada, but has the effect of placing the present Indian settlers in Canada to great hardship by precluding them from calling over their wives and children, that the order in question thus operates most unjustly towards the loyal Indian subjects of His Britannic Majesty, and that this meeting urges upon the Imperial, Canadian and Indian authorities, the advisability of repealing it, or exempting the people of India from its operation.

“That the Chairman be requested to forward the aforesaid resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and India and to the Dominion Government.”

Having represented the case in our hand in London our first efforts are now to appeal to our Brothers and Sisters in Our Mother Country and to let them know that such is the condition of their people in Canada. It would only be through the unanimous voice of United India that this question of great National Importance can be settled in a just and straightforward manner.

ARTICLES FROM THE REVIEWS.

THE ROYAL PALACES OF RAJPUTANA.

(BY DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, IN THE RAJPUT HERALD—LONDON.)

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The royal palaces of Rajputana are not only the finest buildings of their kind to be found anywhere in India, but include some of the most splendid examples of civil architecture in the whole world. Their general aspect is well described by Fergusson :—

“ As a rule, they are situated on rocky eminences, jutting into or overhanging lakes or artificial pieces of water, which are always pleasing accompaniments to buildings of any sort in that climate ; and the way they are fitted into the rocks, or seem to grow out of them, frequently leads to the most picturesque combinations. Sometimes their bases are fortified with round towers or bastions, on whose terraces the palace stands ; and even when this is not the case, the basement is generally built up solid to a considerable height, in a manner that gives a most pleasing effect of solidity to the whole, however light the superstructure may be, and often is. If to these natural advantages you add the fact that the high-caste Hindu is almost incapable of bad taste, and that all these palaces are exactly what they profess to be, without any affectation of pretending to be what they are not, or of copying any style, ancient or modern, but that best suited for their purposes—it will not be difficult to realise what pleasing objects of study these Rajput palaces really are.”

Six of these palaces are illustrated here. The oldest, and one of the most imposing, is the palace fort of Man Singh (A.D. 1486-1518) at Gwalior, “ the most remarkable and interesting example of a Hindu palace of an early age in India ” (Plate 1). The Emperor Babur has recorded his admiration of the Gwalior palaces as he saw them in 1527. “ They are singularly beautiful palaces . . . wholly of hewn stone ; the small domes are one on each side of the greater, according to the custom of Hindustan. The five large domes are covered with plates of copper gilt. The outside of the walls they have inlaid with green painted tiles. All around they have inlaid the walls with figures of plantain trees made of painted tiles.” Other palaces were added to Man Singh’s ‘ Mān Mandir ’ by his successor, Vikram Shah, and again by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Most of these are now more or less ruined, and it is sad to think that not a little irreparable injury was done to those splendid buildings by British vandals in the nineteenth century. “ We,” says Fergusson, “ have ruthlessly set to work to destroy whatever interferes with our convenience, and during the few years we occupied the fort probably did more to disfigure its memories than was caused by the Moslems during the centuries they possessed or occupied it.”

•None of the palaces of the Fort are now in use. But the modern city of Gwalior and some of the more recent palaces—but not the pseudo-French building the Maharaja now occupies—are extraordinarily beautiful. Indeed, there is no place in India that more completely fulfils one’s idea of an Indian town—an imaginary Ujjayini—than the chief street of the Gwalior (Lashkar) bazaar, with the fretted balcony windows of the shops of the merchants. It

seems all the more astonishing that so singularly inappropriate a building as the modern Post Office should have been erected in this land of masons ; and it is not surprising that so much difficulty was experienced in forcing the mistrys to execute designs which they could not understand.

Plate I.—Man-Mandir at Gwalior.



Another Rajput city of great beauty is Jodhpur ; and high above it hangs a most fairy-like palace (Plate II), almost out of sight on the summit of a hill that is half living rock and half of massive masonry. Unlike Gwalior, this palace fortress is still occupied. It speaks unmistakably of the pride and devotion of a warlike race, for whom the clan has become a veritable religion. Part of the present palace may be due to Maldeo, who ruled in the sixteenth century, but the greater part may be seventeenth century, or even more modern. It is interesting to recall the circumstances under which the site was first occupied in

1450. It was at the command of a yogi who lived on the rock, then known as the "Bird's Nest," that Joda transferred the seat of government from Muhdore to Jodhpur, and established his castle on the "Hill of Strife." "Doubtless," says Tod, "its inaccessible position seconded the recommendation of the hermit ;

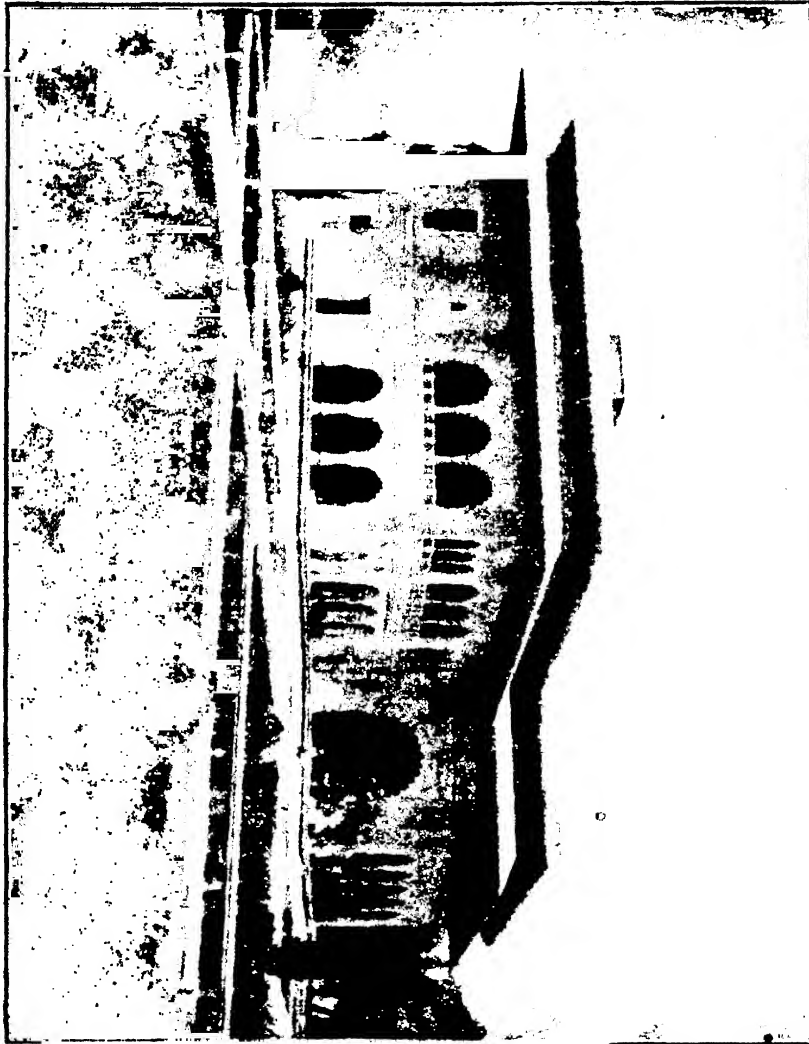


Plate II—Fort and Palace at Jodhpur.

for its scarped summit renders it almost impregnable, while its superior elevation permits the sons of Joda to command, from the windows of their palace, a range of vision almost comprehending the limits of their sway. In clear weather they can view the summits of their southern barrier, the gigantic Arawali ; but in every other direction it fades away in the boundless expanse of sandy plains."

The palace of Dig (Plate III) is the work of Suraj Mall, founder of the Bharatpur dynasty. The palace was built between 1725 and 1763. The following account is taken from Fergusson :—

Plate III. Gopal Bhawan, Palace of His Highness The Maharaja of Bharatpur at Dig.



"The whole palace was to have consisted of a rectangular enclosure twice the length of its breadth, surrounded with buildings, with a garden in the centre, divided into two parts by a broad terrace, intended to carry the central pavilion. Only one of these rectangles has been completed, measuring about 700 feet square, crossed in the centre by ranges of the most beautiful fountains and parterres, laid out in the formal style of the East, and interspersed with architectural ornaments of the most elaborate finish. . . . The glory of Dig, however, consists in the cornices, which are generally double, a peculiarity not seen elsewhere, and which for extent of shadow and richness of detail surpasses any similar ornaments in India, either in ancient or modern buildings. The lower cornice is the usual sloping entablature, almost universal in such buildings. This was adopted apparently

because it took the slope of the curtains, which almost invariably hang out beneath its protecting shade, and which, when drawn out, seem almost a continuation of it. The upper cornice, which was horizontal, is peculiar to Dig, and seems designed to furnish an extension of the flat roof which in Eastern palaces is usually considered the best apartment of the house; but whether designed for this or any other purpose, it adds singularly to the richness of the effect, and by the double shadow affords a relief and character seldom exceeded even in the East."

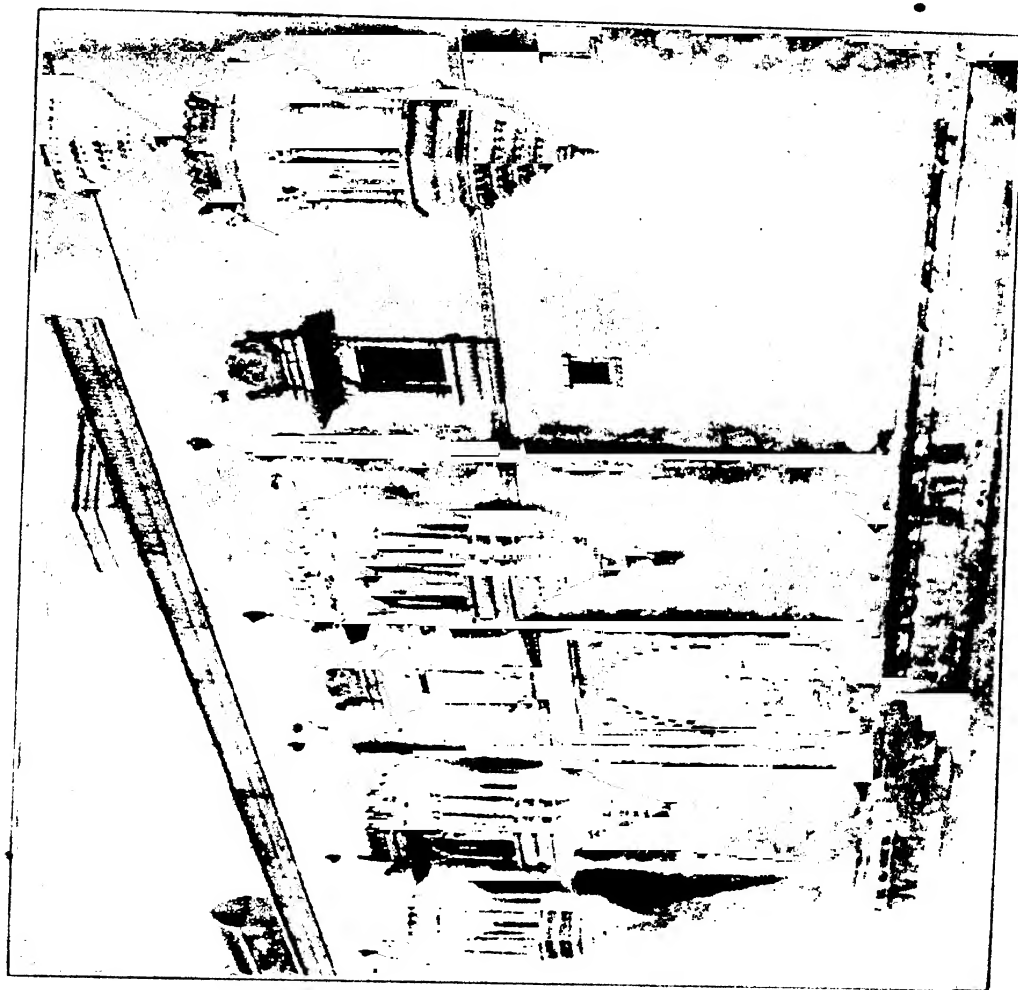


Plate IV The Windows of a Rajput Palace at Kathiawar.

He adds:—

"Since the time when Suraj Mall completed this fairy creation, the tendency, not only with the Rajput princes, but the sovereigns of such states as Oudh, and even as Delhi, has been to copy the bastard style of Italian architecture we introduced into India. It was natural, perhaps, that they should admire the arts of a race who had shown themselves in war and policy superior to themselves; but it was fatal to the arts, and whether a revival is now possible remains to be seen."

Little need be said by way of description of the two other pictures here given. One shows the carved wooden balconies, in the characteristic style of

Western India, of the Halwad palace at Kathiawar (Plate IV); the other the picturesque palace fortress at Urcha (Plate V).

I come now to the fine Utri (Plate VI), or palace and hostel of the Bhonsle Rajs of Nagpur, best known as the Ghosla Ghat, at Benares. Here we recog-

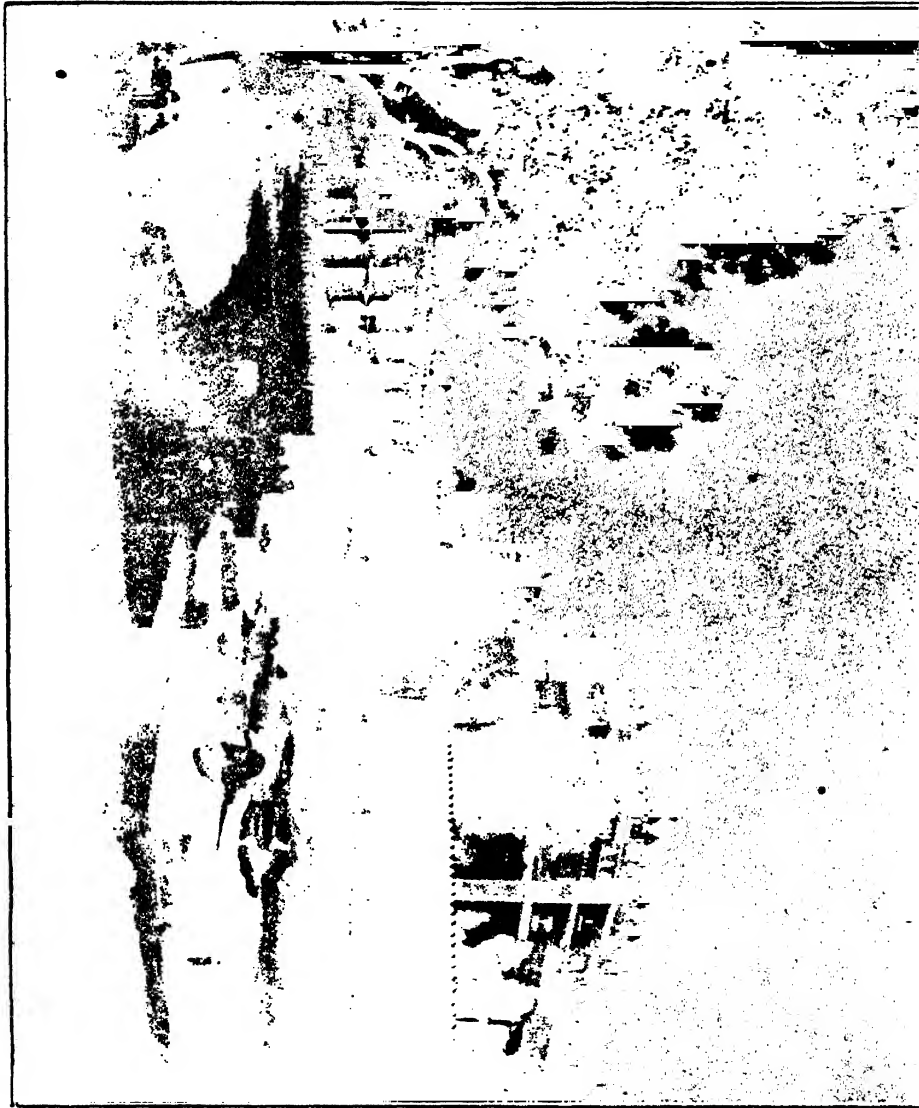


Plate V—The Royal Palace and Fort at Urcha. C.I.

nize the characteristic features of some of the finest earlier palaces—the massive basement and light ornamental superstructure. The semi-circular bastions are admirable in strength and simplicity. The effect of the whole is aided to by the magnificence of the site, of which full advantage is taken—and here again with a purely practical purpose—in the spacious stairways leading down to the water's edge. So fine a building as this could not have been erected anywhere in the world, except in India, so late as the latter part of the nineteenth century ;

THE ROYAL PALACES OF RAJPUTANA. 020 .

for there only the antecedents of noble building still survived—the direct serving of a clear understood purpose, and the existence of a body of craftsmen inheriting a vital tradition.

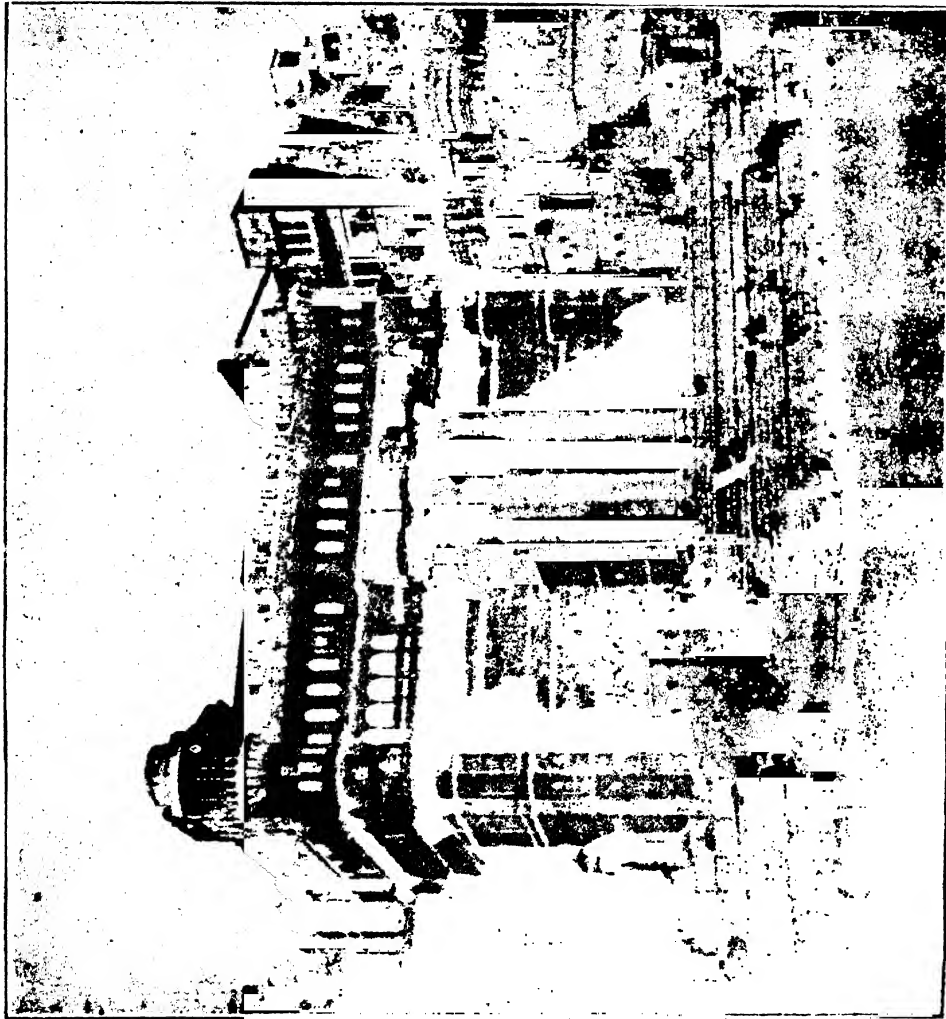


Plate VI - Ghosal Ghat : Utri built by the Bhonsle Rajas of Nagpur.

That tradition still survives : it remains for the Rajput princes of these days to make up their minds if they wish to save or destroy it.

* * * *

• What of Rajput architecture and the New Delhi ? Is it quite certain that a vigorous building tradition survived throughout Hindustan until at least 40 years ago, when Fergusson wrote that

“architecture in India is still a living art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ; and there consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has the chance of seeing the real

principles of the art in action. Those who have an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the uneducated natives of India produce, will easily understand how success may be achieved, while those who observe what failures the best educated and most talented architects in Europe frequently perpetrate, may, by a study of Indian models, easily see why this must inevitably be the result. . . . The Indian builders *think* only of what they are doing, and how they can best produce the effect they desire. In the European system it is considered more essential that a building, especially in its details, should be a correct copy of something else, than good in itself or appropriate to its purpose : hence the difference in the result."

Unlike the Moghals, the British have made no serious effort to utilise the Indian building traditions, and if these have partly died out in British India, it is largely due to the baneful activity of the Public Works engineers. But the consequences of the official patronage of pseudo-classic or pseudo-Gothic architecture have not been confined to British India.

"The worst mischief," as Sir George Birdwood remarked already thirty years ago, "is perhaps done by the architecture foisted on the country by the Government of India, which being the architecture of the State, is naturally thought to be worthy of all imitation. The Nawab of Bahawalpur was installed the other day on the throne of his ancestors, and in anticipation of the auspicious event the Indian Government built him a palace, which is the ghastliest piece of bare classicalism it is possible to imagine, even with so many examples before us of the dissenting chapels and vestry halls of the last century. And now Holkar, in obvious emulation of this preposterous production, is building for himself a vast Italian palace at Indore, which is to cost many lakhs of rupees, and will be like Trentham, or Buckingham Palace, or anything else in the world but a habitation fit for kings. This sort of things has been going on all over India since the establishment of the British peace."

Fergusson remarks, in the same way, that "no one who has personally visited the objects of interest with which India abounds can fail to be struck with the extraordinary elegance of detail and propriety of design which pervades all the architectural achievements of the Hindus ; and this not only in buildings erected in former days, but in those now in course of construction in those parts of the country to which the bad taste of their European rulers has not yet penetrated."

That the process of decline has not gone on without the approval of at least some Imperialists may be gathered from such a remark as the following, which disgraced the pages of the *Builder*, for September 27th last year : "Indian rajahs vie with one another in building houses based on English models. *If we are to retain suzerainty in India this attitude is one to be encouraged.*" Here the worst sort of Imperialist betrays his fear and hatred of any expression of national character in a dependent country, and would reduce the architecture of India to a reflection of suburban ideals, for the sake of Empire. One must consider this an isolated outburst, for, certainly, to make the suppression of national character a deliberate part of the policy of Empire—as it has undoubtedly been the occasional policy of individuals—ought to be, and perhaps would be the most sure way to secure its downfall.

But if the British Government in India is to blame for negligence and lack of imagination and foresight, these are mainly acts of omission ; and the Indian rajahs and wealthy lawyers who do indeed "vie with one another in building

houses based on English models," deserve much greater condemnation for their acts of commission. The high-caste Hindu of to-day is very far from "incapable of bad taste." The same perverted taste which has led to the adoption of European costumes and gramophones, the vulgarisation of the drama, and the Indian boycotting of Indian craftsmen, can be studied in countless modern buildings erected for rajahs, municipalities and pleaders. It is hardly the fault of the British Government that Baroda is already an understudy of Tooting, or that the buildings of the Fergusson college, Poona, should so strongly recall a Nonconformist chapel, or even that the Gwalior Post Office should have been built on the plan of the British Museum, and so, at a long remove, represent a caricature of the Parthenon.

It will be only in part the fault of the British Government if the New Delhi is filled with Greek temples and Renaissance palaces. For whatever buildings the Government, through its architects, who, after all, are the most eminent men in their profession of the day, decides to erect for its own offices, it is certain that there will also spring up many private residences, town palaces, bazaars and public buildings in which Indian taste may freely prevail. The pity is that that taste should be so deeply perverted: though nothing else could well have happened after half a century of "education" such as India has borne. But the rajahs at least have still their opportunity, one certainly unique in the modern world, each of erecting town palaces or residences—not to mention works in their own capitals—in their own state style, simply by employing the hereditary state craftsmen. For whatever may have happened in British India, there are still plenty of good builders in Rajputana. The only chance for the New Delhi is that its buildings should arise in some vital manner, and not in obedience to a pre-conceived idea of unity. It is thus that all the most beautiful cities in the world have come to being! It is the variety and unexpectedness of their architecture that gives them character and mystery.

Is it too late to hope that the Rajput princes, moved by their racial pride, and remembering the splendour of their still living architectural traditions, will do their part to make the New Delhi an exemplar of modern cities? Its architecture can have vitality and character only on one condition, that is that each building be erected in a manner developed out of the character of the builders and the immediate purpose of the building. It would be useless to expect Imperial rulers to erect buildings for their own use in a manner which should not directly commend itself to their own taste. But—as was well said in the letter of the Committee of the India Society to the *Times*, December 17th, 1912, on this matter, "were it once understood that it is perfectly feasible to have buildings by the best European and the best Indian designers growing up side by side—buildings to suit the most varied purposes and tastes—it would be realised that there would be given to a city so constructed a surprising beauty and variety such as has not been seen in Europe for many centuries."

As the great Rajput houses are represented along the Benares ghats by palaces and hostels and temples, erected and added to in many local styles, and therefore full of variety and character, but co-ordinated by adaptation to common conditions, so will the Rajput states be represented in the New Delhi. Could but the Rajput princes be inspired with a sense of pride in their own great traditions of life and art, these modern buildings might well rival the works of a century or two ago, such as are illustrated here. But what a commentary on the decadence of Rajput pride, what a misuse of the still-existing skill of Indian designers would appear if Gwalior should be represented by a Greek temple, Baroda by a Chaphen villa, and if the workmen of every Rajput state should be employed (as they will assuredly be employed on the official buildings) in imitating paper drawings of Gothic or Renaissance ornament!

It has always been a tradition of Hindu nobility to foster the constructive arts, to do this with critical intelligence has been regarded as a part of the duty of kings. The fate of all Indian arts is bound up with the fate of Indian architecture. The Rajput princes have in their hands at the present moment an opportunity unique in the history of the modern world: whatever views are held regarding the official style of the New Delhi, these have but to patronise their own state craftsmen, to build after their own hearts, to display that fine taste which, until so recently, has never failed them.

LYDIA YAVORSKA.

PRINCESS, SOCIALIST AND ACTRESS.

The *Labour Leader* (May 22, 1913) has a very interesting account of this well-known Russian artiste. She is now in England, and has appeared before enthusiastic audiences both in the Coliseum, London's principal Music Hall, and in the Hippodrome in Manchester. Her name has been familiar to music-hall audiences, and even to the general newspaper reading public in England, for some time past. But few people know that Lydia Yavorska is a member of the Russian aristocracy. Her real name is Princess Bariatinsky.

"The Prince comes of one of the oldest families of Russia, and all the glory and glamour of Court life were open to him. The Princess is the daughter of a General in the Russian Army; her uncle was a Cabinet Minister. Had they wished, ease and luxury and position could have been theirs. But they were Socialists.

"Deliberately they turned their backs upon wealth and idle pleasure. The Prince considered carefully how he could best help the People's Movement, and he decided to establish a Socialist daily newspaper. The Princess was already famed as a great actress, and she determined

to consecrate her art to the same cause. Both were so successful that the Government, despite their aristocratic lineage, soon took measures against them.

"The Prince produced *The Northern Courier* in St. Petersburg, and he obtained the help of Count Tolstoy, Maxim Gorky, and other famous writers. The paper became a great power, both among the intellectuals and the workers. Fourteen months after its first issue it was suppressed; property in connection with it to the value of £60,000 was confiscated. And the Prince was prohibited from editing another paper within the Tsar's domains.

"The Princess did an equally great work on the stage. She went through the country presenting Socialist plays and became the idol of the people. * * * * It was not long before the Government's prohibition was extended to her also."

The Interview :

THE ARTISTE ON HER OWN ACT.

Lydia Yavorska was recently in Manchester. And the representative of the *Labour Leader* went to see her at the Hippodrome. She had written to him—"Come to my dressing-room after the first house." And he went. She was "made up" for the part of "Lalotte"—a French music-hall star in a one-act comedy—and was very resplendent. At first it was difficult to conceive of this brilliantly dressed actress, as a socialist,—an enthusiast in the people's cause. "But when she began to speak we forgot the actress, and saw only a woman on fire with a passion for freedom."

"I want you to tell us of your life in Russia," I said, after she had welcomed us radiantly.

"I would rather speak of my art than of myself," she replied.

"Of the theatre?"

"Yes," she said, her eyes already beginning to glow with enthusiasm.

"I have such belief in the mission of the theatre. The theatre should be a great uplifting force, expressing all the finest thought of the day upon the great social and moral problems by which we are faced. That is our conception of the theatre in Russia. Drama should not merely be amusing; it should be considered as seriously as a work of science or philosophy."

"Is that really the view of the Russian people? Or is it the view of a few 'visionaries'—as here?"

"It is what the people as a whole feel," Princess Bariatinsky answered with emphatic gesture. "We have the Greek vision of the theatre. It is a part of our education, of our religion—a serious influence in our mental, moral, and spiritual life."

"At once a church and a University?"

"Yes, that is it," she exclaimed. "Your youth pride themselves on going to the University of Oxford. Our youth pride themselves on going to the theatre at Moscow. Moscow is the cradle of art in Russia."

"But do the working people think of the theatre in this way? Have they the opportunity to visit theatres?"

"Yes, yes. The theatre is much cheaper in Russia than in Great Britain, and the working men are exceedingly interested in it. I have played very frequently before audiences of working people, and they understand and respond whole heartedly to the message of the play. They like Shakespeare enormously."

"You find a great difference in Great Britain?"

The Princess smiled.

"You British people come to the theatre to be amused," she said.

"Russian people go to the theatre to think, to be tormented by a problem, to seek its solution."

"But we are improving. We have Shaw."

"Yes, you have Shaw," she said, enthusiastically, "and I think he is the prophet of a great revolution. In time (she continued with an arch smile) he will teach you to hold the same conception of the theatre as we hold in Russia! By Russian people Shaw is very much liked; indeed, before he was recognised as a great dramatist in England he had won Russia. Some years ago, in an interview with a group of British journalists, I remember describing Shaw as a noteworthy dramatist. They smiled as though they knew better!"

THE REVIVAL OF THE REAL DRAMA.

"You think, then, that we are on the eve of a great revival in dramatic art?"

"I do. Since Shakespeare, the British theatre has been waiting for a new movement. It is only now that it comes. In Russia the writers of the new school are the most popular, but in Great Britain your people still want plays to end very nicely with a wedding, so that they may go back to life happy and content. *Our* people want to face the big issues of the day, to meet reality—and reality is often disturbing and sad. "Fanny's First Play" is the type of play that is popular in Russia. The theatre is with us a part of life, reflecting the thought and feeling of the time. When you understand that, you will understand that the theatre cannot keep away from the social movement. It is driven to it. We *are* the social movement."

"Do you mean to say that the theatre is a *part* of the movement for liberty in Russia?"

"Oh, yes," she cried, her voice rising excitedly. "During the Revolution the theatre was one of the greatest forces on the side of the people."

It was wonderful. I remember acting in a play in which the 'Marseillaise' was sung. Before we knew what had happened, the whole audience was on its feet singing with us, and we were thrilled through and through by the spirit of liberty. The poor police did not know what to do !"

"But does not the Government suppress such plays?"

"It attempts to. The Government has always tried to suppress plays of ideas, and we have had a very hard struggle. Whenever a play arouses the enthusiasm of the people, the Government come to the conclusion that they had better find out what it is about, and, if it is revolutionary, they prohibit it. I was prohibited from playing and even from reciting. The authorities said I inspired the youth to revolution !"

"That is why you have come to England?"

"Yes. I hope to continue on the British stage the work I began in Russia."

DRAMA FOR THE WORKERS.

"Do you like playing at music-halls?" I asked, referring to her appearance at the London "Coliseum" and the Manchester "Hippodrome."

"Yes. I like the conditions of the music-hall. The audiences are more like our Russian audiences. There is no dressing up, and the people enter so wholeheartedly into the entertainment. Working people are more responsive than a snobbish audience. It is often their only joy, whilst the wealthy live to be amused from morning to night. The theatre must be for the people, and not merely for aristocrats. Then the music hall is improving very rapidly. It has already begun to stage one-act plays, and it will soon be possible to present quite serious plays."

"The music-hall also has the advantage of being free from the dictation of the censor," I remarked.

"Yes. The Russian people and the Russian artistes hate the censor. In England your artistes welcome the censor and your managers worship him !"

"That is because they think he stands between them and prosecutions for the production of immoral plays. . . ."

"But they should not be such cowards," she interrupted. "Only children want to hide behind someone else. Aren't they old enough to take some little responsibility themselves?"

"You favour the suggestion of a national theatre?"

"Necessarily I do. I am astonished that a national theatre does not exist in the country which gave Shakespeare to the drama of the world."

"Is there not a danger that a national theatre will be more conservative than the private theatre?"

PROFITS OUT OF ART !

"No. Why should it?" the Princess asked with surprise. "Every movement in literature and art must be expressed. It will not depend on profits, and will be able to produce the more serious plays which the commercialism of the theatre debar. We must get rid of the idea that drama should be presented to make money. The nation does not expect to make profits out of its art galleries, libraries, and museums. Why should it expect to make profits out of art as expressed in the drama? In Russia the theatre which exists to make money is despised. The Russian people want not shops, but literature.

"And what could be more conservative than your theatre of to-day?" she added. "Nothing could be worse. Whenever a step forward is proposed, there are always people who declare it will be a step backward. Women must not have votes—because they will not know how to use them! But what could be worse than the manner in which men use votes? We Russian people must not be given constitutional liberty—because we would not know how to use it! But what could be worse than Russia as it is to-day? The reactionaries invariably say that to advance will make matters worse, but to destroy the old and create the new can never make matters worse. I cannot imagine a theatre more conservative than a theatre whose managers are asking for the retention of the censor."

THE SOCIALIST ACTRESS-PRINCESS.

Then there was a pretty long talk about Russia; and incidentally as to how the *entente* with the Russian Autocracy was slowly demoralising even the British Liberals who are now in power. There is one part of this interview which will come as a revelation to the outside world. We had always thought that the anti-Jewish propaganda had its origin in popular prejudices against the Jewish race. But Princess Bariatinsky said:—"The Russian people have no enmity towards the Jews, it is the Government which hates the Jews. It was because Prince Bariatinsky championed the Jews that the Government closed his paper." It was because I championed the Jews that I was prohibited from acting. I refused to take an anti-Jewish part in a play which was written to inflame the people against the Jews.It is after such a play is produced, that massacres occur, but the Jews are for freedom, and all our enlightened Russian intellectuals are on the side of the Jews."

"Do you intend to go back to Russia, Princess?"

"At present I am going to stay in England and do what I can here. What does it matter what is the scene of your work if it is the same work? We socialists have not such strong beliefs in national isolation. We are all of the one family of human beings—is it not so? I think the nations are coming together in art and science; Shakespeare is as near to us as to you. That which

THE BUDDHIST DOCTRINE OF SALVATION. 637

is created by the mind and spirit belongs to the human race. The Russian does not hate the Japanese; the English does not hate the German. When the soldiers of one nation shoot down the soldiers of another it is not because they have any quarrel. It is because some group of capitalists will reap advantage by war. The British capitalist or the German capitalist wants to speculate; therefore the poor must be killed. It is ridiculous and when the people see clearly no soldier will go to fight another."

"Do you believe in the plan which the British I. L. P. has suggested to the International Socialist Movement—that when war is threatened the workers of the countries involved should declare a general strike?"

"Certainly I do. Let the workers strike and prevent war. Who pays for the war? Always the 'lower' classes. Let the capitalists fight if they want to grab advantages."

THE BUDDHIST DOCTRINE OF SALVATION.

(BY PRINCIPAL J. E. CARPENTER, IN THE HIBBERT JOURNAL).

One great religion alone stands out, at once in parallel and in contrast with Christianity as a religion of deliverance. The Buddha has endured the long travail of ages. The ancient hymns of the *Rig Veda* had pictured the dead as borne aloft in a chariot of fire to the upper world of life and light. Later theology conceived different worlds. Even over the felicity of the gods there crept the shadow of inevitable doom, and life became an endless chain of deaths. At such a prospect imagination stood appalled. Was there no way of ending this succession, passing out of the temporal into eternal? It was in answer to this question that Gautama, the Buddha, propounded his discipline of the Eightfold Noble Path.

Suffering and sorrow were the lot of all who were involved in the vicissitudes of change. They had their roots in ignorance of the true meaning of life and in the forces of selfish craving and untamed desire.

Let a man tread the way of Knowledge, master his passions and he would find peace. The new teaching had the immense advantage of embodiment, first of all in a great historic personality, and secondly in a figure of lofty dignity as the moral ideal. From age to age, from Buddha to Buddha, in the endless series of manifestations, He passes from heaven to earth upon his mission of deliverance. He sets free even the worms and insects from their low estate. He reclaims the sinners, provides food for the famine-stricken, heals the diseased; but mostly is he to be found in hells—rescuing the wicked from their guilt and pain. The new way of salvation had many attractions, and imagination looked eagerly forward without fear to the hour of death. Under the principle of *Karma* eternal damnation was unknown. Sin must indeed draw down its punishment. But as the offender belonged to the finite order of time and change, so did the penalty. Such is the faith of the most vigorous teachers of the Far East. It represents the natural evolution of the principle of salvation.

EX-EMPRESS EUGENIE AT 87.

(NASH'S MAGAZINE.)

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If the personal story of Eugenie, ex-Empress of the French, could be told in full, it would be a chronicle of triumph—the story of one who lost France and won the world. It was said of Leonardo da Vinci that he was captain of his soul. Of the expatriated queen it can be verily told that she has come through historic tribulation into the *Life Beautiful*. Her real nobility has laurelled her fail! Eugenie exiled is greater than the Empress the Tuileries acclaimed. She has revealed a majesty that titles do not confer. She has risen above defeat.

Before the traveller sees the ex-Empress, he may share the fallacy that she is a figure of the Past resigned to the Present, a Shadow moving among the tombs. This is the popular conception of Eugenie, and the one I shared before my visit to her English residence at Farnborough—that of a one-time monarch in sad and solitary exile, bowed by a triple tragedy, the loss of her Emperor, her Prince, and her throne. Yet Eugenie lives like an Empress and is so accepted. Everywhere she goes, amongst the people of Farnborough and the vicinity and in all the courts of Europe, she is always the “Empress” Eugenie and “Her Majesty,” not an ex-Empress, not a member of royalty from whose name the letters of glory have been erased. She has all that Queens have, save the burdens of a throne and its limitations, and her Empire lacks only the complexities of State. Her spirit is greater than the tragedies of her long life. Bereavement she has had, and has nobly borne; but her griefs in this regard have been like those all who live have known, or must ultimately know. As to the advantages of Royalty, she has enjoyed throughout her life—both before and ever since the collapse of the Third Empire—a devotion and adulation second to none that any queen or empress or other ruler in history has known.

To escape the idle calls of the curious, she is down in the directory of Farnborough and Aldershot as the Countess de Perrifonds. To the people within the radius of her local journeyings, and to the titled and other members of her entourage, as well as the nobility and the rulers of all nations, though now in her eighty-seventh year, she fills the same rôle as she did when, as Marie Eugenie de Montijo, she was wedded to Napoleon III., and became the most brilliant figure in the Court of the Tuileries. Her exile has ceased to be an exile save from a throne that has ceased to be. To supplement all this she has inherited, and has used with lavish taste, the vast wealth of the Buonapartes.

Every person of the 14,000 inhabitants of the Hampshire borough, and many in the larger neighbouring town of Aldershot, know this great woman by sight. Yet during all the memorable years in which she has been a world-famed figure she has been formally inaccessible, save to a chosen few. She frequently rides along the borough roads, and even walks unattended down from her palace along shrubbery-bordered paths and under the tall firs,

Although besieged unsuccessfully for nearly half a century by historians and journalists, she is quick to respond to all greetings on these neighbourhood outings, going out of her way to speak to those she meets, especially to children. So far as her biographies have been concerned, she has maintained an aloofness and silence as one in the grave. And so, holding aloof from all entangling participation in historical discussion, the greatest living historical figure of the nineteenth century has been misinterpreted, except by those who know her best. There is nothing morbid about the imperial survivor of the court of France. It is true she has built for her dead a solemn church and crypt on the wooded heights at Farnborough, and also that she goes there to pay her sad devotion. But these pilgrimages from the palace to the adjoining tomb, as well as her walks in the great gardens, reveal the normal desire of a lofty spirit to be at times alone. The Empress Eugenie loves and has loved her life. In her home there is little to suggest the mournful past. Crypt and sarcophagi are not there. She is surrounded by a brilliant retinue and an efficient household. The Empress Eugenie has always been up-to-date. It is mostly her biographers who are not! On a recent occasion she motored to Aldershot and witnessed one of Cody's flights, and when the aviator came down, the Empress sent for him, congratulated him upon his triumphs, and talked to him with animation and delight about the future possibilities of aerial flight and traffic. She is a woman of unrelenting diligence. I saw her in her grounds, going about instructing the gardeners, talking with the porters at the lodges, giving directions to the keeper of the crypt; and when finally, on February 17, she left the station at Farnborough en route for Cap Martin on the Riviera, although under the escort of M. le Comte de Mora, and accompanied by a lady-and-gentleman-in-waiting, a butler and servants, the Empress personally walked up and down the platform giving directions about pieces of luggage, pointing them out with an umbrella.

The capacity for detail and the genius for big administration alike are hers. As in the days of her reign when she was twice regent she exhibited superb capacity for command, so in her present life she determines the management and movements of her retinue and estate. Her fortune is estimated at not less than six millions sterling and she has personally administered this with efficient secretaries. She suggests by her multiple activities the spirit of Napoleon. Always an Empress, she has preserved the traditions of her great family by placing directly over the broad staircase beyond the hall as you enter, David's masterpiece, "Napoleon Crossing the Alps."

Early on a recent Sunday morning, just prior to her departure for Cap Martin, she started out for a walk; I thought this would prove a pilgrimage to the crypt before going on her journey abroad. It is her custom to walk along the London Road, the highway in Farnborough, once the avenue Dick Turpin used, and now a pleasant and safe road through a peaceful valley. But on this particular morning her errand had a double significance, associated

however, with the living, not with the dead. For a fortnight Mr. Hibberd keeper of the lodge, had been ill with influenza. On the previous night the Empress had sent down word asking anew about his recovery, and as he was able to reply that he was now up, she called down personally, congratulated him upon his recovery, and gave him a mission. Her niece, the Countess de Mora, was in delicate health, and the Empress wanted Mr. Hibberd to be certain that any instructions coming hurriedly from the royal residence to physicians or others in Farnborough should be immediately carried out.

"I trust you greatly in this matter," said the Empress.

The Countess preferred to have the child born at Farnborough rather than in London. The Empress remarked that she counted on all those who remained behind her to look earnestly and faithfully to the safe-coming of the new heir.

"We hope," said the Empress, "that the child will be a son."

The fourteen-months-old daughter of the Countess was brought through the grounds. I remarked to the Empress that the Titian hair and brown eyes of the little one suggested the accounts of the Empress herself in her childhood. The Empress smiled. This little one is exceedingly beautiful. The compliment, which was sincere, was undoubtedly not over-drawn, for, as is well known, Eugenie has been one of the beautiful women of history.

The personal escort of the Empress on her latest trip from Farnborough was the Comte de Mora, who is an important personage in her household; but he was in this capacity on this occasion because M. Pietri had been sent on in advance to southern France. "I wanted him to go ahead," Eugenie said, "because his health has not been the best, and because they are having fine weather along the Riviera."

The close relationship of the Comte de Mora, escorting her as he did on this trip to France, is due to reasons additional to his relation to the Empress by marriage, and shows Eugenie in a new light. She is very fond of him, and well she may be, for I found him one of the manliest products of the contemporary Renaissance of Italy. But what the Empress approves most, perhaps, is his scientific genius. He does not look unlike Marconi, and in other ways resembles that great engineer. The Empress Eugenie sent the Comte de Mora to New York to perfect his investigation into the most modern systems of electrical installation, and as a result of that study, backed up by Eugenie's determination to have the most perfect plant possible, the palace at Farnborough Hill is radiantly illuminated now with electricity generated on the palace grounds. In whatever direction the visitor looks he notes the results of her work, and finds the evidence of a personality satisfied with nothing slipshod or in any way incomplete. There are no ruins at Farnborough Hill.

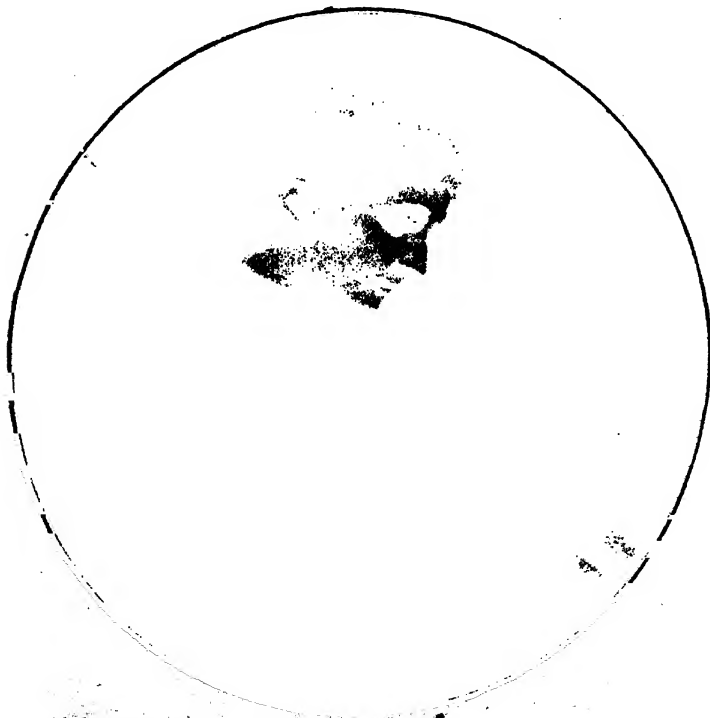
Naturally in thinking of the entire establishment, with its two deeply wooded hills, the mind inevitably reverts to the Mausoleum, but that splendid tomb to which the Empress sometimes turns her steps is not essentially a place of gloom, but one symbolising hope in the eternal verities. Not so imposing, perhaps, as the

great tomb in the Church of the Invalides, which has become a shrine for the worshippers of the first Napoleon ; but, like that, a Mecca for pilgrims and open to the public. You pay one shilling to enter, but this is not to supplement the revenues of Eugenie. Under the superintendence of the Benedictine monks, the money goes to the poor. Her little journey to the crypt, perhaps half a mile from her residence, to pay her sad devotions just before making the journey to France, was characteristic of the devoted wife and mother. She did not go as an Empress might. There was no retinue in her train. She walked alone. And when Mr. Jackson, the keeper of the cathedral and crypt, wanted to assist his Empress up the steps that lead to the private door, never opened except to her, Eugenie thanked him naturally, but said :

" Don't bother ; I will go without help."

In itself this pathetic incident might give emphasis to her statement in a letter, that she was left alone, " the sole remnant of a shipwreck ; which proves how fragile and vain are the grandeurs of this world."

In some circles in which it is known that the Empress is not a recluse, but goes about freely, directing her affairs, it has been the custom to picture her, in



spite of this, garbed in antique and even harlequin woe. The fact is, that though robed in black, her clothes are cut befittingly and made of finest serge or other choice material. There is a touch of white at the neck. The black hat the Empress wore would not have been unsuited to a woman of thirty-five. It became Eugenie wondrously well ! One, not knowing her identity or her sturdiness, might have imagined her an eccentric, for,

although the day was

cold, she wore no furs. The Empress obviously did not feel the cold, and this is a superb revelation of the buoyant youth and vitality throughout a span of life accorded to few. The eight y seventh anniversary of her birth falls on May 5 next.

THE SUPERNATURAL EXPLAINED BY THE PHYSICAL.

(By J. D. L.—IN THE OCCULT REVIEW—MAY).

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The theory that ghostly apparitions, telepathy, and many other supernatural phenomena are connected in some obscure way with electricity and magnetism is no new one. Many of those who have carefully investigated these phenomena have arrived at this conclusion. Cases have been known where ghosts have been laid by the application of magnetic methods. Animal magnetism, hypnotism, somnambulism, clairvoyance and telepathy are all links in a magnetic chain, and the connection might be further extended. Dr. J. Kerner in his *Magikon*, one of the best collections of authentic ghost stories, is decidedly of the opinion that animal magnetism lies at the bottom of these phenomena, and a similar conclusion is arrived at by Mrs. Crowe, whose *Night Side of Nature* is one of the most interesting compilations of these manifestations.

The belief in the psychic influence of terrestrial magnetism finds support in the fact that many sensitive persons assert that they can sleep more soundly when their head is turned towards the north; hypnotic healers also find that many of their subjects are more amenable to treatment when they are made to recline in the same position.

The recent development of wireless telegraphy has brought to light many new and interesting facts in this connection. A ship's wireless apparatus, that during the daytime will have a radius of, say, two hundred miles only, will be able to send and receive three times that distance at night. Why this should be so does not seem to be known exactly, but it is supposed to be due to the increased amount of electricity in the air. It is not to be explained by the comparative silence which reigns during the night, for the increased facility is noticeable in sending off messages as well as in receiving them; the range of action is extended.

Why is it that ghosts generally choose the time-hallowed hour of midnight for their appearance? Is it because the magnetic force is at its maximum at that hour when the sun is at the nadir, and can then be projected to a greater distance? The choice of the midnight hour must have some reason; is this the natural explanation?

To come back to wireless telegraphy. The report was circulated in the papers some time ago of mysterious messages received at one of the Marconi stations. Regularly, at midnight, the letter S would be flashed across space from some unknown source and be registered on the receiving apparatus. Who was the mysterious sender, and why did he regularly choose the ghostly hour for his messages? If force can be transmitted through space by electric wireless agency (and the feat has already been accomplished and seems capable of greater development), we seem to be in a fair way to receive more light regarding these so-called supernatural manifestations.

